IRISH - 1798 — COLLECTION

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A MAP of IRELAND to Elucidate the IRISH REBELLION of 1798

ATLANTIC OCEAN

IRISH CHANNEL

Lough Foyle · Malin · Toy I · Rathlin I · Cape Fanlyre · Fairland Pt · Glenarm · Larne · Carrickfergus Bay · Bangor · Belfast · Newtownards · Lough Neagh · Lough Erne · Donegal · Inishamer · Inish Murry · Inishkea · Sligo · Ballysadare Bay · Killala Bay · The Mullet · Broadhaven · Clew Bay · Achil Island · Burrishoole · Inis Boffin · Galway Bay · The South Islands of Arran · Kilkieran Bay · Ennisterry Islands · Shannon River · Ll. Laughtin · Dingle Bay or Castlemain Harbour · Valentia I. · Skelig Rocks · Kenmare River · Bantry Bay · Cape Clear I. · Youghal Bay · Cork Harbour · Kinsale Harbour · Waterford Haven · Carnsore · Dundalk Bay · Carlingford Bay · Strangford Lough · Dublin Bay · Howth · Ireland's Eye · Lambay · Malahide · Skerries · Drogheda · Dundalk · Newry · Armagh · Monaghan · Cavan · Enniskillen · Sligo · Ballina · Castlebar · Westport · Galway · Tuam · Athenry · Ennis · Limerick · Tipperary · Cashel · Kilkenny · Carlow · Naas · Athlone · Longford · Mullingar · Trim · Navan · Kells · Ardee · Dundalk · Drogheda · Dublin · Wicklow · Arklow · Gorey · Enniscorthy · Wexford · New Ross · Waterford · Clonmel · Carrick on Suir · Fethard · Cashel · Thurles · Roscrea · Nenagh · Ennis · Kilrush · Tralee · Dingle · Killarney · Cork · Youghal · Middleton · Bandon · Kinsale · Timoleague · Skibbereen · Bantry · Castletownbere · Valentia · Dingle · Tralee · Listowel · Abbeyfeale · Newcastle · Rathkeale · Adare · Kilmallock · Charleville · Mallow · Fermoy · Lismore · Dungarvan · Youghal · Ballyshannon · Donegal · Letterkenny · Derry · Coleraine · Ballycastle · Larne · Antrim · Belfast · Lisburn · Downpatrick · Newry · Armagh · Monaghan · Cavan · Enniskillen · Sligo · Ballina · Castlebar · Westport · Galway · Tuam · Athenry · Ennis · Limerick · Tipperary · Cashel · Kilkenny · Carlow · Naas · Athlone · Longford · Mullingar · Trim · Navan · Kells · Ardee · Dundalk · Drogheda · Dublin · Wicklow · Arklow · Gorey · Enniscorthy · Wexford · New Ross · Waterford · Clonmel · Carrick on Suir · Fethard · Cashel · Thurles · Roscrea · Nenagh · Ennis · Kilrush · Tralee · Dingle · Killarney · Cork · Youghal · Middleton · Bandon · Kinsale · Timoleague · Skibbereen · Bantry · Castletownbere · Valentia · Dingle · Tralee · Listowel · Abbeyfeale · Newcastle · Rathkeale · Adare · Kilmallock · Charleville · Mallow · Fermoy · Lismore · Dungarvan · Youghal · Ballyshannon · Donegal · Letterkenny · Derry · Coleraine · Ballycastle · Larne · Antrim · Belfast · Lisburn · Downpatrick · Newry · Armagh · Monaghan · Cavan · Enniskillen · Sligo · Ballina · Castlebar · Westport · Galway · Tuam · Athenry · Ennis · Limerick · Tipperary · Cashel · Kilkenny · Carlow · Naas · Athlone · Longford · Mullingar · Trim · Navan · Kells · Ardee · Dundalk · Drogheda · Dublin · Wicklow · Arklow · Gorey · Enniscorthy · Wexford · New Ross · Waterford · Clonmel · Carrick on Suir · Fethard · Cashel · Thurles · Roscrea · Nenagh · Ennis · Kilrush · Tralee · Dingle · Killarney · Cork · Youghal · Middleton · Bandon · Kinsale · Timoleague · Skibbereen · Bantry · Castletownbere · Valentia · Dingle · Tralee · Listowel · Abbeyfeale · Newcastle · Rathkeale · Adare · Kilmallock · Charleville · Mallow · Fermoy · Lismore · Dungarven · Youghal · Ballyshannon · Donegal · Letterkenny · Derry · Coleraine · Ballycastle · Larne · Antrim · Belfast · Lisburn · Downpatrick · Newry · Armagh · Monaghan · Cavan · Enniskillen · Sligo · Ballina · Castlebar · Westport · Galway · Tuam · Athenry · Ennis · Limerick · Tipperary · Cashel · Kilkenny · Carlow · Naas · Athlone · Longford · Mullingar · Trim · Navan · Kells · Ardee · Dundalk · Drogheda · Dublin · Wicklow · Arklow · Gorey · Enniscorthy · Wexford · New Ross · Waterford · Clonmel · Carrick on Suir · Fethard · Cashel · Thurles · Roscrea · Nenagh · Ennis · Kilrush · Tralee · Dingle · Killarney · Cork · Youghal · Middleton · Bandon · Kinsale · Timoleague · Skibbereen · Bantry · Castletownbere · Valentia · Dingle · Tralee · Listowel · Abbeyfeale · Newcastle · Rathkeale · Adare · Kilmallock · Charleville · Mallow · Fermoy · Lismore · Dungarvan · Youghal

1 Tyrone · 2 Londonderry · 3 Antrim · 4 Donegal · 5 Fermanagh · 6 Monaghan · 7 Armagh · 8 Down · 9 Mayo · 10 Sligo · 11 Leitrim · 12 Cavan · 13 Longford · 14 Roscommon · 15 Louth · 16 Meath · 17 Dublin · 18 Galway · 19 Westmeath · 20 Kildare · 21 Wicklow · 22 Clare · 23 Limerick · 24 Tipperary · 25 Queens · 26 Wicklow · 27 Kilkenny · 28 Carlow · 29 Wexford · 30 Kerry · 31 Cork · 32 Waterford

SCALE

British Statute Miles 5 10 15 20 25 30

Irish Miles 5 10 15 20 25 30

LIST of the COUNTIES

Antrim	3	Limerick	23
Armagh	7	Londonderry	2
Carlow	28	Longford	15
Cavan	12	Louth	13
Clare	21	Mayo	9
Cork	31	Meath	17
Donegall	1	Monaghan	6
Down	8	Queens	25
Dublin	21	Roscommon	14
Fermanagh	5	Sligo	10
Galway	18	Tipperary	24
Kerry	30	Tyrone	4
Kildare	20	Waterford	32
Kilkenny	27	Westmeath	16
Kings	19	Wexford	29
Leitrim	11	Wicklow	26

MEMOIRS

OF THE DIFFERENT

REBELLIONS IN IRELAND,

FROM THE

ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH:

ALSO,

A PARTICULAR DETAIL OF THAT WHICH BROKE OUT THE XXIIID OF MAY, MDCCXCVIII;

WITH THE

HISTORY OF THE CONSPIRACY WHICH PRECEDED IT, AND THE CHARACTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN IT.

TO THIS EDITION IS ADDED,

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND;

AND

CONSIDERATIONS

ON

THE MEANS OF EXTENDING ITS ADVANTAGES THEREIN.

BY SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE, BART.

MEMBER IN THE LATE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

The danger of the day's but newly gone,
Whose memory is written on the earth,
With yet-appearing blood! SHAKSPEARE.

Hoc illud est precipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento, intueri, inde tibi, tuæque republicæ, quod imitere cupias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.———LIVY.

THE SECOND EDITION.

DUBLIN:

Printed by Robert Marchbank,

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AND

JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY, LONDON.

1801.

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1801 x
C. 1

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

CHARLES, MARQUIS CORNWALLIS,

LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL,

AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

MY LORD,

FROM a ſenſe of duty, and zeal for the publick welfare, I undertook to write the following pages, which I have the honour, with your Excellency's permiſſion, of dedicating to you.

Hiſtory, which is a mirror of paſt times, is the beſt guide to the ſtateſman; and Livy tells us, that he wrote his, that the republick might learn leſſons of wiſdom and prudence from it, by avoiding ſuch meaſures as had proved fatal, and by embracing ſuch as had been found ſalutary for its intereſt.

It is much to be lamented that Ireland has been diſgraced, and that her improvement in morals and induſtry has been retarded for near three centuries by civil diſſenſions; and from their frequent recurrence, and as they have been uniformly directed to one object, "a ſeparation from England," we may fairly conclude, that the prediſpoſing cauſes to them muſt be inveterate, and that the ſeeds of combuſtion muſt be deeply and extenſively laid.

As Ireland is now become an integral part of the empire, it is to be hoped that the Imperial Government will apply more effectual remedies than have been hitherto adopted, to

remove the cauſes of her rebellions, her crimes and diſgraces; but it would be as imprudent to undertake that taſk, without having a perfect knowledge of them, as for a phyſician to adminiſter medicine to a patient, without having inveſtigated the ſymptoms and diagnoſtics of his diſeaſe. I conſider it then as an important, nay as a ſacred duty, to lay before the people of England the origin and progreſs of the late conſpiracy and rebellion; for I have good reaſon for ſaying, that the majority of them are as ignorant of the real ſtate of Ireland, as they are of Kamſkatka or Madagaſcar; which has ariſen from the following cauſes: An angry oppoſition in parliament has conſtantly imputed the diſturbances and inſurrections in Ireland to a wrong ſource, and have ſeverely and unjuſtly arraigned the wiſeſt meaſures of government for their ſuppreſſion. Thus truth has been perverted through the medium of faction, as the rays of light refracted through the priſm, preſent various falſe lights and colours: Engliſhmen, who viſited Ireland for a few days or weeks, have imbibed the prejudices of factious and deſigning men, with whom they fortuitouſly aſſociated, as we are told the camelion aſſimilates to the colour of whatever body he approaches; and ſuch men have taken upon them to write on the religious, moral and political ſtate of Ireland:* The Jacobins both in England and Ireland, in order to feed the flame of rebellion, have inſinuated both orally and through the preſs, that the rebellion aroſe from the oppreſſion of the Roman catholicks; an aſſertion as falſe as it is iniquitous!

They

* Mr. George Cooper ſtands conſpicuous among theſe; for he has written a book printed by J. Davis, in Chancery-lane, London, in which he has ſhewn a radical ignorance of the affairs of Ireland, and gives a groſs and flagrant miſrepreſentation of them; and another Jacobin pamphlet, "On the ſtate of affairs in the year 1799," abounds with groſs falſehoods and miſtatements on the ſame ſubject.

They enjoy as much civil liberty as any other portion of his majeſty's ſubjects, and their lives, liberties and properties are protected by the ſame laws; and as a proof of it, behold, of the popiſh perſuaſion, the number of wealthy merchants, manufacturers and mechanicks in Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Limerick, the farmers in the counties of Meath, Weſtmeath, Tipperary, Limerick, and in many other parts of the kingdom, who have made large fortunes within a few years! Is not the Roman catholick labourer as much protected by the law as the proteſtant; and does not the former experience as much humanity and kindneſs from his employer as the latter? Nay, I will venture to aſſert, that the lower claſs of Roman catholicks would prefer proteſtant landlords and maſters to perſons of their own perſuaſion, from their well-known mildneſs and beneficence.* While the penal laws exiſted, they were not enforced by the proteſtants, but remained a dead letter in the ſtatute-book.

Such cauſes of miſconception and error have operated ſo ſtrongly and ſo generally in England, that many of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, in their ſpeeches on the Union, diſplayed a total ignorance of the real cauſes of the preſent ſtate of Ireland; an ignorance which has long proved fatal to its peace and proſperity!† I am anxious alſo, that our gracious Sovereign, whoſe firſt object is the happineſs of his ſubjects, ſhould know the real ſtate of it.

Every perſon who peruſes theſe Memoirs muſt perceive, that by uniting the two kingdoms, your Excellency has laid a ſolid foundation for the future proſperity of Ireland, by extinguiſhing the ſeeds of diſſenſion, and by ſilencing the voice of faction.

By

* See James Beaghan's confeſſion in the Appendix, page 100.

† This was very much occaſioned by the miſtaken zeal and the unabated exertions of Mr. Edmund Burke.

By your nice ſenſe of honour and juſtice, and thoſe exalted virtues which you ſo eminently poſſeſs, you reſtored Britiſh honour and good faith in the Eaſt, where they had been long tarniſhed; and by your valour and military ſkill, you ſubdued Tippo Saib, as terrific to England, as Mithridates was to Rome; and it is univerſally allowed, that he could not have been overthrown, but for the brilliant victories which you obtained over him; by which you circumſcribed his dominions, and diminiſhed his reſources. It is certain then, that your Excellency is fully entitled to the greateſt ſhare of the laurels which were obtained by his final downfal.

Thus the ſplendid and important victories of Quintus Flaminius, the Roman conſul, rendered Macedon an eaſy conqueſt for Paulus Æmilius; and the trophies won at Zama by the renowned Scipio Africanus, facilitated the deſtruction of Carthage for Scipio Æmilianus. But however great the advantages which you have procured for the empire by your conqueſts in the Eaſt, they are far inferior to thoſe which will ariſe to it from the union of the two kingdoms; an union that will ſtifle the fermentation of avarice and ambition, which operated ſo ſtrongly in parliament, that it appeared like a volcano, whoſe annual eruptions kindled a flame in every part of the kingdom, deſtructive of peace, of morals, and of induſtry. Every factious incendiary lighted his flambeau of diſcord at it, and ſcattered combuſtion through the land.

Her parliament was an engine, by which factious zeal united with fanaticiſm, hoped to obtain a political aſcendancy, for the purpoſe of ſubverting the conſtitution, and of erecting a republick on its ruins. The venal orator of the day, aſſuming the maſk of patriotiſm, and the garb of philanthropy, deluded and agitated the giddy multitude, though his eloquence might be

as

as little regarded as that of a mountebank, who, when he promiſes the people health and longevity, diſſeminates poiſon amongſt them.

What theſe political empirics ſo long contended for, your Excellency has virtually given them, by an Union; "a reform of parliament," in an aſſimilation of the Iriſh conſtitution to that of England, and an "equal participation of her commercial advantages." "Volvenda dies en! attulit ultro." And this great and important event has been accompliſhed without any diſturbance or commotion; though many ominous predictions were made, that even an attempt to bring it about would produce a civil war, and occaſion much bloodſhed.

For this we are indebted to your Excellency's mildneſs, humanity, and benevolence, by which you ſubdued and pacified the Iriſh nation (in a ſtate of civil war when you arrived amongſt them) more than by your ſword. By your goodneſs and clemency, you ſaved thouſands of deluded wretches, who would have fallen a prey to the vengeance of the law; and it is to be hoped that you have awakened contrition, and a ſenſe of duty in them, and have reclaimed them from their errors.

How much more laudable in the eyes of God and man, than to draw the ſword of extermination, and to ſend them, "with all their imperfections on their head," before that awful tribunal, where the beſt of men, from the frailty of their nature, muſt ultimately hope for mercy! Like Cæſar, you ſhewed them, that humanity is inſeparable from true valour.

We are told in holy writ, that God made man after his own image; and in no quality can he ſo nearly approach the divine nature, as in the exerciſe of mercy.

"No

" No ceremony that to the great belongs,
" Not the king's crown, nor the deputed ſword,
" The marſhal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
" Become them with one half ſo good a grace,
" As mercy does." SHAKSPEARE.

The Iriſh nation are indebted to your Excellency for another moſt important ſervice; that of having put the kingdom in a better ſtate of defence than it has been ſince its connection with England: And it never ſhould be forgotten by them, that when the French landed, in the year 1798, your Excellency, deſpiſing the board of luxury, and the down of indolence, took the field at the head of the army, and reſolved to endure the fatigues of the campaign in their defence; though, from your length of ſervice, and a long life dedicated to your country, you had been entitled to repoſe.

That your Excellency may long continue to enjoy the favour of your Sovereign, the eſteem of all good men, and the gratitude of the Iriſh nation, is the ſincere wiſh of him who has the honour to be, with the moſt profound reſpect,

YOUR EXCELLENCY'S

Moſt obedient humble ſervant,

RICHARD MUSGRAVE.

DUBLIN,
March 1, 1801.

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Notice to the reader and bookbinder, relative to the plates, maps, and appendixes.

Plate I. A map of Ireland in the beginning of the work.

II. A map of the north part of the county of Wexford is to face page 319.

III. A map of the ſouth part of Wexford to face page 321.

IV. Ground plan of Enniſcorthy and Vinegar-hill, ſerving to illuſtrate the attack on the former, the twenty-eighth of May, and the retaking of it the twenty-firſt of June, 1798, to face page 347.

V. Elevation of it to face page 477.

VI. Ground plan of Wexford to face page 381.

VII. A ground plan of Roſs, and a map of the adjacent country, is to face page 407.

VIII. Plan of the town and battle of Arklow is to face page 437.

IX. Ground plan of the town of Antrim, to illuſtrate the action that took place there, to face page 546.

X. A map to ſhew the movements of the army of the marquis Cornwallis, and general Lake, to face page 559.

There is annexed to every map, a lateral index, at each ſide of it, divided into inches, and indicated by numbers from the top to the bottom of the page, which will facilitate the finding any particular place, by ſhewing its latitude. Thus, Wexford will be found in Plate III. No. 6. but when a place lies between two numbers, it will be ſo ſtated. Thus Gorey is in Plate II. 4, 5.

The general number of the appendixes is expreſſed by Roman characters, with ſubordinate ones marked by figures.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF THE

DIFFERENT REBELLIONS IN IRELAND, &c.

INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

THE antiquaries of the laſt century contended, that the Chriſtian religion was introduced into Ireland by Roman miſſionaries, in the beginning of the fifth century; but a * learned writer clearly proves, that it was eſtabliſhed there at a much earlier period, and by miſſionaries of the Greek church.

It is moſt certain, that the Iriſh clergy had no connection with, and did not ſubmit to, the juriſdiction of the Roman pontiff, till the year 1152, when pope Eugenius ſent, by cardinal Paparon, four palls to the archbiſhops of Armagh, Dublin, Caſhel, and Tuam, when the Romiſh ritual was ſubſtituted in the place of the Greek, which was previouſly uſed in the Iriſh church; an undoubted proof that it was perfectly independent of the pope till that period.

* Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, page 358, et ſeq.

Our excellent primate Uſher proves this in a moſt unqueſtionable manner, in a learned treatiſe on the religion of the antient Iriſh, well worth the peruſal of the natives of Ireland. Archbiſhop * Anſelm, in his letters to Muriardach an Iriſh king, complained that biſhops were conſecrated by biſhops alone, and often by one biſhop only, contrary to a canon of the Nicene council, which required two biſhops, at leaſt, to attend the conſecration of one; but the Iriſh clergy were totally ignorant of the councils of the church, and derived their knowledge of Chriſtianity, for near eight hundred years, from no other ſource but the bible, the grand charter of Chriſtians. Athanaſius allowed the conſecration of Siderius, biſhop of Palœbiſca; and the church of Alexandria that of Evagrius, though performed but by one biſhop. As to celibacy, we know, from Ware, that the four archbiſhops of Armagh who preceded Celſus, and Celſus himſelf, who died 1129, were married; and, not until popery was eſtabliſhed at Caſhel in 1172, was marriage interdicted.

In the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, a ſeaſon of midnight ignorance in Europe, the Roman pontiff, who was regarded with ſuperſtitious reverence, claimed and gradually acquired a ſuperiority, not only of ſpiritual, but of temporal power, over all the potentates of Europe, who conſidered his ſanction as neceſſary to expiate the guilt of any crime, how heinous ſoever, or to promote the ſucceſs of any adventure.

For this reaſon, Henry II. ſolicited pope Adrian for a bull to give him the inveſtiture of Ireland; and, in conſideration of it, agreed to grant him a tax of one penny on each houſe in it, called Peter Pence.

When Phocas murdered his liege ſovereign Mauritius, emperor of Conſtantinople, in the year 602, he obtained the pope's benediction, and by this varniſhed over the turpitude of that foul action; and Pepin, having depoſed king Chilperic, and ſeized the throne of France in the year 751, prevailed on pope Zachary to abſolve the French from their

* Anſelm. Epiſt. l. 3. ep. 142, 147. Uſher, Epiſt. Hib. p. 95. Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, complained of this practice above twenty years before. Uſher, ſup. p. 73.

their allegiance to their lawful prince, whom he ſhaved, and confined in a monaſtery, " Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum."

In like manner, when Ethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was aſſaſſinated in the year 796, Eardulph, who uſurped his throne, was anointed, and went through ſome pompous ceremonies at his coronation, to hallow his uſurpation with the odour of ſanctity.

Rebellion, uſurpation, and murder, are crimes that require extraordinary meaſures to palliate them in the eyes of the people, and to procure ſome veneration for the perſons who have been guilty of them.

Adrian, in his bull, empowered Henry II. " to * propagate in Ireland the righteous plantation of faith, and the branch moſt acceptable to God;" which meant no more, than that he ſhould ſubject that kingdom to the dominion of the pope, which it is remarkable was the laſt country in Europe that ſubmitted to the ambitious and rapacious deſigns of his holineſs.

At this day the Roman Catholicks deprecate the grant of Ireland to a foreign and not a native prince. Mc. Geoghegan, in his hiſtory of Ireland, tom. 1. p. 440, exclaims thus againſt it: " A decree pronounced againſt Ireland, by which the rights of nations, and the moſt ſacred laws are violated, under the ſpecious pretext of religion, and the reformation of manners! Could one ſuſpect the vicar of Chriſt of ſuch groſs injuſtice? Could one believe him capable of iſſuing a bull, by which an entire nation was overturned?" † If the aboriginal Iriſh lament the ſettlement of the Engliſh in Ireland, all its loyal inhabitants have to deplore, that they introduced popery into it, as it has been a conſtant ſource of diſaffection, and has produced unutterable calamities in it.

* Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem, & germen gratum Deo inſerimus. Uſher, ſup. p. 109.

" † Un arret prononcé contre l'Irelande, par lequel le droit des gens, & les loix les plus ſacrées ſont violées, ſous le ſpecieux pretexte de religion & de reformation des mœurs. Peut on ſoupçonner le vicaire de Jeſus Chriſt d'une injuſtice ſi criante? Peut on le croire coupable d'avoir dicté une bulle qui a bouleverſé toute une nation?" Mc. Geoghegan was a Roman Catholick.

It is not the object nor the wiſh of the writer of the following pages to diſparage Ireland, or its inhabitants; the former, in point of ſoil and climate, the latter, in their intellectual and corporeal powers, being deſervedly eſteemed among the fineſt works of the creation; but to evince the truth of the maxim, that an imperium in imperio, or two ſeparate ſovereign powers, civil and eccleſiaſtical, cannot co-exiſt in the ſame ſtate, without perpetual colliſion, producing diſcord and rebellion; and that the only remedy for the calamities attendant on ſuch a ſtate is, either the extinction of one power, or the milder procedure of incorporating it with the other. The latter mode has been adopted in Ireland: abſtract reaſoning muſt approve, and experience will demonſtrate, the meaſure to be founded in the trueſt wiſdom.

Few of the writers on the Union of Ireland with England have calmly diſcuſſed the ſubject on the grounds here ſtated; if they had, thoſe who oppoſed it would have received conviction, and thoſe who ſupported it, would have found invincible arguments in its favour, from the inſtances now adduced.

As this great political queſtion is finally ſettled, why, it may be aſked, bring it again before the publick? The anſwer is, that the publick mind is far as yet from being reconciled to it; that a plain ſtatement of facts, in an authenticated hiſtorical detail of the various rebellions, and particularly of the occurrences of the laſt which afflicted this kingdom, and deſolated a conſiderable portion of it, muſt bring conviction to the moſt uninformed, of the inſtability of their ſafety or happineſs, while both are ſubject to the workings of bigotry, or the flagitious deſigns of the rebel and the plunderer. A mariner, who has been ſhipwrecked on a ſunken rock, does not accurately deſcribe its longitude and latitude for others to run on it, but carefully to avoid it; ſo the writer, in recounting the former and the late rebellion, does not wiſh to revive party diſtinctions and animoſities, which he ardently hopes will be for ever buried in oblivion, but to point out the neceſſity of adopting radical remedies to prevent their recurrence, which have been neglected by former governments.

In ſpeaking of the Roman catholick religion, the writer hopes he will not be miſinterpreted, when he declares, that, as far as it is agreeable

able to the Goſpel, he moſt highly reſpects it; but the ſuperinduced doctrines, as the Pope's infallibility and ſupremacy, his diſpenſing power, excluſive ſalvation, and other points, he knows, and the reader will perceive, are ſubverſive of ſociety; and if its pliability be ſuch as Doctor Troy and Doctor Huſſey aſſert in their paſtoral letters, that it can accommodate itſelf to a monarchic, ariſtocratic, or democratic form of government, it may be a dangerous engine in the hands of deſigning men. After this explanation, I ſhall proceed to ſketch the ſtate of Ireland, on the arrival of the Engliſh, in the year 1169.

The country was divided among clans or ſepts, profeſſing ſubjection to a higher power; but, at the ſame time, exerciſing every independent right. Their numbers then, according to Sir William Petty, did not exceed three hundred thouſand ſouls, diſperſed over more than twelve millions of acres. The country, as deſcribed by Giraldus Cambrenſis, in the twelfth century, an eye-witneſs of it, was overrun with foreſts, or cankered with bogs, and in all the arts of civil life, the inhabitants were little ſuperior to the Indians of North America. Their Brehon laws were calculated to make them ſavage, and to keep them ſo; as they rendered the enjoyment of life and property inſecure. Their kings or princes did not ſucceed each other by hereditary deſcent, or any fixed principles of ſucceſſion, but by force and arms. It was a peculiar favour from heaven to ſend a civilized people among them, nor did the wiſer part ſeem inſenſible to it; for Matt. Paris tells us, that, at a council at Liſmore, they gratefully received the laws of England (gratanter receptæ) and ſwore to obey them, (juratoria cautione præſtita) which included their allegiance to the crown of England. As ſoon as Henry II. returned, they rejected the laws, violated their allegiance, and ran into rebellion: which excluded them from the benefit of them.

A few ſepts, who adhered to their oaths, were conſidered as Engliſh ſubjects, and were protected by law. Attached to their barbarous manner of living, and indulged by their own municipal laws in licentiouſneſs of every kind, they found the wholeſome reſtraint of Engliſh regimen, ſo irkſome and galling, that, by perpetual inſurrections, they endeavoured

endeavoured to ſhake it off; and in the reign of Henry III. 1230, they collected ſuch a force, that they flattered their party with the hope of being able totally to expel the Engliſh (omme genus Anglorum ab Hiberniæ finibus exturbare,) ſays Matt. Paris. This has been the declared purpoſe of the native Iriſh for above ſix hundred years. What alone they were unable to accompliſh, they endeavoured to effect by calling in the aid of the pope, and the king of Spain, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. The kings of England tried various means to civilize the Iriſh; but they were ſo blinded by diſaffection, and attached to their own barbarous cuſtoms, as to oppoſe every meaſure for that purpoſe. The ſtatute of Kilkenny, 1367, is a deciſive proof of this, for by it the Brehon law was aboliſhed; and again by the tenth Henry VII. and laſtly by a judgment of the court of King's Bench, fifth James I.

Speaking a different language, and obedient to different laws, it is not to be wondered at, that the Engliſh and Iriſh did not cordially unite, and coaleſce into one people. Nothing was attempted which could materially conduce to effect this; for the operations of government were confined for centuries to pitiful expedients. The introduction of the reformed religion, by increaſing the antipathy of the native Iriſh to the Engliſh, was a new ſource of calamities; for, as the Iriſh eccleſiaſticks, to whom the ignorant and bigoted people were blindly devoted, received their education in foreign ſeminaries, particularly in thoſe of France and Spain, they returned to their native country, bound ſolemnly to the pope, in an unlimited ſubmiſſion, without any bond of allegiance to the king, and full fraught with thoſe abſurd and peſtilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion, at leaſt, profeſſed to abominate; of the univerſal dominion of the pope, as well ſpiritual as temporal; of his authority to excommunicate and depoſe princes; to abſolve ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to diſpenſe with every law of God and man; to ſanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and eſſential difference of vice and virtue. With ſuch impious tenets, fabricated by their ſchools and councils, they filled their ſuperſtitious votaries, contrary,

contrary, ſays Walſh the Iriſh franciſcan, to the letter, the ſenſe, and deſign of the Goſpel, the writings of the apoſtles, and the commentaries of their ſucceſſors, to the belief of the Chriſtian church for ten ages, and to the cleareſt dictates of nature.

I hope the reader will excuſe the digreſſion which I ſhall now make, to ſhew him the origin of the Papal power, which became, in proceſs of time, from very ſlender beginnings, formidable to ſovereign princes, and fatal to the peace of Europe; as he will be able to diſcover in it, the real ſource of the various rebellions which have diſgraced and deſolated the kingdom of Ireland; ſo that I may ſay with the Roman poet,

Hoc fonte derivata clades,
In patriam populumque fluxit.

Long after the death of the apoſtles, the popes continued to be elected by the people and the clergy, and, when elected, they were conſecrated by ſome other prelates, which, as * Euſebius tells us, happened in the caſe of St. Fabian, biſhop of Rome, in the year 236. But the biſhop, after being elected, could not be conſecrated, or confirmed in the See, without the conſent of the emperor, which was as eſſential to the ratification of it, as that of our king to the election of a biſhop, by a dean and chapter. For this reaſon, when pope Gregory I. was elected, about the year 600, he, not wiſhing to fill the pontifical chair, wrote to the emperor Mauritius, not to conſent to his election; but he refuſed, and ratified it. The emperors thus continued to watch the elections and the conduct of the popes with a vigilant and jealous eye, till the year 896, when Charles the bald reſigned to the pope all power and authority over the Roman See; and, on the extinction of the race of Charlemagne, Adrian III. made a decree, that in future the popes ſhould be elected without the emperor's conſent.

Previous to this period, the emperors maintained and exerciſed ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical affairs: † they appointed judges for religious cauſes, preſided at councils, and often, in eccleſiaſtical courts, they

* He was biſhop of Nicomedia, and died in the fourth century.

† Spanheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, p. 1102.

they depoſed biſhops that were lapſed into hereſy, and determined diſputes and ſchiſms in the church. It is remarkable, that, till this æra, the councils were denominated from the emperors, and not from the popes; becauſe their canons and ordinances were invalid, till confirmed by the former. Euſebius tells us therefore, that Conſtantine the great was called the general biſhop, from his univerſal ſupremacy over all prelates.

He alſo tells us, in his life of this emperor, (lib. 3. cap. 18.) that the fathers of the council of Nice obtained the confirmation of their decrees from Conſtantine the great; and the fathers of the council of Conſtantinople from Theodoſius the great, in the year 381, as we are told by Socrates in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

The emperors foreſaw how neceſſary it was, that the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers ſhould be united in the ſupreme executive magiſtrate, to promote and ſecure the peace and proſperity of the ſtate; and the diſcord, the ſtrife, the bloodſhed, and the various calamities which their ſeparation afterwards occaſioned, in every kingdom of Europe, proved the foreſight, the prudence, and the policy of the imperial ſovereigns. And yet the Iriſh innovators, whoſe ignorance can be equalled by nothing but their diſaffection and audacity, have treated the union of the ſpiritual and temporal power as abſurd and ridiculous.

So little idea had the Roman pontiff of ſupremacy in the fifth century, that, when there was a rivalſhip between him and the patriarch of Conſtantinople for precedence, it was reſolved by the twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon,* 451, that the ſame rights and honours which had been conferred on the biſhop of Rome, were due to the biſhop of Conſtantinople, on account of the equal dignity and luſtre of the two cities, in which they exerciſed their authority. On the cloſe of the ſixth century, Gregory I. was poſſeſſed of immenſe territories, and was in ſuch eſtimation for his piety, that he ſtands high as a ſaint in the Roman calendar; and yet he had ſo little idea of being ſupreme head of the church, that, when the biſhop of Conſtantinople

* This was a general council.

ſtantinople aſſumed that title, he declared in a letter to the emperor Mauritius, "that it was a blaſphemous title, and that none of the Roman pontiffs had ever aſſumed ſo ſingular a one." * And in a letter to the ſame patriarch, he ſays, "what wilt thou ſay to Chriſt, the head of the univerſal church, in the day of judgment, who thus endeavoureſt to ſubject his members to thyſelf, by this title of univerſal? Who, I aſk thee, doſt thou imitate in this, but the devil?" † And in a letter to the empreſs Conſtantia, he ſays, his pride, in aſſuming this title, ſhewed the days of Antichriſt were at hand. ‡ The ſame pope ſaid, "I acknowledge that a prince, having his power from God, is ſupreme over, not only the military, but the ſacerdotal power." §

Rome continued the capital of the weſtern empire, till the reign of Valentinian II. who, about the year 390, transferred it to Ravenna, for the purpoſe of being near the Alps, to oppoſe the incurſions of the northern barbarians; and afterwards, Theodorick, king of the Goths, did the like for the ſame reaſon.

As the dignity and authority of the biſhop of Ravenna were augmented by the ſplendor of the court, and the auguſt preſence of the emperor, he diſputed the primacy of Italy with the biſhop of Rome. ‖

When this ſalutary reſtraint of the emperors over the Roman pontiffs was removed, their eagle-winged ambition ſoared above the power of ſovereign princes, and often was the means of their dethronement.

That arrogant pontiff, Gregory VII. raiſed to the popedom in the year 1073, claimed and exerciſed a right of excommunicating and depoſing ſovereigns, by invoking their ſubjects to riſe in rebellion

 againſt

* Gregory's Epiſtles, lib. 4. Ind. 13, p. 137.
† Ibid. epiſt. 38.
‡ Gregory's epiſt. 34.
§ Lib. 2, epiſt. 94.

‖ This rivalſhip reminds me of the following anecdote: An itinerant friar was preaching on a ſtage in the ſtreet of Florence, with a crucifix in his hand, to a numerous audience. A mountebank erected his ſtage within a few yards of him, and, by his pleaſantry and ſallies of wit, attracted to him all the followers of the friar, who was ſoon deſerted. A mountebank in Italy goes by the appellation of punchinello. The friar, having in vain exhauſted all the force of his eloquence to induce his auditory to return, cried out in a rage, pointing to the crucifix, Ecco, il vero punchinello! Behold, the true punchinello!

againſt them. His ambitious efforts to gain an aſcendancy over the emperors, on the cloſe of the eleventh century, occaſioned the faction of the Guelphs and Gibellines in Germany and Italy, which produced numberleſs aſſaſſinations, tumults, and convulſions, and no leſs than ſixty pitched battles in the reign of Henry IV. and eighteen in that of his ſucceſſor Henry V. when the claims of the Roman pontiff finally prevailed.

The emperor, Henry IV. with the empreſs, and his children, waited three days and three nights, barefooted, at the gates of the pope's palace, for abſolution; and after all, his holineſs deprived him of his dominions, and gave them to Rodolphus, in the moſt * inſulting manner.

The following emperors experienced the effects of this ſcourge from the popes, whoſe names are annexed; and ſome of them loſt their thrones and their lives by it:

Gregory VII.	excommunicated	Henry III. -	1076
Calixtus II.	———	Henry IV. - -	1120
Adrian IV.	———	Frederick - -	1160
Calixtus III.	———	Henry V. - -	1195
Innocent III.	———	Otho IV. about - -	1209
Gregory IX.	———	Frederick II. - -	1228
Again,	———	Frederick II. - -	1239
Innocent IV.	———	Frederick II. and depoſed him,	1245

Beſides the above, a great many ſovereign princes loſt their lives and their dominions by this dreadful engine of ſuperſtition.

The popes, well knowing that they could not maintain the immenſe power, the great wealth, and the extenſive territories which they had acquired when Reaſon re-aſſumed her empire, reſolved to erect, in the boſom of every ſtate, a ſyſtem of terror, by a device, the ingenuity of which could be equalled by nothing but its monſtrous iniquity. Pope Innocent III. in the year 1215, procured the following ordinances

* He ſent a crown to Rodolph with this Leonine verſe:
"Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho."

ordinances to be paſſed by the fourth council of Lateran; and the decree of a legitimate general council, ſuch as this, has been always deemed infallible and irreverſible in the Romiſh church: "Heretics of every kind againſt the true orthodox faith ſhall be condemned; and if they ſhall not prove their innocence by a proper purgation, they ſhall be excommunicated, and their effects ſhall be confiſcated. All ſecular powers ſhall be compelled, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to take an oath to extirpate * within their reſpective territories, ſuch of their ſubjects as ſhall be condemned as hereticks by the church. But if any temporal prince ſhall refuſe to purge his territories of heretical pravity, when required to do ſo by the metropolitan and his ſuffragant biſhops, let him be excommunicated; and if he ſhall not make full ſatisfaction in one year, let it be notified to the ſovereign pontiff, that he may abſolve his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and transfer his territories to any other catholicks, who may enjoy them without contradiction, provided they exterminate all hereticks in them, and preſerve the purity of the catholick faith."

"All catholicks, who ſhall take up arms for the purpoſe of extirpating ſuch hereticks, ſhall enjoy the ſame indulgence, and the like holy privilege, with thoſe who viſited the holy land."

This means eternal ſalvation; and the reader will find, in the courſe of the late rebellion, that the ſanguinary fanaticks who embarked in it were ſure of enjoying happineſs in a future ſtate, for having riſen in arms againſt an heretical king; and that they regarded the extirpation of hereticks, as a ſacred duty which recommended them to the divine favour.

In conſequence of the commentaries made on this council, the following doctrines have been inculcated: cardinal Tolet affirmed, "that the ſubjects of an excommunicated prince are not abſolved from their oaths of allegiance, before denunciation; but, when he is denounced, they are completely ſo, and are bound not to obey him, unleſs the fear of death, or the loſs of goods, excuſe them;" which was the caſe with

* Bona fide pro viribus exterminare ſtudebunt.

the Engliſh catholicks in the reign of Henry VIII; and father Bridgewater, an Engliſh prieſt, commended this faying of the cardinal.

Father Crefwell, an Engliſh prieſt, faid, "it is the fentence of all catholicks, that fubjects are bound to expel heretical princes, by the commandment of God, the moſt ſtrict tie of conſcience, and the extreme danger of their fouls."

Suarez, a moſt learned divine, fays, "an excommunicated king may with impunity be depoſed or killed by any one." After the diabolical conſpiracy of the gunpowder plot was diſcovered and defeated, it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to provide as far as could be againſt ſuch horrible machinations, and therefore the oath of allegiance, ſupremacy and abjuration was enacted in the year 1605. Burke, in his Hibernia Dominicana, page 613, obferves, that the Romiſh divines and laymen were divided into two factions; one thought the oath reaſonable and proper, the other rejected it. To ſettle this matter, pope Paul V. iſſued two bulls, in which, under pain of damnation, he orders the oath not to be taken. King James, in a very learned treatiſe, ſupported the oath; and Suarez, in a very long and laboured work, in vain endeavoured to ſubvert the arguments of the king.

Cardinal Bellarmine ſays, "though it may be a ſin to depoſe or kill an excommunicated prince, it is no ſin if the pope commands you to do ſo; for if the pope ſhould err, by commanding ſin, or forbidding virtues, yet the church were bound to believe that the vices were good, and the virtues evil."

Azorius, highly eminent in the Romiſh church, ſays, "a catholick wife is not tied to pay her duty to an heretical huſband. The ſons of an heretical father are made ſui juris, that is, free from their father's power; and ſervants are not bound to do ſervice to ſuch maſters."

According to the decree of this council, and that of Conſtance alſo, it has been held, and the doctrine has been conſtantly carried into practice, that no faith is to be kept with hereticks; in conſequence of which, no contracts, leagues, promiſes, vows, or oaths, are ſufficient ſecurity to a proteſtant that deals with one of the church of Rome, if

if he ſhall make uſe of the liberty, which may, and is often granted to him that ſolicits it. But it is certain, that many good and conſcientious Roman catholicks ſpurn at this infamous privilege offered by the pope, and adhere to the laws of God.

Becanus ſays, there are two diſtinct tribunals, and the eccleſiaſtical is the ſuperior; and therefore, if a ſecular prince gives his ſubjects a ſafe conduct, he cannot extend it to the ſuperior tribunal.

In a council held at Vienna, Clement V. avowed and maintained, that the power of all kings depended on him: omne jus regum a ſe pendere.

Purſuant to this doctrine, the whole council of biſhops at Conſtance determined, 1415, that John Huſs ſhould be burnt, though he had been ſummoned by the emperor Sigiſmund to appear and defend the reformed religion, and had obtained a ſafe conduct from him; but the council determined that his power was ſubordinate to theirs, and, as their concurrence had not been previouſly obtained, his grant of a ſafe conduct was null and void.

It was ſtrongly contended at Worms, by all the biſhops who attended there, that Luther ſhould be burnt; but the emperor, who had given him a ſafe conduct, would not allow his good faith to be violated. It is very remarkable, that the council of Lateran, which I have quoted, made tranſubſtantiation an article of faith, and at the ſame time, treaſon and rebellion to be the duty of ſubjects.

A council held at Toledo, contains proviſions againſt hereticks exactly ſimilar to thoſe of Lateran, "that if a temporal prince ſhall neglect to purge his territories of heretical pravity, notice muſt be given to the pope, that he may thenceforth pronounce his ſubjects diſcharged of their oaths of allegiance, and give his dominions to catholicks."

The diſſimulation and cruelty of queen Mary were the reſult of theſe councils; for ſhe gave her ſubjects the ſtrongeſt aſſurance, by a declaration in council, that ſhe would permit them to purſue any ſuch religion as their conſcience ſhould dictate; but, when firmly eſtabliſhed

on

on her throne, ſhe promoted the burning of her proteſtant ſubjects, merely on account of their religion.

Human ingenuity could not form a better device, to impoſe the ſhackles of ſuperſtition on the human mind, and that univerſal domination over ſovereign princes, to which the pope aſpired, than this council; but his holineſs, knowing that he could not enforce the execution of this dreadful engine, unleſs he had a number of perſons attached to him in every ſtate, and that the battering ram, ſo ingeniouſly contrived by him, could not be worked without artificers of his own appointment, ſtruggled hard to obtain the inveſtiture of biſhops; and having ſucceeded, he laid them all under a neceſſity, at their inauguration, of taking an oath of allegiance to him, of which I give ſome paragraphs.

" The rights, privileges, and authority, of the holy Roman church, and of our Lord the pope, and his ſucceſſors, I will be careful to preſerve, defend, enlarge, and promote."

" All hereticks, ſchiſmaticks, and rebels againſt our ſaid Lord, and his ſucceſſors, I will, to the utmoſt of my power, perſecute and impugn."

From this time the biſhops became the ſpies and centinels of the Roman pontiff; and, in order to inſulate their affections, to detach them from the ſtate to which they belonged, and to engage them in the intereſt of the Holy See, he enjoined celibacy to the Popiſh clergy.

The words in the biſhops' oath of allegiance are, pro viribus perſequar et impugnabo. Some Romiſh eccleſiaſticks have contended, that the word perſequar ſignifies to proſecute by argument; but the futility of that conſtruction will appear very obvious. When Paſchal II. excommunicated the emperor Henry IV. he uſed exactly ſimilar words, in a bull directed to Robert count of Flanders: Henricum caput hæreticorum, et ejus fautores, pro viribus perſequaris et impugnes. Hoc tibi et militibus tuis precipimus. " We command you, and your ſoldiers, to perſecute and impugn Henry, the head of the hereticks."

It

It is not to be ſuppoſed that he would call upon ſoldiers to diſpel and proſtrate hereſy by ratiocination. The logick of a ſoldier lies in his arms; beſides, impugno ſignifies to attack by argument, and is put in contradiſtinction to perſecute.

The only hereſy of which he could accuſe this innocent prince was, that he oppoſed the pope's claim to the inveſtiture of biſhopricks in his dominions.

We may conceive how obedient councils muſt have been to the pope, when he procured this ſentence to be firſt voted and ratified by a council held 1102.

Cicero, in his fourth oration againſt Catiline, uſes the word perſequar in the ſenſe which I contend for. "Atque illo tempore, hujus avus Lentuli, clariſſimus vir, armatus, Gracchum eſt perſecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit. Perſequor and perſecutio are words appropriated by eccleſiaſtical writers to expreſs the bloody cruelties exerciſed on chriſtians by heathen princes. After enumerating thirty-four under the Roman emperors, they reckon ten under Antichriſt, to which they might have added hundreds under the popes.

Raymond, count of Thouloufe, was the firſt ſovereign prince againſt whom this dreadful engine was levelled. Part of his ſubjects called the Albigenſes and Waldenſes, happened to obtain, about the cloſe of the twelfth century, a tranſlation of ſome parts of the New Teſtament; and becauſe they endeavoured to conform their tenets and practices to the light of the Goſpel, which was obviouſly repugnant to popery, they were excommunicated by the pope; and becauſe Raymond refuſed to perſecute them, he was deprived of his dominions by the orders of his holineſs, who invoked his ſubjects to riſe in rebellion againſt him, by a promiſe of eternal ſalvation; and Simon de Mountfort, whom he nominated general of the cruſade, was inveſted with the dominions of Raymond, by Innocent III. at the council of Lateran. It is univerſally allowed, that nearly one million of theſe innocent people were extirpated by the ſword and the gibbet, in conformity to the decree of that council.

It was on that occaſion that the bloody court of inquiſition was eſtabliſhed, and the ſuperintendance of it was committed to the dominican friars, by Gregory IX. in the year 1233.

In conſequence of the oath which biſhops were obliged to take at their inſtallation, obviouſly repugnant to the fidelity which they owed their reſpective ſovereigns, William Rufus told archbiſhop Anſelm, that he could not preſerve his allegiance to the pope, and his temporal ſovereign, at the ſame time; * and cardinal De Retz tells us, in his Memoires, that the Pariſians, for the ſame reaſon, objected to the miniſtry of cardinal Mazarine.

In that ſavage ſcene of butchery, the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, planned with all the coolneſs of deliberation, five hundred gentlemen, and ten thouſand perſons of inferior rank, were maſſacred in one night at Paris alone, and great numbers in the provinces, becauſe they were proteſtants. † The Roman pontiff, on hearing it, expreſſed great joy; announced that the cardinals ſhould return thanks to the Almighty for ſo ſignal an advantage obtained for the Holy See, and that a jubilee ſhould be obſerved all over Chriſtendom. ‡ Sixtus V. excommunicated Henry III. of France, as a heretick, becauſe he, contrary to his Holineſs's orders, ſpared the blood of his proteſtant ſubjects; and he granted nine years indulgence to ſuch of his ſubjects, as would bear arms againſt him; upon which Jacque Clement, a friar, aſſaſſinated him with ſingular treachery.

In a publick conſiſtory held at Rome, the pope, in a long premeditated ſpeech, applauded the virtue and the firmneſs of the holy friar; declaring, that his fervent zeal towards God, ſurpaſſed even that of Judith and Eleazer; and that this aſſaſſination was brought about by divine providence. §

Henry III. left his kingdom by will to Henry IV. to whom alſo it devolved by hereditary right; but the Pariſians, having conſulted the doctors of the Sorbonne on his claim, they declared that his title was inadmiſſible,

* Speed, 441, 442.

† Thuanus, lib. 63, ſec. 14.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. vol. 4. page 767, 768.

inadmiſſible, becauſe he had been excommunicated, and excluded from ſucceeding to it by the Holy See. They pronounced that thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt him would be damned, and they promiſed eternal happineſs to thoſe who ſhould oppoſe him, even to the ſhedding of blood, "uſque ad effuſionem ſanguinis." *

The bull fulminated againſt this amiable prince by Sixtus V. 1585, begins thus: "The authority given to St. Peter and his ſucceſſors, by the immenſe power of the eternal King, excels all the powers of earthly kings: it paſſes uncontrolable ſentence upon them all."

Henry, though endued with the moſt ſhining virtues, was, after two attempts to murder him, aſſaſſinated at Paris by Ravaillac. He was twice depoſed by Gregory XIV. and once by Clement VIII. as a favourer of hereticks. †

In the year 1538, pope Paul III. iſſued a bull of excommunication and depoſition againſt Henry VIII. becauſe he declared himſelf, and not the pope, to be head of the church of England:—A right which both the Saxon and Norman monarchs had always aſſerted, and which had been indiſputably eſtabliſhed by various acts of parliament, from the time of Edward the Confeſſor, to the reign of Henry VIII. for the laws of the latter do not contain ſtronger proviſions againſt papal encroachments, than thoſe of Edward I. and Richard II.

The bull of excommunication and depoſition which Pius V. denounced againſt queen Elizabeth begins thus:

"He that reigneth on high, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, hath committed the one holy catholick and apoſtolick church, out of which there is no ſalvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apoſtles, and to the Roman pontiff, ſucceſſor of St. Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power. This one he hath conſtituted prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, deſtroy, diſſipate, overturn, plant, and build." For the many conſpiracies to murder queen Elizabeth, as a heretick, and ſome of them by the expreſs orders of the pope, I ſhall refer the reader to Speed, Rapin, and Hume. I ſhall mention but one. Two

 prieſts

* Thuanus, lib. 93, ſec. 19.

† Spond. tom. 2. p. 868.

prieſts of the name of Parſons and Campion, who conſpired to murder that princeſs, obtained for themſelves, and all the papiſts in England, a diſpenſation from the rigorous obſervation of the bull fulminated by pope Pius V. againſt her. They were allowed by it to appear obedient and reſpectful to her, until their party was ſtrong enough to riſe againſt her. It ends thus: "The higheſt pontiff granted the foreſaid graces to fathers Robert Parſons and Edward Campion, who are now to take their way to England, the fourteenth of April, 1586; * but theſe holy fathers, very fortunately for England, could not ſucceed in their pious deſign, for they were detected, arreſted, and hanged.

The popes, well knowing that riches are the ſinews of power, adopted the following expedient to fill their treaſury, by a conſtant and never-failing revenue. Having firſt eſtabliſhed the doctrine of purgatory, and the pains and torments attending it, the deluded ſectaries of the Roman pontiff had recourſe to him to be relieved from their terrors.

Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, an eminent Romiſh divine, ſays, that indulgences were not neceſſary in the firſt ages of the church; and that they were not deviſed till the people were frightened with the torments of purgatory.

Moſt of the ſchoolmen confeſs, that the uſe of indulgences began in the time of pope Alexander III. towards the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century; and from that period, till the folly and iniquity of them occaſioned the reformation, the ſale of them was a fruitful ſource of wealth to the popes.

They alſo inflicted penalties on the commiſſion of ſin, ſuch as rigorous faſts, bodily pains and mortifications, long and frequent prayers, and pilgrimages to the tombs of ſaints and martyrs; and as theſe penalties could be commuted or diſpenſed with for money, thoſe who choſe to lead voluptuous lives, and to continue in a courſe of licentious pleaſure, embraced this new mode of expiation. †

At length the remiſſion of ſins became ſo ſyſtematick, and ſuch a conſtant and regular ſource of revenue to the Holy See, that they were reduced to a ſchedule, in a book of rates, with the ſums correſponding

* Speed, 871.

† Muratori, de redemptione peccatorum in antiqui. Italiæ medii ſeculi.

ing for which they were to be remitted. Of this work, entitled, "The taxes of the Romiſh Chancery," different editions were publiſhed for the uſe of Roman catholick ſtates: one at Rome by Marcellus Silber in 1514: one at Cologne in 1515: three at Paris in 1520, 1545, 1625: one at Venice, in the ſixth volume of the Oceanus Juris in 1523. The proteſtant princes publiſhed one among their reaſons for rejecting the council of Trent. *

The reader may judge of this extraordinary work by the following ſhort extracts:

"A nun having committed fornication ſeveral times, ſhall be abſolved, and enabled to hold the dignities of her order, even that of abbeſs, on paying 39 livres tournois, and 9 ducats."

"The abſolution of him who has defloured a virgin, gr. 6."

"The abſolution of a clerk for all acts of fornication with a nun, within or without the limits of the nunnery, or with his relations in affinity or conſanguinity, or with any woman whatſoever, 36 livres." †

The Roman pontiff very wiſely gave great latitude to the clergy, as they were prohibited from marrying.

When celibacy (a doctrine juſtly reprobated in the ſcriptures, and refuted by the practice of the apoſtles, all of whom were married men, except Paul and John; a doctrine peculiarly unfit for the church of Rome to teach, their founder, as they term him, and prince of the apoſtles, as they ridiculouſly call him, having exploded it by his example, ‡) was firſt enforced in England, the biſhops conſtantly granted licenſes to the parochial clergy to keep concubines, leſt they might run into licentiouſneſs with the wives and daughters of their pariſhioners.

Excluſive ſalvation, a doctrine invented by the artful policy of the Roman pontiff, for the purpoſe of encouraging proſelytes to his church, and for ſecuring thoſe who were already within its pale, has been a fruitful ſource of diſcord and rebellion in many countries in Europe.

* Heidegger myſter. Babyloniæ, tom. 2. p. 350.

† Every crime that human depravity can commit, is inſerted in this book.

‡ Peter's *wife*'s mother was ſick of a fever. Matt. viii. 14. And Simon's *wife*'s mother was ſick of a fever. Mark i. 30. And Simon's *wife*'s mother, &c. Luke iv. 38.—See alſo, on this ſubject, St. Paul's epiſtle to 1 Timothy iii. 2. and 8, 11, and Hebrews xiii. 4.

It is not only contrary to the doctrine of the ſcriptures, but repugnant to the moral and phyſical perfections of the Deity, ſubverſive of his attributes of wiſdom, juſtice, and mercy, which are the main pillars of the divine adminiſtration; and it is likely to end in atheiſm, and has already produced all its baneful effects; for any perſon who can be brought to debaſe and diſparage the Almighty ſo much, as to aſſert that he is ſo unwiſe, ſo unjuſt, and ſo unmerciful, as to ordain, that a very ſmall portion of his creatures ſhall enjoy eternal happineſs, and that the remainder ſhall be doomed to eternal puniſhment, becauſe they differ from them in a few trifling ceremonies and tenets, will ſoon probably become atheiſts.

This doctrine, which narrows the channels of infinite mercy, ſets bounds to omnipotence, and teaches that there is but one road that leads to the heavenly city, engenders in the lower claſs of people, an uncharitable averſion, a cruel and unrelenting ſpirit of perſecution, againſt proteſtants, which manifeſted itſelf in a moſt flagrant manner during the late rebellion. In ſhort, nothing but fanaticiſm, kindled by this doctrine, could have enabled the leaders of rebellion, and the Iriſh prieſts, to invoke the popiſh multitude to riſe againſt their ſovereign and their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, which they did with as much zeal as the Cruſaders ſhewed againſt the Saracens. We ſhall find the pope's ſupremacy, and excluſive ſalvation, with all the ramifications of new-fangled doctrines which have branched out from them, eminently conſpicuous in the late rebellion.

Boniface VIII. in the year 1294, boldly aſſerts the latter. "We declare, ſay, define, and pronounce it to be neceſſary to ſalvation, for every human creature to be ſubject to the Roman pontiff." *

Human vanity has been ſuch in all ages, that ſtateſmen, warriors, poets, hiſtorians, and divines, have thought their own works and achievements the beſt. Cicero in his epiſtles to Atticus makes the following obſervation on this, Καθολικον θεωρημα, nemo unquam, neque poeta neque orator fuit, qui quenquam meliorem quam ſe arbitraretur. Epiſt. 14, 20. Adhuc neminem cognovi poetam, et mihi fuit cum Aquinio (id

* In extrava. v. com. lib. 1. tit. 38.

(id eſt) deterrimo amicitia, qui ſibi non optimo videretur. Tuſcul. 5. 22.

Juvenal, the latin poet, mentions two towns in Arabia, near the Iſthmus of Suez, Ombos and Tentyra, between the inhabitants of which this ridiculous doctrine maintained mutual and implacable hatred.

" Dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit ævo,
" Inter finitimas, vetus atque antiqua ſimultas,
" Immortale odium et nunquam ſanabile vulnus,
" Ardet huc Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrinque,
" Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum,
" Odit uterque locus; cum ſolos credat habendos,
" Eſſe deos, quos ipſe colit."

Eternal hate, unmitigated rage,
And bigot fury, burn from age to age;
Each ſcorns his neighbour's god, aſſerts his own,
And thinks ſalvation works for him alone.

Mahomet inculcates the ſame doctrine in the Koran, and it produces the moſt intolerant and ſanguinary principles between his votaries, and other religioniſts.

Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, cenſures the poets for being guilty of the ſame abſurdity; " for though, at times, they aſcribe to the gods that degree of happineſs and ſerenity which is agreeable to their divine and immortal nature, yet, on other occaſions, they aſſert that they are ſubject to anger, enmity, and other paſſions, which are unworthy even of men, who have any underſtanding." *

When theſe doctrines occaſioned the dethronement, and the murder of ſo many princes, the maſſacre of the Albigenſes and Waldenſes in the thirteenth century, that of the proteſtants at Paris in the ſixteenth, the extermination of many thouſands of them in the Low Countries, the expulſion of the Moors from Spain, the perſecution of the Vaudois in the king of Sardinia's dominions, we cannot be ſurpriſed that they ſhould

* God's partial, changeful, paſſionate, unjuſt,
Whoſe attributes were rage, revenge, or luſt. POPE.

ſhould have produced ſo many rebellions in Ireland, as her inhabitants have been plunged in the moſt abject ignorance, and have been blindly devoted to their prieſts.

Accordingly we find that kingdom involved in one ſcene of inteſtine diſorder during a period of forty-one years, from the year 1567, to the year 1603, occaſioned by the interference of the Roman pontiff, and the fermentation of popery. The rebellions of that period may be divided as follows:

1ſt. In 1567, Shane O'Neil raiſed a notable one in Ulſter, merely in hatred to the Engliſh; and he erected a caſtle on Loughneagh, which he named Feogenall, which ſignifies, in Iriſh, the hatred of the Engliſh. His forces were routed and diſperſed by ſir Henry Sidney.

2d. In 1569, the Fitz-Geralds of Munſter raiſed one, in which the Byrnes, Tooles and Cavenaghs joined; but they were ſubdued by ſir William Drury, and were all attainted the twenty-ſeventh and twenty-eighth of Elizabeth.

James Fitz-Gerald publiſhed a manifeſto in juſtification of this rebellion, in which, he ſaid, it was for the glory of God, and of Chriſt, whoſe ſacraments the hereticks deny; for the glory of the catholick church, which the hereticks falſely aſſert was not known for many ages.

3d. In 1595, Hugh O'Neil raiſed a rebellion, which laſted till the end of Elizabeth's reign.

It was called Tyrone's rebellion, and branched out into three different civil wars, according to Borlaſe.

4th. On the acceſſion of James I. the citizens of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, and Wexford, denied his title, and attacked ſo furiouſly the perſons who went to proclaim him, that they narrowly eſcaped with their lives. They openly avowed, that they oppoſed his acceſſion for no other reaſon, than that he was not a catholick; but they were ſoon brought to obedience by lord Mountjoy.

5th. Within four years after, Tyrone and O'Donnell conſpired with Maguire, Cormack O'Neil, lord Delvin, O'Cahan, and others, to raiſe a rebellion, but were prevented by the lord deputy Chicheſter, in 1607, and an act of attainder paſſed againſt them.

6th. In

6th. In 1608, ſir Cahir O'Dogherty's civil war, raiſed principally by the prieſts, laſted no longer than five months; but it was bloody and deſtructive while it continued, and was accompanied with ſhocking inſtances of cruelty and treachery on his part.

Previous to the reign of queen Elizabeth, the aboriginal Iriſh bore a moſt unrelenting hatred againſt thoſe of Engliſh blood; but on the Reformation, popery became a firm bond of union amongſt them, and inſpired them with inextinguiſhable rancour againſt proteſtants in general; and it is remarkable, that the natives of Engliſh blood became more ſtubborn and inveterate rebels after that period, than the primitive Iriſh.

Francis I. deſirous to embarraſs Henry VIII. reſolved to raiſe ſome commotions in Ireland; and for that purpoſe he, in the year 1523, opened a negociation with the earl of Deſmond, whom he found ready to co-operate with him againſt his liege ſovereign.

In 1539, the popiſh clergy engaged O'Neil as their champion, and to this he was encouraged by pope Paul. This rebellion was ſubdued by lord Grey. In 1545, O'Neil, O'Donnell, and the other Iriſh chiefs, offered Ireland to the French king, provided the pope conſented to it; and the propoſal was ſo flattering, that the king ſent over John de Montluc, biſhop of Valence, to enquire more minutely into the buſineſs. In 1568, the confederate rebels of Munſter implored the aid of the pope and the king of Spain, through their ambaſſadors, the titular biſhops of Caſhel and Emly; in 1570, they prevailed on pope Paul V. to iſſue a bull, declaring queen Elizabeth deprived of her crown, and abſolving her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance; which bull was confirmed by the popes Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.

But the ſovereign pontiffs contributed ſomething more ſubſtantial than bulls to ſeparate Ireland from England; for in 1579, the two jeſuits, Allen and Saunders, diſappointed in their application to the king of France, obtained large ſums of money from the pope and the king of Spain, with which they excited a rebellion in Munſter. In 1595, O'Neil, otherwiſe Tyrone, made an offer of Ireland to the king

king of Spain, if he aſſiſted him with men and money, and began an alarming rebellion. The lords juſtices wrote to queen Elizabeth, "that an univerſal Iriſh rebellion was intended, to ſhake off all Engliſh government." To the ſame purpoſe the earl of Eſſex, in his letter to the queen declares, that, "in their rebellion they have no other end but to ſhake off the yoke of obedience to her majeſty, and to root out all remembrance of the Engliſh nation in this kingdom: I ſay this, adds he, of the people in general."

In her reign, a declaration of the divines of Salamanca and Valladolid was diſperſed through Ireland by O'Sullivan, a Spaniſh prieſt; in which they maintained the pope's ſupremacy, both in temporals and ſpirituals; and that no oath could bind the faithful to hereticks. They approved of the former rebellions which were raiſed in Ireland, and they encouraged the Iriſh to oppoſe the title of an heretical prince; and yet the Roman catholicks of England in the year 1789, obtained, and publiſhed the opinions of thoſe univerſities, and thoſe of Paris, Doway, Louvain, and Alcala, that they did not admit ſuch to be doctrines of the Roman catholick church. *

This was done with a deſign of clearing themſelves from the odium of maintaining ſuch infamous tenets; and it is moſt certain, that they deſerved the admiration and the applauſe of every Britiſh ſubject, for the bold and unequivocal manner in which they renounced them, and vindicated the purity of their principles, notwithſtanding the inhibitions and menaces of their biſhops. In the reign of Charles I. 1626, pope Urban VIII. exhorted the Iriſh, by a bull, to loſe their lives, ſooner than ſubmit to the wicked and peſtilent oath of ſupremacy, by which the ſceptre of the Catholick church was wreſted from the vicar of God Almighty; and yet ſuch blaſphemy had the deſired effect on the ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude!

In the diſtracted reign of Charles I. the popiſh lords, prelates, and clergy, and popiſh deputies, choſen by ſeveral counties and towns in the different provinces, aſſembled at Kilkenny, regulated all their proceedings with the forms and ſolemnity of parliament, and bound themſelves

* The Iriſh Roman catholicks publiſhed the opinions of theſe univerſities in Dublin in 1792.

ſelves by oath, " that they would obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, or to be made, by the ſupreme council of the confederate catholicks of the kingdom; that they would not ſeek directly or indirectly any pardon or protection for any act to be done touching the general cauſe; and that they would not accept or ſubmit unto any peace, made or to be made, with the ſaid confederate catholicks, without the conſent thereof;" and by the preamble to ſaid oath it appears, that it muſt have been adminiſtered univerſally.

" Whereas it is requiſite, that there ſhould be an unanimous conſent, and real union, between all the catholicks of this realm." *

Their prelates enjoined all the prieſts to adminiſter an oath of aſſociation to their pariſhioners, and to raiſe ſubſcriptions amongſt them.

The chief object which they profeſſed, was, to maintain inviolable the rights and immunities of the Roman catholick faith; and they ſo far ſucceeded in reſtoring popery, on the ruins of the proteſtant church, that the confederates wrote to the pope in 1644, " that their religion was publickly practiſed according to the Romiſh ritual; that moſt of the biſhops were in poſſeſſion of the cathedrals, the prieſts of the pariſhes; and that many of the convents were reſtored to the monks." †

After various negotiations they made peace with the duke of Ormond, but not until they had obtained the free exerciſe of their religion, and many other important privileges.

Rinuncini, the pope's nuncio, a turbulent fanatic, who was then in Ireland, exclaimed loudly againſt the peace, and denounced the terrors of excommunication againſt ſuch perſons as ſhould adhere to it, unleſs it was framed and approved of by the pope, and unleſs they obtained an immediate, a complete and ſplendid eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh worſhip and hierarchy.

But finding them determined not to comply with his very unreaſonable wiſhes, and that they were reſolved to accept of the indulgent and conciliating offers of the duke, he, in a ſpeech to the confederates

* Their combination cemented by an oath reſembled that of the united Iriſhmen.

† Burke Hibernica Dominicana, appendix, page 876.

at Kilkenny, recommended fidelity, firſt to God and their religion, * and next to the king, by which they meant the pope and their own clergy; and they were always taught, that their attachment to them ſhould ſuperſede and predominate over their allegiance to a proteſtant ſtate.

He ſent a copy of his ſpeech to Rome, and in return was ſeverely reprimanded by cardinal Pamfilio; and the following reaſons were aſſigned for it: "That the Holy See never would, by any poſitive act, approve the civil allegiance which catholicks pay to an heretical prince; and the diſpleaſure of the court of Rome was the greater, as he had depoſited a copy of his ſpeech with the council of Kilkenny, which, if publiſhed, would furniſh hereticks with arguments againſt the papal authority over heretical princes, when the pope's own miniſter ſhould exhort catholicks to be faithful to ſuch a king.

Rinuncini, after he had ſeparated from, and excommunicated the confederates, put himſelf at the head of a body called the general aſſembly, conſiſting of ſome of their biſhops, peers and commoners, and a number of the common herd of papiſts, who were entirely at the devotion of this furious fanatick; and ſuch was the religious rancour which he infuſed into them, that they offered to treat with the members of Cromwell's government, ſooner than ſubmit to the royal authority. Nicholas French, the titular biſhop of Ferns, a zealous partizan of the nuncio, and a virulent enemy of a proteſtant government, was earneſt for this treaty, which had been entered upon with ſome of Ireton's agents. How exactly do the circumſtances of the preſent times reſemble thoſe of that period, when the Iriſh Roman catholicks ſhewed an earneſt deſire to renounce their allegiance to, and overturn the government of their preſent amiable ſovereign, through whoſe interceſſion almoſt the whole of the penal laws have been repealed, and a college has been erected for the education of their clergy; and this with a deſign

* By this doctrine the prieſthood have made the temporal power ſubſervient to the ſacerdotal, and we find it ſtrongly inculcated in the paſtoral letters of doctors Troy and Huſſey. According to this, John Huſs was burnt in 1415, contrary to the emperor's wiſhes; and James II. was induced to violate his coronation oath, in attempting to overturn the proteſtant religion.

a deſign of connecting themſelves with a ſet of blood-ſtained monſters, who murdered their king, and would wiſh to dethrone their God!

At laſt, ſuch was their enthuſiaſtick virulence againſt the government of a proteſtant king, that they ſent Nicholas French to the duke of Lorraine, to invite him to accept of the ſovereignty of the kingdom, and they ſigned a treaty with him, by which he was, in effect, completely inveſted with it, as far as their power could extend.

Carte, in his life of the duke of Ormond, b. 3. 155, mentions another conſpiracy for a general riſing in the year 1634. It was diſcovered by Emer Mac Mahon, afterwards titular biſhop of Clogher, to ſir G. Radcliffe, on a general aſſurance of pardon; and he acknowledged, that the conſpirators were to have received aſſiſtance from abroad, and that he had been employed many years in ſoliciting aſſiſtance from foreign courts to carry on the buſineſs for the good of religion.

The earl of Strafford, viceroy at that time, a great and wiſe miniſter, without alarming the nation, or driving the party concerned in it by their fears into open rebellion, engaged the Engliſh miniſters abroad to watch the practices of the Iriſh in foreign courts, and to baffle their ſchemes.

Carte imputes the rebellions in Ireland to the Iriſh prieſts on the ſcore of religion, and to the hopes of the old proprietors to recover the forfeited eſtates; * and it muſt be allowed, that while the latter have this in contemplation, and the maſs of the natives retain their hatred to England, *no parallel can be drawn between the Roman catholicks of Ireland, and thoſe of any other ſtate.*

When James II. arrived in Ireland, the popiſh parliament which he aſſembled, propoſed, by an act, to make it independent of England; but having a ſtrong hope of remounting the Engliſh throne, he heſitated to give his aſſent to it, on which they reſolved to renounce him and his cauſe; for they ſent to him, Nagle, a rigid papiſt, whom he had made attorney general, to inform him, that they could do without him.

* Life of the duke of Ormond, b. 3.

In ſhort, ſuch was their inextinguiſhable hatred to a connexion with England, that, though he attempted a complete extirpation of proteſtantiſm, by attainting every proteſtant landholder in Ireland, and by reſtoring their property to the old proprietors, and promiſed that the popiſh religion ſhould predominate there, they would not be ſatisfied, without a total ſeparation from England. Mr. Macpherſon very properly obſerves, " that James ſoon found, that he was not maſter of his own kingdom."

Some perſons have endeavoured to palliate the horrors and atrocities committed during the rebellion of 1641, by imputing it to various cauſes of provocation, without conſidering that the pope's interference was the chief cauſe of inciting it. For, beſides the bull iſſued by pope Urban in 1628, the ſame pontiff during the exiſtence of that dreadful civil war, the better to inflame his votaries, fulminated another, containing the following paragraphs: " In imitation of their godly and worthy anceſtors, to endeavour, by force, to deliver their thralled nation from the oppreſſions and grievous injuries of the hereticks, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted and heavily burthened; and gallantly do in them what lieth, to extirpate, and totally root out thoſe workers of iniquity, who, in this kingdom of Ireland, had infected, and were always ſtriving to infect, the maſs of catholick purity, with the peſtiferous leaven of heretical contagion."

Mr. Edmund Burke ſeriouſly intended to have written a hiſtory of that rebellion, for no other purpoſe but to vindicate the Roman catholicks from the odium which they brought on themſelves by it.

Lord chief juſtice Lowther, in his ſpeech at the opening of the court, on the trial of ſir Phelim O'Neil, one of the leaders of rebellion in 1641, ſtated that the following privileges were enjoyed by the Roman catholicks previous to its eruption. " That beſides the licentious freedom of their Romiſh ſuperſtition, they had their titular archbiſhops for every province, their titular biſhop, with his dean and chapter, for every dioceſe, and their ſecular prieſt for every pariſh in the land; beſides their abbots, priors, monks, nuns, jeſuits, friars, monaſteries, nunneries, and other religious houſes, and convents in the principal cities

cities and towns of the land, even in the city of Dublin, the reſidence of the ſtate; ſo that father Harris, a ſecular prieſt of their own, publiſhed in print, that it was as hard to find what number of friars were in Dublin, as to count how many frogs there were in the ſecond plague of Egypt."

"Beſides the exerciſe of their ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies, they had alſo papal juriſdiction, as by law they had vicars general, and kept their provincial courts and conſiſtories, and excommunicated the people, delivering them unto ſatan. Their lawyers, ſheriffs, and juſtices of the peace were not required to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, which were not diſpenſed with as to proteſtants; and all theſe popiſh lawyers, prieſts, jeſuits, and friars, were the principal incendiaries and fire-brands in the rebellion; and the publick burthens and charges of the commonwealth were more borne by the proteſtants than by them, in proportion to their numbers, and the quality of poſſeſſors of inheritance."

"And of the ſubſidy granted in the tenth Charles I. whereof the Roman catholicks raiſed ſo great a clamour, both in England and Ireland, the proteſtants paid above one-third part of the whole, beſides the clergy; though neither the quantity or quality of lands of inheritance, then holden of them in the land, did amount to more than a fifth part; and beſides all this, the proteſtants had contributed to the charge of their committees, towards the obtaining grace, in bounties, in ſending commiſſioners for them. They were made earls, viſcounts, lords, baronets, and knights; enjoying all this and much more, without any provocation to riſe up ſuddenly to this height of cruelty, and to murder many thouſand proteſtants, that lived peaceably and friendly with them, before they could take up arms for their defence, made the ſins of murder, violence, and cruelty, unmeaſurably ſinful and deteſtable."

Borlaſe adds, "that they were elected knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, in parliament: they enjoyed their religion without control, while proteſtants, diſſenting from the church of England, were often ſummoned before the biſhop's court: juſtice was equally adminiſtered to the Britiſh

Britiſh and Iriſh; duties and taxes were levied without diſtinction; all private animoſities were ſuppreſſed; all antient grudges were removed; and, in all outward appearance, they lived ſo affectionately intermixed together, that they could not be eſteemed two nations in one kingdom."

But we cannot be at a loſs for the real ſource of the rebellion, when Walſh, the franciſcan friar, tells us at large, of a printed book, written by Mac Mahon an Iriſh jeſuit, inculcating the lawfulneſs of killing, not only all the proteſtants, but even ſuch of the Roman catholick Iriſh, as ſhould ſtand for the crown of England, and the rights of the king to Ireland.

There have been various opinions as to the number of proteſtants maſſacred in the rebellion of 1641. Mr. Carte, an able and judicious hiſtorian, after examining them with the utmoſt candour, coincides with ſir William Petty, who makes them amount to thirty-ſeven thouſand, in his Political Anatomy; and as he was well ſkilled in calculation, and had ſurveyed the whole kingdom, ſoon after that dreadful event happened, it is probable that his account was accurate.

In the year 1729, the popiſh biſhops of Ireland applied for, and obtained, a bull from the pope, to raiſe money by the ſale of indulgences, to be ſpeedily applied to reſtore James III. to his right, and to put his majeſty George II. and all the royal family to the ſword. The whole of this plot is to be found in the ſixth volume of the journals of the houſe of commons, page 342.

It appears that a number of popiſh prelates and other eccleſiaſticks, being aſſembled at the houſe of Teigue Mc. Carthy, alias Rabagh, titular biſhop of Cork, Conner Keefe, biſhop of Limerick, preſented a letter to the ſaid Mc. Carthy, from doctor Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, informing him, that his holineſs the pope, had at laſt complied with the requeſt of the Iriſh archbiſhops and biſhops, in granting them an indulgence for the above purpoſe.

The purport of the bull was this: "That every communicant duly confeſſing, and receiving the ſacrament on the patron days of every reſpective pariſh, and every Sunday, from the firſt day of May to September, having repeated the Lord's prayer five times, and once the apoſtles

apoſtles creed, and upon paying two pence each time, was to have a plenary indulgence for his ſins; and all approved confeſſors had full power to abſolve in all caſes, with intent that God would ſpeedily place James III. on the throne of England. Every pariſh prieſt was to pay 5l. towards this fund, and was to account upon oath for the collection of it; and the pretender had an agent in each province to collect it."

Some of the papers of theſe traitors were diſcovered, and ſeized, by which the conſpiracy was detected. *

* See the journals before cited.

ORIGIN

ORIGIN OF THE WHITE BOYS.

IN the year 1759, and under the adminiſtration of the duke of Bedford, an alarming ſpirit of inſurgency appeared in the South of Ireland, which manifeſted itſelf by the numerous and frequent riſings of the lower claſs of Roman catholicks, dreſſed in white uniforms, whence they were denominated white boys; but they were encouraged, and often headed, by perſons of their own perſuaſion of ſome conſideration. They were armed with guns, ſwords, and piſtols, of which they plundered proteſtants, and they marched through the country, in military array, preceded by the muſick of bag-pipes, or the ſounding of horns. In their nocturnal perambulations, they enliſted, or preſſed into their ſervice every perſon of their own religion, who was capable of ſerving them, and bound them by oaths of ſecrecy, of fidelity and obedience to their officers; and thoſe officers were bound by oaths of allegiance to the French king, and prince Charles the pretender to the crown of England, which appeared by the confeſſion and the informations of ſeveral of the inſurgents, ſome of whom were convicted of high treaſon, and various other crimes. The pretext they made uſe of for riſing and aſſembling was, to redreſs the following grievances: the illegal encloſure of commons, the extortion of tythe proctors, and the exorbitant fees exacted by their own clergy, though it appeared that they were deeply concerned in encouraging and fomenting them, in the commiſſion of outrages.

They committed dreadful barbarities on ſuch perſons as heſitated to obey their mandates, or refuſed to join in their confederacy; they cut out their tongues, amputated their noſes or ears; they made them ride many miles in the night on horſeback, naked, or bare-backed; they buried them naked, in graves lined with furze, up to their chins; they plundered and often burned houſes; they houghed and maimed cattle; they ſeized arms, and horſes, which they rode about the country, and levied money, at times even in the day. I ſhall refer the reader

to

to Appendix, No. I. for their deſigns and practices. They reſembled the modern defenders in every reſpect, except in the title which they aſſumed; and their object was exactly the ſame, that of ſubverting the conſtitution, and ſeparating Ireland from England, with the aſſiſtance of France.

Theſe miſcreants became ſo formidable in many parts of the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter, that many laws, which I ſhall explain in the ſequel, were enacted for their ſuppreſſion.

In the year 1762, the marquis of Drogheda was ſent to command a large diſtrict in the province of Munſter, and made Clogheen in the county of Tipperary his head-quarters, at that time much diſturbed by the white boys, who uſed to aſſemble in bodies of from five hundred to two thouſand.

On the night of the day on which he arrived at Clogheen, a number of white boys, well armed and headed by father Nicholas Sheehy, aſſembled cloſe to that town, and were on the point of attacking it, which induced his lordſhip to double the guard. From this, the inhabitants of it, having a ſuſpicion that he was going to march out againſt the inſurgents, father Doyle, pariſh prieſt of Ardfinnan, (alluded to in the information of David Landregin, Appendix, No. I. 2.) after having expoſtulated with them on the danger of aſſaulting the town, went to lord Drogheda, pale and trembling with fear, aſſured his lordſhip that his garriſon was in no danger, and beſought him not to march out againſt the inſurgents. I received this information from the marquis himſelf, and it correſponds exactly with the depoſition of Landregin.

His lordſhip's regiment killed great numbers of them in that and the adjacent country; and he aſſured me, that French money was found in the pockets of ſome of them.

His lordſhip, during his reſidence there, took the famous father Nicholas Sheehy, who was afterwards hanged at Clonmel. He had been a noted leader of the white boys, and incited them to commit murder, and various outrages; and yet his memory is held in ſuch veneration by the popiſh multitude, and the clay of his tomb is ſuppoſed to be endued with ſuch ſupernatural powers, that various miraculous

* There is a groſs miſrepreſentation of theſe inſurgents in the Encyclopædia Britannica, under the title of Ireland, printed by James Moore in College-green, in the year 1792.

cures are imputed to it; in conſequence of which, it is in ſuch requeſt among the popiſh rabble, that the ſexton of the church, where his body is interred, is obliged very often to renew it.

The marquis of Drogheda took, in the caſtle of Cahir, the domeſtick chaplain of the then lord Cahir, who conſtantly reſided with his lordſhip, on ſerious charges againſt him for high treaſon.

It is moſt certain, that the white boy ſyſtem was at firſt formed to co-operate with the French, who meditated an invaſion of Ireland under Conflans; but when that was defeated, and even during a time of profound peace, the barbarous rabble, free from all moral reſtraint, elate with the hope of plunder, and fraught with diſaffection to a proteſtant ſtate, continued to commit the moſt horrid enormities in many parts of Leinſter and Munſter, for above twenty-five years after.

John Twohy ſtates in his information, that they began to enliſt men for the French ſo early as the year 1756. See Appendix, No. I. 7.

At firſt they were headed, marſhalled, and diſciplined, by officers who had ſerved in the Iriſh brigades, in the French ſervice; but when peace was concluded, their leaders conſiſted of popiſh farmers and perſons in a mean ſituation.

Mr. Conway, an Iriſh Roman catholick gentleman reſident at Paris, uſed to remit money to them, on the part and by orders of the French government; and ſome popiſh merchants of the province of Munſter, who received and diſtributed it among the inſurgents, were afterwards members of the Catholick committee in 1792.

In the year 1762, they committed ſuch dreadful exceſſes in the South of Ireland, that ſir Richard Aſton, lord chief juſtice of the common pleas, was ſent down with a ſpecial commiſſion to try them; and the miſtaken lenity which he ſhewed them in the courſe of his circuit was ſuch, that it encouraged them to perſevere in the commiſſion of enormities for ſome years after.

The late earl of Carrick and the reverend Mr. Hewetſon in the county of Kilkenny, ſir Thomas Maude, baronet, afterwards lord De Montalt, William Bagwell and John Bagenall, eſquires, of the county of Tipperary, took a very active part in ſuppreſſing the white boys, for which they were as much traduced and vilified, as the orangemen, yeomen,

yeomen, and all loyal ſubjects who endeavoured to put down the defenders.

The grand jury of the county of Dublin were ſo much incenſed at this, that they voted an addreſs of thanks, Appendix I. 6. to the earl of Carrick and thoſe gentlemen, for their ſpirited and laudable exertions. It appears by the examination of David Landregin, (Appendix, No. I. 2.) that a party of white boys took a ſolemn oath, in the town of Clonmel, to aſſaſſinate the earl of Carrick and the other gentlemen.

As Mr. Edmund Burke, who always ſhewed a decided attachment to popery, manifeſted it for the firſt time on this occaſion, I ſhall, in touching on it, relate a few of the early circumſtances of his life.

In doing ſo, I muſt premiſe, that I do not mean to diſparage him. I had the honour of being acquainted with him; and I was ſo ſenſible of his exalted moral and intellectual excellence, that I gave the following character of him in a pamphlet publiſhed by J. Stockdale in 1794, which was noticed in the Monthly Review of April, 1795:

"His book on French affairs contains more political wiſdom, and more profound knowledge of practical government, than any that ever appeared; and in future ages will tend to endear the Britiſh conſtitution to its ſubjects.

"The bright effulgence of his genius, like the ſun, raiſed up ſome buzzing inſects, who cavilled at the doctrines which he advanced; but the ſtate of France proves the futility of their aſſertions, and that he ſpoke prophetic truth.

"His long and luminous life, devoted to the cauſe of wiſdom and virtue, was more bright in its ſetting, than the meridian blaze of moſt other genuiſes."

He was the ſon of a popiſh ſolicitor in Dublin, at the univerſity of which he received his education; but I have been aſſured by his contemporaries, that he did not, in the courſe of it, diſplay any ſymptoms of thoſe ſhining abilities, which afterwards made the progreſs of his life ſo brilliant.

Soon after he went to the Temple to ſtudy the law, he married a daughter of doctor Nugent, who had been bred at Doway in Flanders, and was a moſt bigoted Romaniſt. A year after he had gone to the

Temple, a perſon, who was at that time ſerving his apprenticeſhip to Mr. Burke's father, informed me, that his maſter ſent him to London, relative to ſome law buſineſs, and that Mr. Edmund Burke detained him many days longer than he had permiſſion to remain there: that during his ſtay, he ſeemed much agitated in his mind, and that, when they were alone, he frequently introduced religion as a topick of converſation, and ſaid, that he had ſtrong reaſons for thinking more favourably of the Romiſh perſuaſion than he formerly did. For theſe reaſons, this gentleman aſſured me, he verily believed, that he was become a convert to popery.

Soon after this gentleman's return, Mr. Burke, ſenior, having heard a report that his ſon had really changed his religion, was much concerned at it; becauſe he had entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes that he would acquire great wealth and fame at the Iriſh bar, from practiſing at which Romaniſts were excluded by law.

He therefore employed Mr. Bowen, his brother-in-law, who, as a linen merchant, had a very extenſive correſpondence in London, to make ſtrict enquiry about the converſion of his ſon.

Some days after, Mr. Bowen entered his office, and in the preſence of the gentleman who gave me this information, threw him a letter, ſaying, There, your ſon is moſt certainly become a Roman catholick. On reading the letter, Mr. Burke became furious, lamenting that the riſing hope of his family was blaſted, and that the expence he had been at in his ſon's education was now thrown away.

As ſome of the greateſt men, even at an advanced period of life, have become ſlaves to the paſſion of love, it is very poſſible that Mr. Burke, in the ſpring of life, when its influence is irreſiſtible, and endued with a lively imagination, and all the tenderneſs of ſenſibility, might have conformed to the exterior ceremonies of popery, to obtain miſs Nugent, of whom he was very much enamoured; but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that a perſon of ſo vigorous and highly cultivated an underſtanding, could have continued under the ſhackles of that abſurd ſuperſtition.

At laſt, when he had ſerved a ſufficient number of terms to be called to the bar, he refuſed to return to his native country, declaring, that the

the climate of it diſagreed with him; and that he expected to get ſome employment in the line of his profeſſion in America, through one of the Grenville family. He therefore remained in London, where he ſubſiſted chiefly by his pen; and he ſoon acquired a conſiderable degree of celebrity, as a writer, and a man of genius, by the publication of his Treatiſe on the Sublime and Beautiful, and by his Vindication of Natural Society, in imitation of lord Bolingbroke, which introduced him to the notice and acquaintance of Mr. Hamilton. When that gentleman came to Ireland, as ſecretary to the earl of Halifax, he, wiſhing to avail himſelf of Mr. Burke's talents, ſolicited him to attend him, but in no official capacity; and he accordingly complied.

He accompanied him a ſecond time to Dublin, when Mr. Hamilton was ſecretary to the earl of Northumberland, and was rewarded with a penſion of 300l. a year.

When they returned to England, Mr. Hamilton intended to have ſpoken a ſpeech on the peace in the year 1763, which he had prevailed on Mr. Burke to compoſe.

It unfortunately happened, that as he was about to riſe, Mr. Charles Townſhend entered the houſe; and as his wit and eloquence had been always terrifick to him, his appearance palſied his exertions and ſtruck him dumb. Mr. Burke, enraged at this, (as they had united their talents in a kind of partnerſhip) ſaid, with ſome warmth, What ſignifies my making ſpeeches for you, when you cannot ſpeak them?

A warm altercation enſued, in the courſe of which Mr. Hamilton informed Mr. Burke, that he had been overpaid; on which Mr. Burke, with becoming ſpirit, reſigned his penſion, which was afterwards given to a gentleman who enjoys it at this time. Mr. Mc. Cormick in his life of Mr. Burke is miſtaken in this circumſtance. Their quarrel became a matter of curioſity and debate in the ſuperior circles of ſociety, in which the partizans on each ſide were very warm.

The diſcuſſion of this affair introduced Mr. Burke to the notice of lord Rockingham, who having formed a friendſhip for him, made him an under-ſecretary in the treaſury; but having loſt that employment in ſix months, the period of his lordſhip's adminiſtration, he brought him into parliament, where the eloquence and the great intellectual powers

diſplayed

diſplayed in his ſpeeches, will remain a ſtriking and an eternal monument of his genius.

When the enormities committed by the white boys were about to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and ſome time before ſir Richard Aſton proceeded on his commiſſion to try them, Mr. Edmund Burke ſent his brother Richard, who died recorder of Briſtol, and Mr. Nagle, a relation, on a miſſion to Munſter, to levy money on the popiſh body, for the uſe of the white boys, who were excluſively papiſts.

Some Roman catholicks complained bitterly of the ſums of money which they extorted from them. * The deſpotiſm which the Romiſh prelates have over their own body is ſuch, that they can at any time levy large ſums of money on them, to promote the intereſt of their church, which is a moſt dangerous engine in a well-governed ſtate. The open and general exerciſe of it in the years 1792 and 1793, and again in 1794 and 1795, was ſufficient to create an alarm in the government. At thoſe periods ſome of the lower claſſes of people in Munſter complained loudly of the exactions practiſed on them; and on being aſked, for what purpoſe they were? they anſwered, that they had made that enquiry, and were informed, at one time, that it was to obtain for them the elective franchiſe; at another, to procure the privilege of ſitting in parliament for perſons of their own perſuaſion. It is well known that Mr. William Todd Jones was their warm partizan while in the houſe of commons; † and, from the intemperate zeal which ſome members of that body ſhewed in promoting their deſigns, it was univerſally believed that they were actuated by ſiniſter motives.

It was ſtrongly ſuſpected, that a perſon in an elevated ſituation in England, from his ſingular pertinacity in adhering to their cauſe, when in actual and open rebellion, had received ſome of their contributions; and

* I have no other proof that theſe gentlemen were employed by Mr. Burke, than that they declared ſo without reſerve to the perſons from whom they obtained money. In doing ſo, he might have been actuated by motives of charity and humanity, as numbers of the white boys were to be tried in different counties, and they had no other means than eleemoſynary contributions to prepare for their defence.

† It is well known that Mr. Jones afterwards accuſed, in the publick prints, the Catholick committee, of not giving him the whole of the money which they had promiſed to pay him.

and the debates which took place in the Romiſh convention in the year 1792, and which the reader will ſee in the ſequel, and the ſudden, ſucceſsful, and unexpected turn which their affairs took in the year 1793, left very little room to doubt, but that ſome extraordinary ſecret influence was exerted in England. *

In the year 1757, there appeared a very ſingular and unqueſtionable proof that thoſe doctrines of the Romiſh church, which had diſturbed the peace of all proteſtant countries ever ſince the Reformation took place, exiſted in full force in Ireland.

In that year, a bill was introduced into the houſe of lords, to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion, in which there was an oath of allegiance.

Thomas Burke, titular biſhop of Oſſory, and publick hiſtoriographer to the dominican order in Ireland, made the following obſervations on that oath. After animadverting on the ſeverity of ſetting aſide the different foreign branches of the Stuart family, he ſays, "would it not exceed the greateſt imaginable abſurdity, that a Catholick prieſt, who inſtructs his Catholick people in the will of God, from ſcripture and tradition, by his diſcourſe and actions, and nouriſheth them with the ſacrament of the church, ſhould ſwear fidelity to king George, as long as he profeſſeth a heterodox religion, or has a wife of that religion? that then, and in that caſe, the ſame Catholick prieſt ought inſtantly to abjure the very king to whom he had before ſworn allegiance." Impiety moſt horrible! †

Thomas Burke was made titular biſhop of Oſſory in 1759, and died at Kilkenny in September, 1776. He was, as he frequently tells us, a favourite of pope Benedict XIV. was a man of reſpectable learning, and perfectly well acquainted with the doctrines of the Romiſh church, the bulls and epiſtles of the popes, and the ſentiments of the Iriſh Roman catholicks; and yet ſome of the heads of the Iriſh clergy have had the effrontery and duplicity to vilify the talents and information of this writer, and to repreſent him as a dotard, haunted with dreams of pontifical omnipotence; but ſuch perverſion of truth, and ſuch varniſhing of odious doctrines are only calculated to deceive, and can impoſe

* It cannot be ſuppoſed that I allude to any of his Majeſty's miniſters, whoſe honour and integrity are far above my praiſe.

† Hibernia Dominicana, page 723.

impoſe on no rational man; for all the tenets contained in his book were carried into practice during the late rebellion.

Burke, after reciting part of pope Paul V.'s bull, encouraging the Iriſh in their rebellion, exclaims, Quid celebrius? Quid inſignius?*

On the flight of king James II. he ſays, that he ſeaſonably left the Britiſh nation, whom he brands as perjurers and traitors, who conſpired againſt his life, ſubject to the ſlavery of this new Cromwell (meaning king William,) viliſſimi novi hujus Cromwelli ſervitute.

The firſt part of his Hibernia Dominicana was printed at Kilkenny in the year 1762, the ſecond in 1772, both by Edmund Finn; but it was ſtated to have been publiſhed at Cologne, Coloniæ Agrippinæ.

In ſpeaking of the gun powder plot, he ſays, it was an invention, and that the gun powder was ſecretly put under the parliament houſe, by the order of William Cecil, to afford a ſpecious pretext for extirpating all the catholicks of England.

Again, in the year 1768, when an oath of allegiance, to be taken by the Roman catholicks of Ireland, was in the contemplation of parliament, Thomas Maria Ghillini, the pope's legate at Bruſſels, who had a complete control and ſuperintendance over all the northern churches, and ſpoke ex cathedra, made the following animadverſions on that oath, in four letters to the titular archbiſhops of Ireland; and theſe letters are ſtyled by Thomas Burke, who publiſhed them in his Hibernia Dominicana, literæ vere aureæ, cedroque dignæ.

The legate treats the clauſes in the propoſed oath, containing a declaration of abhorrence and deteſtation of the doctrines, "that faith is not to be kept with hereticks; and that princes, deprived by the pope, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, as abſolutely intolerable; becauſe, he ſays, thoſe doctrines are defended, and contended for by moſt Catholick nations, and the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice. On the whole he decides, that, as the oath is in its whole extent unlawful, ſo in its nature it is invalid, null, and of no effect, inſomuch that it can by no means bind or oblige conſciences." †

It is well known, that ſimilar deciſions have been uniformly made by the Roman pontiffs, on the validity of oaths any way detrimental to

* What can be more famous? What more illuſtrious?

† Page 925. This was in the ſupplement of that work publiſhed in the year 1772.

to the Holy See. In the late rebellion, the popiſh multitude, and many of the Romiſh clergy and gentlemen, paid no regard whatever to an oath of allegiance.

When the emperor and the Roman catholick princes of Germany concluded a peace called the treaty of Weſtphalia, in the year 1648, with the proteſtant princes, they mutually bound each other by a ſolemn oath, to the obſervance of it; on which the pope publiſhed a flaming bull, in which he pronounced the oath to be null and void, as no oath could bind them to hereticks. This bull was expoſed by Hornbeck, a famous German divine, in a work entitled, "Examen bullæ papalis, qua Innocentius X. abrogare nititur pacem Germaniæ."

The conduct of the parliament of Ireland, from the beginning of his preſent majeſty's reign till the end of the year 1793, preſents the reader with an uninterrupted ſeries of blunders in politicks.

All our diſgraces and misfortunes are to be found in the hiſtory of our penal laws, and in the feeble execution of them, beginning with the third of Geo. III. cap. 19. for indemnifying all ſuch perſons as have been, or ſhall be aiding in the diſperſing of riots, and apprehending the rioters, which was enacted for the ſuppreſſion of the white boys. As the boldneſs and temerity of theſe inſurgents continued to encreaſe, the fifth of Geo. III. cap. 8. paſſed, and was entitled, "An act to prevent the future tumultuous riſings of perſons within this kingdom." The want of enforcing the ſalutary proviſions of theſe laws tended to encourage the white boys in the commiſſion of atrocities for above twenty years after. About the year 1773, that ſyſtem of conciliation and conceſſion, which laid the foundation of the late rebellion began; for, while this popiſh banditti, encouraged by their clergy, were committing the moſt dreadful enormities, the thirteenth and fourteenth of Geo. III. cap. 35, to enable Roman catholicks to teſtify their allegiance to his majeſty by oath, was enacted; but the folly and abſurdity of that law were fully proved by the neceſſity of paſſing, ſoon after, the thirteenth and fourteenth of Geo. III. cap. 45. to prevent malicious cutting and wounding, and to puniſh offenders, called chalkers; for the aſſaſſin in the morning teſtified his allegiance to his king, and at night, with his chalking knife, renounced his allegiance to

his God, by mangling and maiming his fellow creature, and houghing his cattle.

As the barbarous exceſſes committed by the white boys continued to encreaſe, the fifteenth and ſixteenth of Geo. III. cap. 21. was enacted againſt them. It recites that the fifth of Geo. III. cap. 8. was inſufficient for ſuppreſſing them; and it ſtates, "That they aſſembled riotouſly, injured perſons and property, compelled perſons to quit their abode, impoſed oaths and declarations by menaces, ſent threatening and incendiary letters, obſtructed the export of corn, and deſtroyed the ſame." This is an exact deſcription of the defenders.

As their turbulence and ferocity continued to encreaſe, and as they made a conſtant practice of houghing ſoldiers in a wanton and unprovoked manner, the chalking act was extended, and amended by the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of Geo. III. cap. 49.

Conceſſion and conciliation holding pace with an encreaſe of the enormities committed by thoſe ſavages, a law paſſed ſoon after the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of Geo. III. cap. 49. to enable Roman catholicks to take leaſes for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or five lives, at any rent; and by it, all lands of which a Roman catholick was at that time ſeized, were made deſcendible, deviſable, and tranſferable, as fully as if the ſame were in the ſeiſin of any other perſon.

The preamble of this act recites, "That for their uniform peaceable behaviour, for a long ſeries of years, it appears reaſonable and expedient to relax ſeveral of their incapacities and diſabilities." The falſity and inconſiſtency of this aſſertion will be an eternal ſtain on the parliament of Ireland.

There is not a doubt, but that the Romaniſts had ſome hired agents in that aſſembly at this period. A ſtrong argument in favour of an Union!

As a mark of gratitude for theſe indulgences, this infamous banditti proceeded to commit greater enormities than they had practiſed before, in conſequence of which the legiſlature were obliged to paſs the eighteenth and nineteenth of Geo. III. cap. 37. and the title of it will ſhew how neceſſary it was: "An act to prevent the deteſtable practice of houghing cattle, burning houſes, barns, haggards, and corn; and for other purpoſes."

Though

Though they continued to commit their uſual exceſſes, the legiſlature, actuated by what was called liberality of ſentiment, put the Roman catholicks on the ſame footing with proteſtants, as to property, in the year 1782; and almoſt the whole of the reſtrictive laws were repealed. The volunteers checked, in ſome degree, the barbarous outrages committed by the white boys from the year 1780 to the year 1784, when the inſtitution began to languiſh, and then we find them as furious as ever in the province of Leinſter. This proves how neceſſary a numerous and well-armed police, conſiſting of proteſtants, is to the proſperity of Ireland.

In December, 1784, a body of white boys broke into the houſe of John Maſon a proteſtant, in the county of Kilkenny, in the night, placed him naked on horſeback, and having carried him in this manner five or ſix miles from his houſe, they cut off his ears, and in that ſtate buried him up to his chin; they alſo robbed him of his fire arms.*

This year they were ſo outrageous in the province of Leinſter, particularly in the county of Kilkenny, that a denunciation was read againſt them in all the popiſh chapels in the dioceſe of Oſſory, on the ſeventeenth of November, 1784.

This was a ſtrong proof of the returning loyalty and obedience to the laws of the popiſh clergy of that dioceſe; or, if they were inſincere and ſecretly encouraged the white boys as much as formerly, of their extreme duplicity.

As doctor Butler, brother of Mr. Butler of Ballyragget, and of the noble houſe of Ormond, was at that time titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, a gentleman who was ſincerely loyal, it is very likely that he prevailed on his clergy to adopt this procedure. He ſhould not be confounded with doctor Butler who was in that See when the white boys began their exceſſes.

All theſe privileges were granted with a good grace by parliament, and they met with no oppoſition from the conſtituent body, who were at that time excluſively proteſtants.

Notwithſtanding ſuch liberality on the part of the proteſtant ſtate, the white boys ſtill continued to commit nocturnal depredations in different parts of Leinſter and Munſter; but in the latter they were

* See Appendix, No. I. 8. for a few ſpecimens of white boy atrocity.

ſucceeded by a ſet of inſurgents called right boys in 1786, who reſembled them in every reſpect, except in the title which they aſſumed. Their proceedings, chiefly directed againſt the proteſtant clergy, were not the wild and extravagant efforts of raſh and ignorant peaſants, but a dark and deep-laid ſcheme, planned by men ſkilled in the law and the artifices by which it may be evaded. Such men ſuggeſted to the farmers, to enter into a combination under the ſanction of an oath, not to take their tythes, or to aſſiſt any clergyman in drawing them.

Some of the proteſtant gentlemen, hoping to exonerate their eſtates of tythes, by the machinations and enormities of theſe traitors, ſecretly encouraged them; and others connived at their exceſſes, till they began to oppoſe the payment of rent, and the recovery of money by legal proceſs, and then they came forward in ſupport of the law.

A form of a ſummons to the clergy to draw their tythe, penned with legal accuracy, was printed at Cork, and circulated with great diligence through many parts of Munſter. In order to make the combination univerſal, ſome of the moſt active and intelligent members of it adminiſtered oaths to all the lower claſs of people, at the Romiſh chapels and market towns.

To varniſh over the knavery and turpitude of their deſigns, they publiſhed a tything table, according to which they pretended that they would pay the clergy, but to which they did not adhere, and, if they had done ſo, it would not have afforded them a ſubſiſtence; beſides, by ſwearing not to hire horſes to them, and by a great number of them combining to ſever the tythe, and draw their corn, on the ſame day, they completely robbed them of their property; and the proteſtant clergy would actually have ſtarved, but that an act of parliament paſſed in the year 1787, to enable them to recover the tythes of which they had been defrauded in this manner.

At laſt, the proteſtant clergy in the county of Cork were ſo much intimidated by the menaces and inſults which they received from them, that many were obliged to fly to the city of Cork for protection. They ſoon proceeded from one act of violence to another, and eſtabliſhed ſuch a ſyſtem of terror, that landlords were afraid to diſtrain for rent, or to ſue by civil proceſs for money due by note. They took arms from proteſtants, and levied money to buy ammunition.

They

They broke open gaols, ſet fire to hay and corn, and even to houſes, eſpecially to thoſe occupied by the army. At laſt they had the audacity to threaten the cities of Limerick and Cork, and the town of Ennis, the capital of Clare, with famine; and took meaſures to prevent farmers and fiſhermen from conveying ſupplies of proviſions to them. They proceeded by ſuch a regular ſyſtem, that they eſtabliſhed a kind of poſt-office, for communication, by which they conveyed their notices with celerity for the purpoſe of forming their meetings, which were frequent and numerous.

This ſpirit of riot and inſurrection occaſioned the paſſing of a law in the year 1787, drawn by the preſent lord Clare, entitled, "An act to prevent tumultuous riſings and aſſemblies, and for the more effectual puniſhment of perſons guilty of outrage, riot, and illegal combination, and of adminiſtering and taking unlawful oaths;" and in the formation of that law, he ſhewed the ſame political wiſdom, and firmneſs of mind, which he evinced on all ſubſequent occaſions. By that law government were empowered to raiſe an armed police in any county they choſe, and the introduction of it into the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Cork, and Kerry, occaſioned ſuch a revolution in the morals and manners of their inhabitants, and was ſo efficient in preſerving ſocial order, that ſome of the principal landholders in them declared openly in parliament, that their eſtates were encreaſed two years purchaſe in value by that ſalutary inſtitution.

An ingenious foreigner obſerved to me, that he never ſaw a country in which ſo many proclamations were iſſued againſt malefactors, and the commiſſion of crimes, as in Ireland; a ſure proof of the feeble execution of the laws!

At laſt, doctor Woodward, biſhop of Cloyne, ſhocked and alarmed at ſeeing his clergy driven from their houſes to the city of Cork, whither they went for an aſylum, and that a conſpiracy was formed for the deſtruction of the proteſtant church, wrote a very able pamphlet, ſtating the origin and progreſs of the inſurrections in Munſter, hoping thereby to rouſe government to take meaſures for its defence.

Nothing marked ſo ſtrongly the depravity of the times, as the malignant attacks, attended with ſcurrility and abuſe, which were made

on

on this amiable prelate, for this ſeaſonable and ſpirited diſcharge of his paſtoral duty. I had the honour of being well acquainted with him, and I never knew a perſon more profoundly and elegantly learned, or ſo well verſed, not only in every thing that concerned the eccleſiaſtical department, but in the various duties of every line of ſocial life. Having viſited every part of the Continent, he ſpoke the modern languages with great fluency and purity, and had uncommon eaſe and affability of manner.

He had the moſt exalted piety, and was not only very charitable himſelf, but an active promoter of publick charities. His eloquence in the pulpit was irreſiſtible, as his ſtyle was nervous and elegant; his voice was loud and harmonious, and he had great dignity of manner.

With all theſe exalted qualities and endowments, he poſſeſſed the moſt brilliant wit, and ſuch a happy vein of humour, as enlivened ſociety wherever he happened to be.

This neceſſary and important duty, the neglect of which would have been criminal, drew on him a hoſt of foes, conſiſting of popiſh biſhops, prieſts, friars, and preſbyterian miniſters, who abuſed and vilified him with ſingular malignity; and even ſome members of parliament had the hardened audacity to arraign him with much ſeverity.

This amiable prelate made a moſt eloquent ſpeech in ſupport of the privileges granted to the Roman catholicks in the year 1782.

This ſpirit of inſurrection ſpread over moſt parts of Munſter. The conſpirators bound each other by oath to reſiſt the laws of the land, and to obey none but thoſe of captain Right; and ſo ſtrictly did they adhere to them, that the high ſheriff of the county of Waterford, * could not procure a perſon to execute the ſentence of the law on one of theſe miſcreants who was condemned to be whipped at Carrick-on-Suir, though he offered a large ſum of money for that purpoſe. He was therefore under the neceſſity of performing that duty himſelf, in the face of an enraged mob.

* The writer of theſe pages was high ſheriff at that time.

ORIGIN OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

IN the year 1779, when England was involved in a war with the French, Spaniards, and Americans; when the combined naval armaments of the enemy were ſuperior in point of number to the channel fleet; when conſtant and well-grounded apprehenſions were entertained that Ireland would be invaded, the loyalty of her parliament, trembling for the fate of the empire, left the kingdom almoſt deſtitute of any military force for its defence. At the ſame time what little commerce ſhe then enjoyed, was completely ſtagnated by privateers, which conſtantly hovered on her coaſt. In this critical juncture, ſome maritime towns, dreading that they might be plundered by the latter, applied to government for a military force for their defence; but received in anſwer, that they muſt arm and defend themſelves.

This gave riſe to the volunteers, of which numerous bodies were immediately raiſed, who ſupplied themſelves with arms; and government, wiſhing to encourage the laudable ſpirit which the Iriſh nation ſhewed, diſtributed immenſe quantities among them.

It is moſt certain, that theſe military aſſociations deterred the French from attempting an invaſion of the kingdom, which they meditated at that time; and they completely preſerved the police of the country.

To their immortal honour be it ſpoken, that, though ſelf-embodied, armed, and diſciplined, they not only ſhewed the greateſt reſpect for the laws, but the utmoſt zeal in enforcing the execution of them.

Without attempting to detract from the inſtitution, or queſtioning the important advantages derived from it, every perſon acquainted with the ſcience of civil polity muſt acknowledge, that no power ſhould be allowed to exiſt within a ſtate, capable of overawing or of overturning it.

Government were ſoon ſo much intimidated by the volunteers, that they ſhewed a degree of obeiſance and deference for their officers, bordering upon puſillanimity; and popularity among that order became a certain ſtep to preferment.

It

It was a common practice to obtain adulatory addreſſes from the volunteers, of which great numbers conſtantly appeared in the publick prints; and he who could procure the greateſt number of them, was ſure to ſucceed in his ambitious deſigns. It was to be lamented, that they ſoon began to deviate from the end of their inſtitution, and to form provincial meetings, for the purpoſe of new modelling the ſtate; of which a notable inſtance occurred on the fifteenth of February, 1782; when delegates from one hundred and forty-three corps of the province of Ulſter aſſembled at Dungannon, and entered into reſolutions of that tendency, which were ſoon adopted by all the volunteer corps and grand juries of the kingdom.

It is far from my intention to cenſure that aſſembly, who were actuated by the generous deſign of improving the conſtitution, and of diffuſing the bleſſings of civil liberty as extenſively as poſſible; but every moderate and rational perſon muſt allow, that it was incompatible with the principles of ſound policy, that an armed body ſhould take upon them to dictate to the government. It is to be lamented that ſuch aſſemblies and their diſcuſſions taught the maſs of the people to ſpeculate upon politicks, and as they cannot diſtinguiſh ſophiſtry from truth, prepared their minds for the reception of thoſe deleterious doctrines which produced the rebellion.

On the ninth of October, 1783, delegates from all the corps of the province of Leinſter aſſembled at the Royal Exchange of Dublin, when reform of parliament, and the admiſſion of Roman catholicks to the elective franchiſe were propounded.

On Monday the tenth of November, 1783, the grand national convention of volunteers, conſiſting of delegates from every county in the kingdom, met at the Royal Exchange in Dublin, marched in regular proceſſion to the Rotunda, where they opened their ſeſſion, and entered into deliberation, on new modelling the conſtitution. Some men, diſtinguiſhed in parliament for wiſdom, virtue, and eloquence, were ſo much heated with the frenzy of innovation which then prevailed, that they took the lead in that ſingular aſſembly, which was ſaid in moſt of the publick prints to conſiſt of the real repreſentatives of the people.

On

On the twelfth of that month, father O'Leary, an Iriſh friar, and chaplain to the Iriſh brigade, a popiſh corps of volunteers, entered the convention; and ſuch was the folly of the times, that the volunteer guard at the gate received him with a full ſalute of reſted arms; and many members of the convention paid him the moſt flattering compliments.

On the twenty-fifth of November, the committee of the convention reported their plan of reforming the conſtitution; and one of its members, the right honourable Henry Flood, attempted, on the twenty-ninth, to introduce it into the houſe of commons, in the ſhape of a bill; but it was ſcouted with a degree of indignation which did honour to that aſſembly.

On the firſt inſtitution of the volunteers, ſome low perſons, who turned out notorious traitors in the late rebellion, aſſumed the rank of officers; and many gentlemen of rank and fortune, who headed them at firſt, having retired, were ſucceeded by men deſtitute of both, and well known to be diſaffected.

Of this deſcription were Napper Tandy, Bacon the tailor, Matthew Dowling, and many others concerned in the late rebellion, whom the lenity of government has ſaved from the vengeance of the law.

Such men having acquired popularity and influence among the volunteers, ſome of the firſt of our nobility and gentry, who offered themſelves candidates for a ſuperior command among them, courted theſe miſcreants for their intereſt, with all the meanneſs of ſervility; for they elected their own officers.

There is not a doubt, but that numbers of unprincipled men, enrolled among the volunteers, formed ſchemes for ſubverting the conſtitution; and their invitation to the Roman catholicks to take up arms, and their earneſt deſire that they ſhould be admitted to a participation of the elective franchiſe, were made with the hope of procuring their co-operation for that purpoſe.

That amiable nobleman the earl of Charlemont, who had very great influence among the volunteers, well knowing that ſuch propoſitions flowed from ſiniſter deſigns, ſucceſsfully oppoſed them in the year 1784.

There is not a doubt, but that the flirtation between John and Peter was formed during the exiſtence of the volunteer inſtitution. *

Mr. Edmund Burke alluded to this heterogeneous coalition between Roman catholicks and preſbyterians, in the following paſſage of his letter to ſir Hercules Langriſhe in the year 1792, on the claims of the former to the elective franchiſe: "As to the low, thoughtleſs, wild and profligate, who have joined themſelves with thoſe of other profeſſions, (meaning the preſbyterians) but of the ſame character; you are not to imagine, that, for a moment, I can ſuppoſe them to be met with any thing elſe than the manly and enlightened energy of a firm government, ſupported by the united efforts of all virtuous men; if ever their proceedings ſhould become ſo conſiderable as to demand its notice, I really think that ſuch aſſociations ſhould be cruſhed in their very commencement."

Mr. Burke did not know that the maſs of the Roman catholicks were infected with revolutionary deſigns at ſo early a period, not only in Dublin but in many other parts of the kingdom, as we ſhall find in the ſequel. A corps called the Iriſh brigade was raiſed in the city of Dublin, of which nineteen out of twenty were Roman catholicks, and they appointed father O'Leary, an obſcure itinerant friar, their chaplain. I have been aſſured, that they exceeded in number all the other volunteer corps in the city. From the principles which ſome of its members diſplayed during the late rebellion, we may infer that they harboured treaſonable deſigns even at that early period.

On the fifteenth of May, 1784, the Belfaſt firſt volunteer company reſolved and agreed to inſtruct, in the uſe of arms, perſons of all ranks and religious perſuaſions, who ſhould preſent themſelves for that purpoſe; and they offered them the uſe of their own arms.

On the ſixteenth of May, 1784, the builders corps in Dublin reſolved, that their drill ſerjeant ſhould attend at Marlborough-green, three days in the week, to teach perſons of all ranks and religious perſuaſions the uſe of arms.

They reſolved alſo, to have annual parliaments, and to impart the elective franchiſe equally to perſons of every mode of religious worſhip.

On

* This alludes to St. Peter and John Calvin.

On the twentieth of May, 1784, delegates from all the volunteer corps in the city and county of Dublin reſolved unanimouſly, that the training to the uſe of arms every honeſt and induſtrious Iriſhman, however moderate his property, or depreſſed his ſituation, was a meaſure of the utmoſt utility to this kingdom, and would produce a valuable acquiſition to the volunteer arms and intereſt. Similar reſolutions were entered into in different parts of the kingdom.

In the ſummer of the year 1783, the Iriſh brigade, and the Dublin independent volunteers, commanded by James Napper Tandy, Matthew Dowling, and Bacon the tailor, formed an encampment between Roebuck and Dublin, under the pretext of ſtudying tacticks, and learning camp duty; though it was well known, that they were hatching revolutionary projects. It is to be obſerved, that the war, the only pretext for their arming, was now at an end; and yet many corps in different parts of the kingdom reſolved not to lay down their arms, but with their lives.

The volunteer inſtitution occaſioned much idleneſs and diſſipation among the induſtrious part of the community, and deſtroyed ſubordination, ſo eſſential to the exiſtence of ſocial order; for perſons of low rank, aſſociating with their ſuperiors, loſt that reſpect which they had entertained for them, and were inſpired with levelling principles.

The immenſe quantity of arms, which government diſtributed among the volunteers, fell into the hands of traitors in the late rebellion, and made it more terrifick.

It is ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee, and it is ſtrictly true, that the national guards, who, in the year 1792, meditated the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, ſprung from the volunteers.

The principal argument uſed againſt the Union by the gentlemen who oppoſed it was, that the conſtitution, as ſettled in the year 1782, was perfect and therefore concluſive: how came it then, that a repreſentative body of the whole nation in arms, and many of them conſiſting of the very firſt of our nobility and gentry, aſſembled for the expreſs purpoſe of remedying the defects of that very conſtitution, the year after it was eſtabliſhed? and it is very remarkable, that many members of both houſes of parliament, who were conſtituent members of that mock parliament, were the moſt ſanguine oppoſers of the Union.

In ſhort, it will appear, that, from the year 1782, when our conſtitution was ſuppoſed to arrive at the ſummit of perfection, that an immoderate and alarming ſpirit of innovation, which ultimately produced the rebellion, never ceaſed to break forth in and out of parliament; and that Mr. Grattan and his adherents, who piqued themſelves on being the chief authors of the conſtitution of 1782, were the principal promoters of that very ſpirit of innovation, which ſhook the pillars of the throne in 1798, deſolated ſome of the moſt fertile portions of Ireland, and aimed at its ſeparation from England.

ORIGIN

ORIGIN OF THE DEFENDERS.

AS a great conflagration is often kindled by a ſmall ſpark, ſo the feuds and altercations between the peep-of-day boys and defenders, the former preſbyterians, the latter Romaniſts, which occaſioned much ſtrife and bloodſhed, has been aſcribed to a trifling diſpute between two individuals.

On the fourth of July, 1784, two men of the former perſuaſion had a quarrel and fought near Market-hill, a ſmall town in the county of Armagh, when one of the combatants became victorious by the advice and aſſiſtance of a Roman catholick peaſant and his brother, who happened to be preſent, for which the vanquiſhed hero vowed vengeance againſt the latter.

A ſecond challenge took place, but the two Romaniſts would not attend the combat, having been informed, that the preſbyterians, who had been defeated, reſolved to be revenged of him and his party.

At laſt the vanquiſhed preſbyterian publiſhed, that a horſe-race would take place on a certain day at Hamilton's-bawn, where the combatants met and fought a ſecond time; when the conqueror became victorious by the aſſiſtance of ſome Romaniſts who fought on his ſide. Both parties began to raiſe recruits, and to collect arms; but preſbyterians and papiſts mixed indiſcriminately, and were marked for ſome time by the diſtrict to which they belonged, and not by any religious diſtinction. Each body aſſumed the ſingular appellation of fleet, and was denominated from the pariſh or town-land where the perſons who compoſed it reſided.

The Nappack fleet was at firſt headed by a Roman catholick; and the people in the neighbourhood of Bunker's-hill, (in the road from Newry to Armagh,) entered into an aſſociation to defend themſelves againſt the Nappack fleet, choſe a diſſenting miniſter for their leader, aſſumed, for the firſt time, the title of defenders, and were joined ſoon after by the Bawn fleet, in order to protect themſelves againſt the Nappack fleet. On Whitſunmonday, in the year 1785, the two parties met, and were to have had a deſperate engagement.

The

The Nappack fleet, 700 in number, were all armed with guns, fwords, and piftols. The Bunker's-hill defenders, and the Bawn fleet, though much more numerous, were not fo well armed. When they were on the point of engaging, Mr. Richardfon, of Richhill, member for the county of Armagh, and two more gentlemen, interpofed, and induced them to feparate, which prevented a great effufion of blood.

From the inveterate hatred which has ever exifted between the two fects, they foon began to feparate, and to enlift under the banners of religion; and as the Roman catholicks fhewed uncommon eagernefs to collect arms, the preſbyterians began to difarm them.

The former affumed the appellation of defenders, the latter that of peep-of-day boys, becaufe they vifited the houfes of their antagonifts at a very early hour in the morning, to fearch for arms; and it is moft certain, that in doing fo, they often committed the moft wanton outrages, inſulting their perfons, and breaking their furniture.

The paffions of both parties being very much inflamed, they never miffed an opportunity of exercifing hoftilities againft each other, which frequently terminated in the commiffion of murder.

A detail of their battles would be as unintereſting as that of the kites and crows.

To exafperate the defenders, and to induce them to embody themfelves from motives of fear, prophecies were frequently made, that the Scotch (meaning the preſbyterians) would rife on a certain night, and maffacre the Romanifts, who, being credulous and timorous, poſted watches all night to give the alarm. As fuch reports were conftantly made, fome time previous to, and during the rebellion, as devices to inflame the popifh multitude againft the proteftants, we may reafonably conclude, that the authors of them, at this early period, had the fame finifter defigns.

By a feafonable exertion of government, this fpirit of combination and outrage might have been eafily extinguifhed; but I have been aſſured, that it was fomented by the improper interference of country gentlemen, who eſpoufed one party or the other, for electioneering purpofes; and it happened, that one perfon, who had popifh tenants, was partial to the defenders, and another, whofe eſtate was chiefly occupied by preſbyterians, protected the peep-of-day boys.

In

In the year 1785, ſome preſbyterians, proſecuted by one Keegan, a papiſt, whom they had beaten in a moſt cruel manner, were ſentenced to be impriſoned for a certain time; but they were immediately liberated at the inſtance of a gentleman of influence. In the ſame manner, one Mc. Quone, a defender, who was ſentenced to die at Armagh, in the year 1787, for the murder of one Donaldſon, a preſbyterian, obtained his pardon by the interference of an individual of conſiderable weight.

In the year 1787, the diſturbances roſe to ſuch an alarming pitch, in the county of Armagh, that two troops of dragoons were ſent to the city of Armagh to quell them, as infantry were found inadequate for that purpoſe.

At laſt it became a downright religious war, and the fanaticks of one ſect exerciſed the moſt barbarous revenge on the innocent members of the other, for the crimes of the guilty.

On the trials of ſome of the inſurgents, at the ſummer aſſizes of 1786, it was proved by ſome reſpectable witneſſes, that, in a riot at Tanderagee, the defenders, who were then arraigned, had offered 5l. for the head of a proteſtant.

In the year 1788, the defenders combined among themſelves, not to purchaſe any goods from a proteſtant, which turned many perſons of the eſtabliſhed church againſt them, who had formerly been rather friendly to them, and induced them to retaliate.

The people of Lurgan, and its vicinity, were remarkably quiet during the heat and frenzy of the inſurgents, becauſe it abounds with proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church; the only ſect uniformly attached to the conſtitution.

In the year 1788, ſome volunteer corps were raiſed, for the purpoſe of checking the ſpirit of turbulence and outrage that prevailed, by ſtrengthening the arm of the civil magiſtrate. * They completely put an end to the perambulations, and the domiciliary viſits of the peep-of-day boys, and very wiſely entered into reſolutions, that they would not ſhew favour or affection to any deſcription of men who ſhould diſturb the publick tranquillity; and yet the defenders ſhewed the moſt decided averſion to

* In the ſame manner aſſociations of armed men were neceſſary to put down the white boys.

to this inſtitution, began to collect arms with more zeal than ever, and even to learn the manual exerciſe.

Theſe volunteer corps were very uſeful in preventing tumultuous meetings, riots, and diſturbances. In conſequence of a challenge given by the defenders and peep-of-day boys, there was a numerous meeting within two miles of Liſmadil, in the county of Armagh, in the year 1788; and the conſequences might have been very fatal, had not eighteen of the firſt volunteer Armagh company repaired there, and declared that they would fire on the firſt perſon who would reſiſt the lawful commands of the magiſtrate, and they took ſome arms from both parties.

In the ſame year, the defenders, emboldened by their numbers and the arms they had procured, ſent ſome challenges to the volunteers, of which a notable inſtance occurred at Granemore in the ſame county, when they ſent a challenge to a party of the latter, after they had fired their laſt cartridge in their evolutions, preparatory to a general review. The volunteers, thus circumſtanced, being unable to defend themſelves, were obliged to retire to a place of ſafety, till they procured a reinforcement for their protection; and then they proceeded to their reſpective homes.

The Benburb corps of volunteers, in the county of Tyrone, having proceeded, without arms, to hear divine ſervice at the church of Armagh on a Sunday, headed by Mr. Young, one of their officers, paſſed by a Romiſh chapel, the congregation of which abuſed, and threw ſtones at them. The volunteers, having procured ſome fire arms at Armagh, the altercation was renewed at their return, and ended in a conflict, in which two of the popiſh congregation were killed, and ſome perſons were wounded on both ſides. It was conjectured that the former were prepared for the combat, as they had five muſkets.

The volunteers were very much cenſured for having returned by the ſame road, when they might have taken another.

The open hoſtility which the defenders diſplayed againſt the volunteers, raiſed for no other purpoſe but to maintain ſocial order, and their intemperate zeal to furniſh themſelves with fire arms, alarmed all loyal and peaceable ſubjects; in conſequence of which the earl of Charlemont, governor of the county, and the grand jury, publiſhed a manifeſto in the year

year 1788, againſt all papiſts who ſhould aſſemble in arms, and againſt any perſons who ſhould attempt to diſarm them without legal authority.

It appears then, that the fears of the preſbyterians were not groundleſs; and as they were prevented from diſpoſſeſſing them of arms, which they were collecting in great numbers, they ſought for legal redreſs, and indicted ſome of the defenders in the year 1788; but baron Hamilton quaſhed the indictments, and diſmiſſed both parties, with a warm and impreſſive exhortation to live in peace and brotherly love.

The following diſcovery, made in the year 1789, clearly proved that the defenders were ſyſtematically organized, and that their uncommon eagerneſs to procure arms and ammunition, aroſe not from defenſive, but offenſive deſigns. One of their plans or conſtitutions was found in the year 1789, by a magiſtrate of the county of Armagh, on one of their leaders of the name of Sharky, and dated the 24th of April of that year, at Drumbanagher.* It is very evident that their views muſt have been hoſtile, as one eſſential required in a member of the order was, to be poſſeſſed of a muſket, and a bayonet. It prevailed alſo in the county of Louth, and they could not plead in excuſe for introducing it there, that it was done for protection againſt the preſbyterians, as none of that perſuaſion, and but few proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, exiſted there. It muſt have taken up ſome time to bring this ſyſtem to maturity, and they were probably numerous in the county of Armagh, as Sharky's lodge is number 18. There muſt have been an intercourſe, and a communication between the lodges of different counties; for, in this plan, there appears a certificate, that Michael Moore was a brother defender, and he is recommended to the committee of Carrickarnan, number 1, in the county of Louth. Sobriety, ſecreſy, the accumulation of arms, and the giving aſſiſtance to each other on all occaſions, ſeem to have been leading objects with them. They were excluſively of the Roman catholick religion. They knew each other by ſecret ſigns: they had a grand maſter in each county, who was elected at a general annual meeting, and they had alſo monthly meetings.

For the following reaſons, it unqueſtionably appears, that they had treaſonable deſigns:

I The

* See Appendix, No. II.

The defenders oath found in every other part of the kingdom, correſponds in general with this;* and it has one peculiarity which is worth obſervation. They are required to take an oath of allegiance, which ends thus, *While we live under the ſame government.*

Weldon, a noted defender, who was tried in the year 1795, in Dublin, and afterwards hanged, for various treaſonable practices, but particularly for having adminiſtered this oath, obſerved, on the laſt paragraph of it, "If the king's head were off to-morrow, you would not be under the ſame government."† Weldon dated the origin of the order in 1790, but I ſuppoſe he alluded to the introduction of it into Dublin. It appeared afterwards, on the trials of all the noted defenders, particularly on thoſe of Weldon, Hunt, and Brady, in Dublin, that the extirpation of proteſtants was one of the chief objects of the inſtitution. Some intelligent magiſtrates in the county of Armagh have aſſured me, that they were organized at an early period, with ſuch a degree of art and ingenuity, as the low people of which they were compoſed, could not have poſſeſſed; and the ſame obſervation is made in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords of 1793.

We cannot be ſurpriſed at this, when it is very well known, that the famous father Quigley ‡ was very active among the defenders. As he intereſted himſelf very much in their concerns, it is not improbable that their organization was on the French plan, as it has been diſcovered, that he made a practice of going often to France.

They had parochial and baronial committees, and a ſuperior one to which they appealed; and from a connection which appeared afterwards to have ſubſiſted between them and the Catholick committee in Dublin, we may infer that they were much influenced by it.

The diſturbances excited by them in the counties of Armagh, Antrim, Down, Louth, and Monaghan, were ſuch, in the year 1789, that general Euſtace received orders to repair to theſe counties, and to take the command of a body of troops for ſuppreſſing them.

At Rathfriland, in the county of Down, and its vicinity, he found that the papiſts and preſbyterians harboured ſuch mutual enmity and ſuſpicion,

* But after the war broke out, they were univerſally bound to join and aſſiſt the French.

† I give this man's trial in the year 1795.

‡ He was afterwards hanged at Maidſtone, in Kent, in 1798.

picion, that a body of each under arms, conſtantly kept watch and ward. On being aſked their reaſons for ſo doing, each ſaid they were afraid of being murdered by the other.

At Loughbrickland, their animoſity was ſo great, that the general recommended to a Mr. White to quit it, as it would be unſafe for a proteſtant to reſide there; and he followed his advice.

Many gentlemen of the North have aſſured me, that the origin of the defenders, and the exceſſes which they committed, may properly be imputed to the ſavage and ſanguinary ſpirit of the lower claſs of Romaniſts in the county of Armagh, where they are peculiarly barbarous.

The following tranſaction will fully prove this, and that fanaticiſm was one of the principal ſources of defenderiſm:

Richard Jackſon, of Forkill, in the county of Armagh, eſquire, who died on the 11th of January, 1787, deviſed an eſtate of about 4000l. a year to the following charitable purpoſes: That his demeſne, conſiſting of 3000 acres, ſhould be colonized by proteſtants;* and that four ſchool-maſters ſhould be eſtabliſhed on it, to inſtruct, *gratis*, children of every religious perſuaſion.

In the year 1789, the truſtees obtained an act of parliament, to carry the proviſions of the will into execution; and they appointed the reverend Edward Hudſon, rector of Forkill, who was alſo one of the truſtees, agent to tranſact the buſineſs of the charity. The papiſts, who lived in the neighbouring country, a ſavage race, the deſcendants of the rapparees, declared, without reſerve, that they would not ſuffer the eſtabliſhment to take place; and they ſoon put their menaces into execution. They fired twice at Mr. Hudſon. On one occaſion, an aſſaſſin was ſent from a popiſh chapel, when the congregation was aſſembled, to the road ſide, where Mr. Hudſon was paſſing by, and he deliberately fired at him with a muſket, from behind a buſh, and killed his horſe. The new coloniſts were hunted like wild beaſts, and treated with ſavage cruelty: their houſes were demoliſhed, and their property was deſtroyed.

The treatment of Alexander Barclay, one of the ſchool-maſters, in February, 1791, will ſhew the reader the ferocious diſpoſition of theſe ſavages; and he muſt ſhudder with horror at hearing, that they openly exulted in the perpetration of theſe enormities, many of which they

 committed

* It had no tenants on it, as it was his demeſne.

committed by torch light. They burned the manor mill, and would have murdered the miller, but that he made his eſcape, naked, acroſs a river, in the night.

A REPORT of ſome of the TRUSTEES of the charity at Forkill, deviſed by RICHARD JACKSON, eſquire, of the maſſacre of the Barclay family, to the biſhop of DROMORE.

My lord, Forkill Lodge, 1ſt Feb. 1791.

"We whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, having aſſembled at Forkill, purſuant to act of parliament, to ſuperintend the execution of the charities of the late Mr. Jackſon, are much concerned to acquaint your lordſhip, that a moſt horrid outrage was committed on Friday laſt, on the perſon of one Barclay, one of the ſchool-maſters appointed by us, in this pariſh, (the particulars of which we encloſe to your lordſhip,) in conſequence of which, we think it abſolutely neceſſary to ſuſpend all operations of the charity, until the opinion of a general board can be had, which we requeſt your lordſhip will ſummon with all convenient ſpeed, and take ſuch further ſteps as the circumſtances may require. We beg leave to remind your lordſhip, that at the laſt general board, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the eſtabliſhment of a barrack* at Forkill, for a company of foot, would be of general utility, and that your lordſhip agreed to recommend it to the lord lieutenant. The late event ſhews the expediency of ſuch an eſtabliſhment; and we greatly fear, that if ſome means are not immediately uſed to reſtore the peace of the country, the objects of the charity can never be fulfilled.

PERCY JOCELYN.
RICHARD ALLOTT.
E. HUDSON.

"On Friday evening at ſeven o'clock, a number of villains aſſembled at the houſe of Alexander Barclay, one of the ſchool-maſters in the pariſh of Forkill, near Dundalk, appointed by the truſtees of the late Richard Jackſon's charities, to inſtruct indiſcriminately the children of the poor of ſaid pariſh. They rapped at the door, he enquired who was there, and

* From the time of the laſt rebellion in Ireland, in 1689, there had been a ſmall barrack there, in which troops were cantoned, till within 30 or 40 years before this period, to repreſs the ferocious ſpirit of the rapparees.

and one man of the name of Terence Byrne, his near neighbour, (whoſe voice he well knew, and had before at different times admitted upon knowing his voice,) told him it was he was there; he opened the door, and a number of men ruſhed in, threw him on his face, and three of them ſtood on him, and ſtabbed him repeatedly. They then put a cord round his neck, which they tightened ſo, as to force out his tongue; part of which, as far as they could reach, they cut off. They then cut off the four fingers and thumb of his right hand, and left him on the floor, and proceeded to uſe his wife in the ſame manner. To add to their barbarity, they cut out her tongue, and cut off her four fingers and thumb, with a blunt weapon, which operation took them up above ten minutes, one or two of them holding up her arm, while they committed this inhuman action. They then battered, and beat her in a dreadful manner. Her brother, a boy of 13 years of age, had come from Armagh that morning to ſee her. They cut out his tongue, and cut off the calf of his leg, and left them all three in that ſituation.

"No reaſon can be aſſigned for this moſt inhuman tranſaction. The man was a proteſtant, a peaceable decent man; he taught above 30 of their children *gratis*, being allowed a ſalary by the truſtees for 40 more. He aſked them, whether he had ever offended them? They ſaid not; but that was the beginning of what he and thoſe like him* ſhould ſuffer.

"Shocking as this account is to human nature, it is publickly exulted at in the pariſh; and no perſon ſeems to think, that any puniſhment will follow the commiſſion of this moſt atrocious wickedneſs. So far were they from wiſhing to conceal it, that they proceeded on the road with torches, publickly, and in defiance of every body.

"There is every reaſon to dread the moſt alarming conſequences from the effects of this tranſaction. The proteſtants are every where in the greateſt terror; and unleſs government affords them aſſiſtance, muſt leave the country; as this recent inſtance of inhumanity, and the threatenings thrown out againſt them, leave no doubt upon their minds of what the intentions muſt be againſt them.

"The man and the boy can ſpeak a little, the woman † cannot, and fortunately

* Meaning proteſtants.

† She was a handſome young woman; they cut off one of her breaſts, and ſhe ſoon after died.

fortunately they are all likely to die; as, if they live, they are incapable of earning their ſubſiſtence. Terence Byrne is ſince fled."

One Devitt, who was privy to it, turned approver, and charged a man of the name of Murphy, with being concerned in it. The watch of Alexander Barclay was found in his houſe; and all the family having identified him, he was convicted at Armagh, and hanged at Forkill. In his way thither, he ſhewed ſtrong ſigns of deſpondency, ſobbing, ſighing, and bewailing his fate. But when near Forkill, he met a prieſt, who whiſpered a ſhort time in his ear, after which his countenance brightened up, he advanced to the place of execution with firmneſs, and was launched into eternity with ſingular reſignation. The barbarous treatment of this colony by the Romaniſts, and their ſavage cruelty towards the Barclays, convinced the preſbyterians that the extirpation of proteſtants of every denomination was the main deſign of the defenders.

As their zeal to collect arms ſtill increaſed, and as a large quantity of them was imported into Newry for their uſe, which occaſioned a general alarm, the grand jury and high ſheriff of the county of Armagh entered into the following reſolution, at the ſpring aſſizes of 1791:

Reſolved, "That a rage among the Roman catholicks, for illegally arming themſelves, has of late taken place, and is truly alarming: In order then to put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings, and to reſtore tranquillity, we do pledge ourſelves to each other, as magiſtrates and individuals; and do hereby offer a reward of five guineas, for the conviction of each of the firſt twenty perſons, illegally armed and aſſembled as aforeſaid."

Though the origin of the defenders has been imputed to a particular quarrel, and dated from a certain period, we may fairly conclude, that they had treaſonable and revolutionary ſchemes, which were inſpired by miſſionaries from France; probably ſome of their own clergy; and what corroborates this opinion is, that the fermentation among them increaſed, and kept pace with the diſturbances of that kingdom.

When Spain was the moſt potent ſtate in Europe, the Iriſh maintained a connection with her, and fought her aſſiſtance to make war againſt their liege ſovereign, and to ſeparate their native country from England; for which purpoſe they brought two Spaniſh armies into Ireland, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, which produced two dreadful civil wars.

When

When France roſe to unrivalled wealth and power, on the declenſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, under the auſpices of Richlieu and Mazarine his elêve, the Iriſh began, and have never ceaſed, to attach themſelves to her, hoping, through her aid, to accompliſh their treaſonable deſigns; and the popiſh clergy, many of whom have been bred in France, never fail to inſpire their flock with admiration of the Gallic nation, and with the moſt inveterate hatred towards the Engliſh, whom they brand with the odious appellation of hereticks. For this reaſon, we find father Quigley, an active agitator among the defenders, and afterwards among the united Iriſhmen.

In the years 1792 and 1793, they broke out into open rebellion, and attacked, with deſtructive rage, proteſtants of every denomination, in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, Roſcommon, Weſtmeath, Donegal, Leitrim, Down, Mayo, Sligo and Derry, Limerick, Wexford, and even in the county of Kerry. In ſhort, we may venture to aſſert, that before the end of the year 1793, they had ſpread the ſeeds of combuſtion over moſt parts of Ireland. Not to interrupt the courſe of the narrative, I have annexed, in an Appendix, ſome of the principal outrages committed by them.

In the year 1792, they plundered one hundred and eighty proteſtant houſes in the county of Louth, though the proteſtants in it are not numerous; and they never experienced any enmity or oppoſition from them, till they were rouzed to come forward in defence of their lives and properties. The depriving proteſtants of their arms and ammunition ſeemed to have been one of their principal deſigns.

In ſome places, landlords were obliged to reduce their rents, and the clergy to relinquiſh their tithes, to calm the ſtorm of licentious turbulence, but without effect. Many proteſtant families abandoned their houſes, and fled to the capital for protection.

In the autumn and winter of 1792, ſo many barbarous outrages were committed by them, in the county of Louth, that at the ſpring aſſizes following, held at Dundalk, twenty-one defenders were ſentenced to die, twenty-five to be tranſported, twelve to be impriſoned a certain time, for having conſpired to murder different perſons, thirteen indicted for murder put off their trials, and bench warrants iſſued againſt eighty perſons who abſconded.*

They

* In the reign of queen Elizabeth, before England had completely experienced the bleſſings of the Reformation, we find frequently as many, nay more delinquents, at an aſſizes.

They would have completely desolated the county of Louth in the year 1792, but that the right honourable John Foster, speaker of the house of commons, whose activity as a useful country gentleman, can be equalled by nothing, but the zeal and wisdom which he has displayed in parliament for the prosperity of his country, gave them a complete overthrow, by the most vigorous and unabated exertions, in the course of which his life was often endangered.

In the county of Louth, they marched in great numbers, and in regular array, to their mass houses, to fairs and patrons, and were at times heard to declare, that they would not suffer any protestant to live in the country.

In the year 1788, Mr. Camac employed a number of masons to build an inn between Dundalk and Drogheda. Some carriers, who were conveying linen from Dromore to Dublin, were stopped by the masons, who required them to cross themselves, and say their Ave Maria. Such of them as were papists, of course complied; and one presbyterian, who living much with Romanists, knew all their tricks and manœuvres, was permitted to pass unmolested; but a protestant, who unfortunately happened to be ignorant of them, was most grievously beaten by them.

Some people have been led into the following error, as to the origin and the title of the defenders:

That they often, and particularly in the year 1786, indicted some of the peep-of-day boys, who were acquitted, though their guilt was evident: That finding no redress from the laws of their country, they united, collected arms for their defence, and assumed the name of defenders.

Some persons of both parties were frequently convicted and punished. Two peep-of-day boys at the spring assizes of 1788, at Armagh, were sentenced to be fined and imprisoned for ill treating a Roman catholick. Baron Power, in the year 1795, hanged three defenders, and two peep-of-day boys. In the year 1797, government sent the attorney general to Armagh, to dispense justice equally to both parties. He tried alternately two of each party, and some of both were found guilty, and punished.

As the defenders were committing the most dreadful outrages in the county of Louth, in the year 1792, and the Roman catholick gentlemen did not shew any inclination to assist in suppressing them, the following query appeared in the Dublin Journal of the third of January, 1793:

Have

Have the Roman catholick gentlemen and landholders of the county of Louth, ſtepped fairly forward, in conjunction with the proteſtant gentry and landholders, in repreſſing the outrages of the banditti, called defenders? Or do they keep back, ſilent and inactive, pretending to diſapprove, yet really acquieſcing in their conduct? This query demands an anſwer.

On the third of January, 1793, a few perſons, who called themſelves the Roman catholick inhabitants of the county of Louth, aſſembled at Greenmount, near Caſtle Bellingham, entered into ſtrong reſolutions againſt the defenders, and exhorted all perſons of their perſuaſion, to abſtain from their combinations, and their unwarrantable practices; and they publiſhed them in the Dublin Journal. It was ſigned by ſixty laymen, moſt of them in very low ſituations, and by eighteen popiſh prieſts, and doctor Reilly, the titular primate of Ireland.

The following perſons were among the laymen who ſigned it: One Coleman, of Dundalk, with whom Sweetman, ſecretary of the Catholick committee, correſponded in the month of Auguſt, 1792, relative to protecting the defenders then in priſon, and for whom he employed counſel in their defence, as ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords:*

Another man of the ſame name, convicted of lying in wait, and conſpiring with others, to murder Parker M'Neil, eſquire, a magiſtrate, becauſe he had taken an active part againſt the defenders:

Patrick Byrne, of Caſtletown, eſquire, a man of fortune but very ſeditious, who was fined 1000l. and impriſoned two years, for having publiſhed an inflammatory pamphlet, and who has ſince abſconded, having been deeply engaged with the defenders:

John Hoey and Anthony Marmion, convicted of treaſonable practices, as defenders, and hanged at Dundalk, in the ſummer of 1798:

Thomas Marky, condemned to die, but his ſentence was mitigated to tranſportation: Bartholomew Mc. Gawley, tranſported for defenderiſm:

One Mc. Alliſter, deeply concerned with the defenders: John Conlon, a noted defender, who afterwards became an approver; and it is moſt certain, that the majority of thoſe who ſigned that paper were defenders.

* This is given at large in the origin of the Catholick committee.

On the ſeventh of November, 1792, Mr. Mc. Neil was fired at in the night, when at a window in his houſe, on account of the active part which he had taken againſt the defenders.

In the year 1793, the grand jury and high ſheriff of the county of Cavan, entered into ſtrong reſolutions againſt them, at the ſpring aſſizes.

The magiſtrates, gentlemen, and landholders of the county of Meath, viſcount Headfort in the chair, did the like.

The landholders in the Queen's County, duly aſſembled by the ſheriff on the twenty-ninth of June, 1793, alarmed at the outrages committed by them, reſolved to unite and exert themſelves for their ſuppreſſion.

The inhabitants of the barony of Demiſore, in the county of Weſtmeath, adopted ſimilar reſolutions on the twenty-ſeventh of January, 1793.

At laſt, they became ſo furious and alarming, that the lord lieutenant and council iſſued a proclamation, on the thirteenth of February, 1793, offering a reward of 100l. to any perſon, who would proſecute them, in the counties of Louth, Meath, Monaghan, Cavan, Dublin, and the county of the town of Drogheda, where they aſſembled in large bodies, with arms and other offenſive weapons, adminiſtered illegal oaths, ſent threatening letters, plundered houſes of arms and other things, and burned both houſes and offices.

It has been ſaid, in their excuſe, that they acted in their own defence, in the counties of Armagh and Down, having been attacked by the preſbyterians; but in the other counties, which I have mentioned, their aggreſſion on the proteſtants was wanton, ſpontaneous, and offenſive; as there were but few, if any, preſbyterians in them, and they met with no provocation whatſoever. Some gentlemen, in the North, of great ſagacity and ſolid judgment, have aſcribed the origin of the defenders to the following cauſe:

During the American war, when volunteering was in its meridian, ſome preſbyterians, who had revolutionary projects, invited the Roman catholicks to join them in arms, from the uſe of which they were prohibited by law.

They meant to avail themſelves of their aſſiſtance to ſubvert the conſtitution, knowing that they, on all occaſions, had evinced a decided hoſtility to the proteſtant ſtate.

When

When the reſtoration of peace had defeated the hopes of the preſbyterians, they reſolved to diſarm the Roman catholicks, who, animated by the poſſeſſion of arms and a knowledge of diſcipline, not only refuſed to ſurrender them, but proceeded to collect large quantities of them, and even boaſted that they would not lay them down, until they obtained a further extenſion of their privileges, in addition to thoſe which were recently conceded. Such boaſting alarmed the fears, and rouſed the indignation of the preſbyterians, who proceeded in large bodies to diſarm them, which produced mutual hoſtility.

From the envenomed hatred with which the popiſh multitude are inſpired from their earlieſt age by their clergy to a proteſtant ſtate, their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, and to a connection with England, and which has appeared in various ſhapes, ſuch as levellers, white boys, right boys, united Iriſhmen, and defenders, we cannot be at a loſs to account for the origin of the latter; they are but a link of the ſame chain; they, like the white boys, cement their union by oaths, plunder or burn houſes, cut out the tongues, and cut off the ears of their fellow creatures, mangle, maim, or murder them, and hough cattle;—a barbarous practice, which is peculiar to the ſavages of Ireland!

In the year 1795, the Romaniſts, who aſſumed the name of maſons, uſed frequently to aſſemble in the neighbourhood of Loughgall, Charlemont, Richhill, Portadown, Lurgan, the Ban foot and Black-water foot, and robbed proteſtants of their arms.

In the month of September of that year, they aſſembled in arms, in the day time, marched into the pariſh of Tentaraghan, in the county of Armagh, and fired into the houſes of proteſtants.

Next day the latter aſſembled in arms for their defence, and a conſtant diſcharge of muſketry was kept up at each other from diſtant hills, but no lives were loſt.

On the eighteenth of September, ſome magiſtrates of the neighbouring country, prevailed on the leaders of the proteſtants and the defenders, to repair to the houſe of one Winter, near Portadown, where articles of amneſty and mutual reconcilement were drawn up, and ſigned by both parties; who alſo entered into recogniſances of 50l. on each ſide, to keep the peace, which were alſo ſigned by two popiſh prieſts on the part of the defenders.

Mr. Atkinſon was one of the gentlemen who ſigned the articles on the part of the proteſtants; yet the defenders way-laid and fired at him, as he was returning to his houſe, at Crowhill, on the ſame day.

The defenders, in violation of theſe articles, aſſembled next day, in arms, and attacked the proteſtants, who again propoſed peace and mutual forgiveneſs, but in vain.

The defenders, elate with their numbers, having ſent for reinforcements to the mountains of Pomeroy and Ballygawly, in the county of Tyrone, made an attack on the proteſtants, near a village called the Diamond; and were heard to declare, that they would not ſuffer a perſon of their perſuaſion to remain in the country.

The ſhouts and the firing of the defenders alarmed the proteſtants, who aſſembled from all quarters; and an engagement having enſued, forty-eight of the defenders were killed, and a great number were wounded, on the twenty-firſt of September, 1795.

It was univerſally allowed, that the defenders were, at leaſt, ten to one in this conflict, ever ſince known by the name of the battle of the Diamond.

During the three days that the defenders continued under arms, proviſions were ſent to them in abundance, on cars, from remote parts; ſo ſtrong was the ſpirit of their party!

As the paſſions of both parties were now ſo much inflamed, that they ſeemed mutually to think of nothing leſs than extermination; as the defenders were in the proportion of ſix to one to the proteſtants; and as the former had been ſupplied clandeſtinely with large quantities of arms and ammunition from Dublin, and various other quarters; the former proceeded, immediately after the victory, to ſearch their houſes for them, and wherever they found them concealed, they demoliſhed both them and the furniture; in conſequence of which their inmates emigrated to the province of Connaught, particularly to the counties of Mayo and Sligo, where they were well received and protected; but it will appear in the ſequel, that their protectors had reaſon to repent of the reception which they gave them.

The reader may form ſome idea of the animoſity of both parties in the county of Armagh, from the following circumſtance: A reſpectable gentleman

gentleman of that county aſſured me, that the proteſtant inhabitants of the pariſh of Sego, were ſo much afraid of being murdered by the Romaniſts in the year 1795, that they would not venture to go to Lurgan or Portadown, market towns in the neighbourhood, unleſs they were well armed, and in conſiderable numbers.

All the emigrants to Connaught did not go from Armagh, or in conſequence of feuds or quarrels. Some gentlemen of the county of Tyrone aſſured me, that many popiſh families emigrated from it to Connaught, in conſequence of prophecies frequently uttered, that civil wars would ſoon take place on the eaſt ſide of the Shannon; that the rivers would be crimſoned with blood, and that there would be a deſtructive plague, occaſioned by the number of putrid carcaſes unburied. The proteſtants in the county of Armagh, finding that it was neceſſary they ſhould unite for their defence, inſtituted Orange clubs, of which I ſhall now proceed to give an account.

But I think it neceſſary to obſerve, that the ſpirit by which the defenders were actuated, appeared in a moſt deſperate and outrageous manner in four of the moſt remote counties of the kingdom, in the year 1793, in Kerry and Donegal, in Wexford and Limerick, and in many of the intermediate ones; which clearly proves that their plans were not defenſive.

ORIGIN

ORIGIN OF THE ORANGEMEN.

AS the defenders not only became terrifick to individuals, in moſt parts of the kingdom, by the conſtant perpetration of nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination; as they formed a ſyſtematick combination, and ſupplied themſelves with arms, for the obvious purpoſe of ſubverting the conſtitution in church and ſtate; and as they were encouraged and directed by the Catholick committee, and the united Iriſhmen, the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, to defeat their malignant deſigns, found it neceſſary to excite and cheriſh a ſpirit of loyalty, which began to languiſh and decline, in a very alarming degree, and to rally round the altar and the throne, which were in imminent danger.

The battle of the Diamond, in the county of Armagh, in the month of September, 1795, and the duplicity and treachery of the Romaniſts, on that occaſion, convinced the proteſtants, that they would become an eaſy prey to their enemies, from the paucity of their numbers, unleſs they aſſociated for their defence; particularly, as the fanatical vengeance, which they diſplayed on that and other occaſions, convinced the members of the eſtabliſhed church, that they meditated nothing leſs than their total extirpation.

In commemoration of that victory, the firſt Orange lodge was formed in the county of Armagh, on the twenty-firſt of September, 1795, though the name of orangeman exiſted ſome time before.

They were merely a ſociety of loyal proteſtants, aſſociated and bound together, ſolely for the purpoſe of maintaining and defending the conſtitution in church and ſtate, as eſtabliſhed by the prince of Orange, at the glorious Revolution, which they regarded as a ſolemn and ſacred duty. It confers diſtinguiſhed credit on its early members, that they united and ſtood forward for this truly patriotic purpoſe, unſupported and unprotected by the great and the powerful, to whom their motives were miſrepreſented by traitors, who knew that the inſtitution would form a firm barrier againſt their nefarious machinations.

I have

I have univerſally obſerved, that the diſaffected, who arraigned with the utmoſt ſeverity the Orange ſocieties, never uttered any cenſure on the committees of aſſaſſination, to which ſo many loyal men fell a ſacrifice.

Plutarch, in his life of Solon, tells us, that he procured a law to be paſſed at Athens, by which any perſon ſhould be branded as infamous, that remained neuter when any diſturbance or commotion took place, which endangered the exiſtence of the ſtate. Should not, on the ſame principle, thoſe who did not aſſiſt in oppoſing the rebellious deſigns of the defenders and the united Iriſhmen, be deemed diſloyal, or even traitors?

The lower claſs of proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, actuated by an invincible attachment to their king and country, ſtood forward at this perilous criſis, in the ſpirited defence of both, and avowed their unalterable determination to ſtand or fall with them.

As they encreaſed, a ſpirit of loyalty encreaſed with them, and ſtrength and confidence ſucceeded to the place of ſupineneſs and deſpondency, in the breaſts of loyal men. Supported by a conſcioufneſs of the goodneſs of their cauſe, and by the protection of Providence, they perſevered through every difficulty in their generous reſolution; rapidly encreaſed in numbers, and became an irreſiſtible obſtacle, wherever the inſtitution got a footing, to the progreſs of the ſeditious ſocieties. Leſt its members, rouſed by wanton and unprovoked outrages, might have been ſtimulated to retaliate, and from retaliation to commit any exceſſes, gentlemen, highly reſpectable, not only by birth and fortune but by moral excellence, put themſelves at its head, to regulate its motions; whoſe characters were alone ſufficient to refute the many falſehoods and calumnies uttered againſt the inſtitution. As a further refutation of them, they publiſhed a declaration of their principles in the newſpapers, which will convince the reader of the purity of their intentions.*

The members of the Orange inſtitution, being thus inſtrumental in uniformly reſiſting the progreſs, and contributing to defeat the revolutionary deſigns of confederated traitors, became of courſe objects of their moſt pointed and vindictive reſentment. Every means were uſed to traduce and vilify them. The nature of their aſſociation was miſrepreſented, and

* See Appendix, No. V.

and oaths which they abhorred, were fabricated and impoſed upon the publick as the obligations of orangemen.

With equal virulence, and from the ſame motives, the eſtabliſhment of the militia, and the formation of the yeomanry were oppoſed by them.

The following circumſtance unqueſtionably proves, that the inſtitution was perfectly defenſive: It never was introduced into any county or diſtrict, till it had been ſome years diſturbed or deſolated by the defenders or united Iriſhmen.

It was not eſtabliſhed in the metropolis, though many years threatened with open rebellion, till the month of January, 1798; and many gentlemen of high character and conſiderable talents placed themſelves at its head, to give the inſtitution a proper direction, and to ſilence the calumnious clamours of traitors againſt it.

It is well known, that the Revolution in England could not have been effected, if combinations of perſons, attached to the conſtitution, had not been made for its accompliſhment; and it is univerſally acknowledged, that it could not have been maintained againſt the many conſpiracies formed for the reſtoration of king James, but by the ſame means.

As the Jacobites vilified and maligned thoſe aſſociations, from the ſame motives that the diſaffected did the orangemen, the houſe of commons of England reſolved in the year 1695, "That whoever ſhould affirm, an aſſociation was illegal, ſhould be deemed a promoter of the deſigns of king James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom."

From the year 1792, to the year 1797, the county of Monaghan had been diſturbed by the defenders, who at that time became terrifick by the aid and co-operation of the united Iriſhmen.

In the beginning of that year, the loyal ſubjects, alarmed for their ſafety, began to form Orange clubs, againſt the combination of traitors, who were conſtantly committing nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination; but ſome of the leading gentlemen of the county oppoſed the inſtitution.

In conſequence of this, the diſaffected diſſeminated their doctrines ſo rapidly, and with ſo much ſucceſs, that many loyal ſubjects were obliged to compromiſe with them from motives of fear, to take their oaths, and to enter into their ſyſtem.

At laſt, thoſe very gentlemen, who at firſt oppoſed the Orange inſtitution, perceiving that their oppoſition muſt ſoon terminate in a total ſubverſion

verſion of ſocial order, and the deſtruction of their lives and properties, encouraged with infinitely more zeal, than they had before reſiſted, its eſtabliſhment; in conſequence of which, the loyal ſubjects, animated by their united ſtrength, ſtruck the combined traitors with terror and diſmay, and reſtored energy to the execution of the laws. The ſame thing occurred in the counties of Fermanagh, Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, and Armagh, where it was obſerved it had a peculiar good effect in detaching the preſbyterians from the union.

I have been aſſured by a very reſpectable gentleman of the county of Tyrone, that its inhabitants were ſo much intimidated by anonymous threatening letters, and by the aſſaſſinations committed there, that in the lordſhip of Caledon, containing ten thouſand people, the whole of them, except about ſix or eight perſons, were ſworn; but the loyal ſubjects having entered into the Orange ſocieties, and having gained courage and confidence by their united ſtrength, renounced with indignation theſe traitorous combinations, invigorated the arm of the civil magiſtrate, and completely checked the progreſs of treaſon. The honourable general Knox, a gentleman whoſe ſagacity is not inferior to his courage and military ſkill, which he has diſplayed in Europe, Aſia, and America, commanded at Dungannon, in the ſummer of 1798; and he aſſured government, that the inſtitution of Orange lodges was of infinite uſe, and that he would reſt the ſafety of the North on the fidelity of the orangemen who were enrolled in the yeomanry corps.

I think it right to mention, that the Orange aſſociation ſhould not be confounded, as it has often invidiouſly been, with the mutual and diſgraceful outrages which prevailed in the county of Armagh many years preceding, between the loweſt claſs of preſbyterians, under the denomination of peep-of-day boys, and the Roman catholicks, as defenders; for it was not inſtituted till the defenders manifeſted their hoſtile deſigns againſt proteſtants of every deſcription, in moſt parts of the kingdom.

Borlaſe tells us, that, in the year 1641, the lords juſtices invited the lords and gentlemen of the pale to come to Dublin, and aſſiſt them in preventing ſtrife or ſedition; but they refuſed, under a pretext that every perſon of their order was to be maſſacred, which was done merely to alarm the lower claſs of Roman catholicks, and inſpire them with vengeance againſt proteſtants; and for the ſame reaſon the diſaffected aſſerted,

in the years 1797 and 1798, that all perſons of that order were to be murdered by orangemen.

James Beaghan, executed on Vinegar-hill the twenty-fourth of June, 1799, for various murders, which, he ſaid, he was inſtigated by popiſh prieſts to commit, confeſſed, that "every man that was a proteſtant was called an orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the pooreſt man in the country. They thought it no more ſin to kill a proteſtant than a dog." See his confeſſion at large in the ſequel.

However uſeful the Orange inſtitution may be in a country where the members of the eſtabliſhed church are numerous, it muſt be allowed, that it muſt have been injurious where there are but few, becauſe it only tended to excite the vengeance of the Romaniſts againſt them; and they could not unite with celerity, and in ſufficient numbers for their defence. It ſhould not be admitted in our regular army, or militia, conſiſting of both, and therefore would be likely to create party zeal and diſcord.

As ſoon as the maſſacres perpetrated at Vinegar-hill and Scullabogue were known in the North, numbers of preſbyterians, of whom ſome had been diſaffected, and others lukewarm, in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, trembling for their ſafety, became orangemen; and general Knox, depending on their zeal and ſincerity, embodied them, and procured arms for them from government.

In the year 1792, when the diſſemination of treaſon and the formation of ſeditious clubs, in London, threatened the immediate deſtruction of the conſtitution, Mr. Reeves, by ſeaſonably encouraging loyal ſocieties, checked the progreſs and the baneful effects of their doctrines. The inſtitution of orangemen did not differ from them in the ſmalleſt degree.

I give the following extracts from Harris's Life of king William, to ſhew that the Iriſh Roman catholicks in the year 1689, propagated reports of the malevolent deſigns of the proteſtants towards their order, ſimilar to thoſe which were ſet on foot of the orangemen, and for the ſame purpoſe:

"In the mean time, the Iriſh papiſts throughout the kingdom, proceeded in impeaching the proteſtants of traitorous deſigns; but their plots were ſo ridiculouſly contrived, and made up of ſuch palpable contradictions

tions and incongruities, that they ſerved only to demonſtrate the innocence of the accuſed, and inveteracy of the informers. Theſe impeachments failing of the intent, they applied themſelves to other courſes, many turned tories and highwaymen, houſebreakers, and ſtealers of cattle, and were guilty of ſo many enormities to the Engliſh, that thouſands were forced to deſert the kingdom, and paſs into England, under as great fears and jealouſies as if there had been an open rebellion, and five hundred together tranſported themſelves to the Engliſh foreign plantations."*

"The Iriſh pretended, that the proteſtants aſſembled in great numbers in the night time; and, to gain the more credit, the vulgar Iriſh were inſtructed to forſake their houſes, and to hide every night in the bogs, pretending a fear, that the Engliſh would, in that dead ſeaſon, cut their throats; a practice, as notorious among them, as unheard-of among proteſtants, and for which there neither was, nor could be, the leaſt foundation; for their infinitely ſuperior numbers to the Engliſh, in ſome parts an hundred families to one, ſhewed how ridiculous the invention was; and they were convinced, both by the practice of the proteſtants and the principles of their religion, that they were not men of blood. Whoever conſiders the genius of the Reformed and Romiſh churches in this particular, muſt needs acknowledge a ſtrange oppoſition between them. However, with what malice and injuſtice ſoever the Engliſh were repreſented as nightwalkers, with deſign of murdering the Iriſh, yet examinations of theſe charges were taken by juſtices of the peace, calculated for the purpoſe, and tranſmitted to the lords juſtices and council; upon which, by the king's directions, a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding all night meetings, though the lords juſtices well knew there was no ſuch practice."†

* Harris's life of K. William III. edit. of 1749, Dub. folio 107. † Ib. p. 105.

ORIGIN OF THE CATHOLICK COMMITTEE.

THE Abbé O'Connor ſays, in the life of his grandfather Charles O'Connor, the Iriſh antiquary, page 330, " that he, doctor Curry, and Mr. Wyſe of Waterford, firſt thought of eſtabliſhing a Roman catholick committee in the city of Dublin, in the year 1757."

" The firſt meeting was held at the Globe coffee-houſe, in Eſſex-ſtreet, and only ſeven gentlemen attended; Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Wyſe of Waterford, doctor Curry, doctor Jennings, Anthony Mc.Dermott, Mr. James Reynolds of Aſh-ſtreet, and another gentleman, whoſe name I could not find among the original letters now in my poſſeſſion."

Their numbers ſoon increaſed, and they aſſembled and determined with the greateſt ſecreſy on the beſt and moſt likely means of procuring a reſtoration of thoſe privileges which they had been formerly deprived of.

They, at ſome period which I cannot aſcertain, aſſimilated to the confederate catholicks, aſſembled at Kilkenny in the year 1641; for members, duly elected and returned by towns and diſtricts, in almoſt every part of the kingdom, ſat in it; gentlemen of landed eſtate had a right to a ſeat there; and they ſoon began to regulate their proceedings according to the form and ſolemnity of parliament.

Theſe particulars are fully proved by the following reſolution, which they entered into the fifteenth day of November, 1783:

" Sir Patrick Bellew, in the chair.

" Reſolved, That we feel ourſelves particularly called upon to declare, that this committee conſiſts of every Roman catholick nobleman and gentleman of landed property, and of other gentlemen, choſen by their fellow-ſubjects of that perſuaſion in Dublin, and other principal parts of the kingdom."

" Reſolved, That thus conſtituted, we have, for *ſeveral years paſt*, been the medium through which the voice of the Roman catholicks of Ireland has been conveyed, and the only one competent thereto."

" At

" At a ſeſſion held by them on the tenth of February, 1791, ſtyled a meeting of the general committee of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, they reſolved, That the ſeveral papers now read, containing reſolutions and inſtructions from this city, and from the principal cities and towns of Ireland, be referred to a committee of eight, who ſhall report thereon to this committee, on Friday the eighteenth inſtant."

They aſſembled again on the eighteenth of February, the earl of Fingal in the chair, when the report was received, and the committee of eight produced a petition, which was to have been preſented to parliament, praying a repeal of ſome of the reſtrictive laws; but after different interviews with Mr. Hobart, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary, it was reſolved not to preſent it that ſeſſion.

In a report, made the eighteenth of April, 1791, by the committee of eight, after ſtating the interviews and diſcuſſions which they had held with the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and Mr. Hobart, they caſt ſevere cenſures on thoſe noble lords, as if they had, by their conduct, thrown obſtacles in the way of preſenting the petition, which, however, lord Kenmare preſented to the lord lieutenant, on the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1791, as the addreſs of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, and which contained ſtrong expreſſions of loyalty, and of attachment to the conſtitution.

They reſolve in it, to apply to parliament in the next ſeſſion, for a further repeal of the reſtrictive laws; and they ſay, that they do not preſume to point out the meaſure or extent to which ſuch repeal ſhould be carried, but leave it to the wiſdom and diſcretion of parliament, confiding in their liberality and benevolence.

It breathed that ſpirit of mildneſs and moderation which appeared in all their proceedings, while they were regulated by the nobility and gentry of the Roman catholick perſuaſion.

It was ſigned by the lords Fingal, Gormanſtown, Kenmare, doctor Troy, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, and by moſt of the landholders and reſpectable gentlemen of their perſuaſion in the kingdom.

On the ſixth of January, 1792, the general committee of the Roman catholicks in Dublin, publiſhed reſolutions condemning the addreſs preſented by lord Kenmare on the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1791, as ſurreptitiouſly obtained; and not containing the real ſenſe of the Catholick body, and they reſolved to addreſs the lord lieutenant, to ſignify to his majeſty

majeſty their reaſons for withdrawing their ſignatures from ſaid addreſs. They reſolved, that lord Kenmare had entirely forfeited their confidence, by his late conduct in procuring, by his own exertions, and thoſe of his emiſſaries, certain ſervile and inſidious addreſſes, calculated to divide the catholicks of Ireland, and eventually to defeat their juſt applications for relief from the grievous oppreſſions under which they laboured. They alſo ſtruck out his name from the liſt of the committee of eight.

The turbulent leaders of that aſſembly were very much enraged againſt his lordſhip, becauſe he had preſented a loyal addreſs in the name of the Roman catholicks of the county of Kerry, containing expreſſions of concern, that certain inflammatory writings had appeared, and that aſſociations had been attempted to be formed, which might poſſibly ſow the ſeeds of diſcontent among the lower claſſes of their perſuaſion.*

Parochial meetings were held in different parts of the kingdom, in which addreſſes were voted to the general committee, reflecting on the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and recommending their expulſion.

The Catholick ſociety, compoſed of ſome diſcontented members of the Catholick committee, ſeceded from them in the year 1791, and continued to act as a ſeparate body.

They announced that their object was, to obtain a repeal of the popery laws; they invited their fellow-ſufferers throughout the kingdom to unite with them for that purpoſe; and they aſſerted, that it is the intereſt of every man in the kingdom, that the entire ſhould be aboliſhed.

The lords Fingal and Kenmare, and ſir Patrick Bellew, were at the head of the committee, till the beginning of the year 1792, when they, and above ſixty reſpectable Roman catholick gentlemen, diſguſted and alarmed at their intemperate proceedings, ſeceded.

Some of its demagogues, who had revolutionary deſigns, fearing that the moderation and loyalty of theſe noblemen and gentlemen would check them in their furious career, made the committee ſo unpleaſant to them, that they prudently reſolved on retiring from it. Lord Fingal was voted out of the chair, in rather a tumultuous manner, and Thomas Braughall was

* Such ſeditious publications frequently appeared at that time in the publick prints, and aſſociations were formed in many parts of the kingdom, in order to agitate the popiſh multitude.

was voted into it; on which his lordſhip ſaid, "Sir, I wiſh you luck with it."

I have been aſſured, that lord Fingal declared, ſoon after this event, that he ſhould be very ſorry to ſee the members of his church put on an equal footing with thoſe of the eſtabliſhed religion.

A writer of their own perſuaſion, doctor Mc. Kenna, made the following ſtrictures on their intemperate conduct at that time, in which he depicted the committee as it then ſtood: "If ever there ſhould ariſe among us a ridiculous cabal of men, ambitious of rule, without abilities to regulate, who, actuated by vanity and jealouſy, will endeavour to eſtrange from our cauſe the men of rank, and diſguſt its natural leaders, and diſcountenance men of letters, its natural auxiliaries; ſuch perſons may mean well, but their good intentions will only retard, not avert, what they well deſerve, the execration of the body, whoſe opinions they caricature, and whoſe intereſt they injure."

"I am obliged reluctantly to expreſs, (what the entire nation muſt perceive,) that the few gentlemen of the metropolis, the ſub-committee of catholicks, who have hitherto aſſumed the direction of buſineſs, ſtand in need of coadjutors. I queſtion their prudence, not their zeal, not their intentions; but their reflection, foreſight, and political ſagacity. It is time the cauſe of a great people ſhould aſſume the appearance of ſyſtem. For the laſt ten months it has fluctuated before the publick in the hands of unſkilful managers, without even the dignity of ſteadineſs, advancing and retreating, aſſerting and retracting, with the giddineſs of ſchool boys, and the random of a game of nine pins."

The proceedings of the committee were then governed by Edward Byrne, John Keogh, Randal Mc. Donnell, Thomas Braughall, John Sweetman, and Richard Mc. Cormick. They had three ſecretaries, the two latter and Theobald Wolfe Tone, who turned out to be notorious traitors, and whoſe characters I ſhall deſcribe in the ſequel.

The claims of the committee were moderate as yet, compared to thoſe which they made a few months after; for at a meeting held the fourth of February, 1792, Edward Byrne in the chair, they declared that they expected no more than,

1ſt, Admiſſion to the profeſſion and practice of the law.

2d, Capacity to ſerve on county magiſtracies.

3d, A

3d, A right to be ſummoned and ſerve on grand and petit juries.

4th, A right of voting in counties only, for proteſtant members of parliament, in ſuch a manner however as that a Roman catholick freeholder ſhould not vote, unleſs he either rents or cultivates a farm of 20l. per annum, in addition to his 40s. freehold, or that he ſhall be in poſſeſſion of a freehold of 20l. a year.

They ſaid, that they thus publiſh their expectations, in vindication of themſelves; as their enemies, to injure them, aſſert that they expect more.

In the beginning of the year 1792, there was a correſpondence between Sinclare Kelburn, a preſbyterian miniſter at Belfaſt, as chairman of a town meeting of its republican inhabitants, held in a meeting-houſe, and Edward Byrne, as chairman of the Roman catholick committee, at that time ſitting in Dublin.

The ſudden union and fraternity of two ſects, who were formerly as hoſtile to each other as they were to the ſtate, muſt have had a queſtionable appearance in the eyes of every perſon intereſted in its preſervation.*

Kelburn was an active demagogue at Belfaſt, the maſs of whoſe inhabitants are preſbyterians; and his conduct as an agitator was ſo flagrant, that government found themſelves under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of having him committed on charges of a ſerious nature, in the year 1797.

This man, as chairman of the town meeting at Belfaſt, wrote to Edward Byrne, then at the head of the Catholick committee, to ſend him a declaration of the religious tenets of Roman catholicks, that he might read and explain them to the members of the town meeting, uſually held in his meeting-houſe.

The leaders of the conſpiracy for ſubverting the conſtitution, well knowing the antipathy which had always exiſted between the preſbyterians and papiſts, and that they could not indulge the moſt diſtant hope of effecting a revolution without the concurrence of the former, uſed their moſt ſtrenuous exertions to reconcile and unite the two orders, who were well inclined individually to ſubvert the conſtitution, and they began with the factious demagogues of Belfaſt, the focus of republicaniſm, as they had very great influence over the preſbyterians of the north.

Edward

* This flirtation between John and Peter, began during the American war, as I before obſerved.

Edward Byrne having aſſembled the leading Roman catholicks of Dublin on the twenty-third of March, 1792, they framed a declaration of their tenets, which their chairman forwarded to Kelburn, and he read it in his meeting-houſe to his levelling ſectaries, who expreſſed their approbation of it by acclamation.

This declaration was ſigned by doctor Troy, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, Edward Byrne, and Richard Mc. Cormick.*

In the rebellion which broke out in the year 1798, the Romaniſts violated every principle which they pretended to maintain in it, and followed and reduced to practice the old deleterious doctrines which they affected to renounce.

The popiſh inhabitants of Belfaſt and its vicinity, in imitation of thoſe in Dublin, aſſembled on the ſixth of April, 1792, James Mooney in the chair, adopted their declaration, and ſent it to Edward Byrne, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Todd Jones. Tone, the ſecretary and agent of the Catholick committee, was detected in a conſpiracy with the reverend Mr. Jackſon, in the year 1794, for bringing the French into Ireland; but was permitted, through the miſtaken lenity of government, to tranſport himſelf, and even obtained a ſum of money for that purpoſe.

He was afterwards taken by ſir John B. Warren, in a French ſquadron, on the northern coaſt of Ireland, on the twelfth of October, 1798, being attached as an officer to a body of French troops, who were coming to invade Ireland. He was tried and convicted of high treaſon; but put a period to his exiſtence before the ſentence of the court could be executed.

Mr. Jones, a member of parliament, was a ſanguine advocate for the Romaniſts in the houſe of commons, ſo early as the year 1792; he accuſed them afterwards in the Belfaſt News-letter, of having withheld a conſiderable portion of the money which they had ſtipulated to pay him.†

* Tranſported for being a traitor.

† It is not improbable that they had many hired agents in a great aſſembly, from the intemperate zeal which ſome gentlemen ſhewed in their cauſe. It is well known, that the Romaniſts often levied money on every individual of their order; and when ſome poor people in the province of Munſter complained to me of the ſums which were extorted from them, I aſked them, to what purpoſe it was to be applied? and many of them informed me, they were told that it was to bribe the parliament.

When the Roman Catholick committee aſſembled on the twenty-third of March, 1792, to frame a declaration of their tenets, a debate took place, which ſhewed the deſigns and the raſhneſs of that body.

A Mr. O'Sullivan ſaid, "That they did not lament the abſence of the landholders, nor did they wiſh for their preſence, till they had repented of their political ſins. If they were preſent, the aſſembly would be contaminated by a ſet of ſelf-intereſted hypocrites, who preferred their private advantage to the good of the community to which they belonged; hypocrites, who had not courage to act right, and who were afraid to ſpeak the truth."

Many groſs untruths were uttered there, to impoſe on the publick, and to inflame the popiſh multitude.

John Keogh, who had chief ſway in the committee, and guided all their movements, ſaid, that a gentleman of high rank told him a few days before, that he was obliged, with great regret, to tranſport whole villages,* to prevent his loſing his election: Now I will take upon me to ſay, that no inſtance can be proved of a papiſt being deprived of his farm, for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting a proteſtant.

Mr. Mc. Laughlin ſaid, "By this declaration, ſanctioned by our moſt reſpectable prelate, will our proteſtant brethren be reſcued from *fears and ſuperſtitious* prejudices, which, however ill-founded, muſt have made too deep an impreſſion on their minds, as having imbibed them from their earlieſt education."

In the month of February, 1792, a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons, on behalf of the Roman catholicks, ſtating, that they expected no other extenſion of their privileges, than what was announced by their committee on the fourth of February. It was conceived in ſuch diſreſpectful and indecorous terms, that the gentleman who preſented it requeſted permiſſion to withdraw it.

The committee were ſo much aſhamed of it, that they attempted to ſubſtitute another petition, more decent and temperate, in its place, which they had printed in many newſpapers and magazines; but the original was publiſhed in the Northern Star of the twenty-eighth of April, 1792.

Another petition, preſented ſoon after, was rejected. The numbers for its rejection were 202, for receiving it 25.

The

* Meaning of Roman catholicks.

The honourable Denis Browne, who gave it the warmeſt ſupport, expatiated largely on the loyalty and the peaceable deportment of the Roman catholicks, whom he and his family vindicated and panegyrized on all occaſions; but in the rebellion which broke out in the year 1798, they experienced an extraordinary degree of ingratitude from them.

On the third of March, 1792, at a poſt aſſembly held in Dublin, conſiſting of the lord mayor, the ſheriffs, commons, and citizens, they voted their thanks to the 202 members of the houſe of commons, who rejected the petition of the Roman catholicks, for obtaining the elective franchiſe.

On the twelfth of the ſame month, the Catholick ſociety, Theobald Mc. Kenna in the chair, Thomas Braughall, ſecretary, condemned, in rather ſevere language, the reſolutions of the poſt aſſembly; and thanked the minority in parliament, who ſupported their claims. Not only the grand juries at the ſubſequent aſſizes, but the Proteſtant and Roman catholick inhabitants of many counties and towns aſſembled, and followed their example; the former, thanking the majority in parliament, and declaring their determination to maintain the conſtitution as it then ſtood; the latter, the minority, and reſolving that they will perſevere in aſſerting their claims; by which the paſſions of both parties were very much inflamed.

About the ſame time, parochial meetings were held in different parts of the kingdom, where the loweſt orders of Roman catholicks aſſembled, debated on their rights, cenſured the conduct of the grand juries, and applauded that of their delegates in the Catholick committee, which engendered univerſal diſcontent and diſſatisfaction among the popiſh multitude.

The reader may form an opinion of the ſpirit of commotion which their leaders endeavoured to excite among the popiſh multitude, ſo early as the month of January, 1792, when their warm and uniform advocate, ſir Hercules Langriſh, ſaid, in the houſe of commons, "That, notwithſtanding my prepoſſeſſions in favour of the Roman catholicks, I was checked for ſome time in my ardour to ſerve them, by reading of late a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newſpapers, and other publick prints, circulated *gratis* with the utmoſt induſtry, purporting to convey the ſentiments of the catholicks.—What was their import?—they were exhortations to the people never to be ſatisfied at any conceſſion,

till the ſtate itſelf was conceded: they were precautions againſt publick tranquillity; they were invitations to diſorder, and covenants of diſcontent; they were oſtentations of ſtrength, rather than ſolicitations for favours; rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the ſtate; they involved the relief of the catholick, with the revolution of the government; and were diſſertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration."

At this time the Iriſh Roman catholicks had more civil liberty than the moſt favoured ſubjects of any ſtate in Europe, except England, and much more than the proteſtant ſubjects of any Roman catholick ſtate.

A Calviniſt teacher, if detected and convicted in certain provinces in France, was puniſhed with death; and thoſe who gave him a ſupper or a bed, were ſent to the gallies for life.

On the fourteenth of April, 1792, the general committee, Edward Byrne in the chair, Richard Mc. Cormick, ſecretary, voted an addreſs of thanks to Mr. John Keogh,* which was to be preſented by a committee of five. They aſſert in it, "that his conduct, reſolute without raſhneſs, and firm without obſtinacy, has reſtored the general committee to the ſenſe and practice of their duties; and the Catholick community to the knowledge and aſſertion of their rights."

In the ſeſſion of parliament in 1792, the following privileges were granted to the Roman catholicks:

That, after the twenty-fourth of June, 1792, they may practiſe as barriſters and attornies; that proteſtants and papiſts may intermarry; that popiſh ſchool-maſters need not obtain licenſes from the ordinary to keep ſchool; and all reſtrictions as to foreign education were removed.

Theſe favours, which parliament granted with a good grace, were certainly obtained through the mediation of lord Kenmare; but they loaded him with opprobrium, ſpurned at them, and reſolved to ſucceed by a ſyſtem of terror in the whole of their ambitious deſigns.

At a poſt aſſembly, conſiſting of the lord mayor, ſheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held the eleventh day of September, 1792, they condemned the object of Edward Byrne's circular letter; and reſolved,

* He has conſiderable abilities, and was the moſt ambitious and enterpriſing member of the committee; and, it is believed, adviſed the expulſion of the nobility and gentry from it.

reſolved, in ſpirited reſolutions, to maintain the conſtitution in church and ſtate. See them in Appendix, No. III.

The proteſtants were encouraged to adopt this procedure, by the ſpirited and determined manner with which the government rejected the demands of the papiſts; and the aſſurances which they received from its leading members, that the Romaniſts never ſhould obtain any ſhare of political power, induced them to ſpeak out, and with firmneſs, by which the two ſects were committed. Soon after, government having ſwerved from their opinion, and conceded the whole of what they had peremptorily refuſed, encouraged the Roman catholicks to riſe in their demands, particularly becauſe they were thought to have been influenced by terror, as the defenders were at that time deſolating many parts of the kingdom, and were terrifick in the environs of the capital. To this ſyſtem of terror, ſucceeded by conceſſion, we may in a great meaſure impute the rebellion.

The general committee having got rid of the nobility and gentry of their perſuaſion, reſolved, by every means, however unwarrantable, to obtain a total repeal of the popery laws; and thinking that they might intimidate the government, by putting the maſs of the people in motion, Edward Byrne, by their order, iſſued writs to every county, and to many towns and diſtricts, deſiring certain perſons therein to hold elections, and to chooſe repreſentatives, who were to be returned forthwith to Dublin, for the purpoſe of forming a convention; and he ſays, in his circular letter, that their chairman had actually left Dublin, with an intention of going through a great part of Ireland to promote this deſign.

The elections were to be held (according to the plan adopted by the republicans in France,) in the Roman catholick chapels in every diſtrict.

He ſays, in his circular letter, that frequent conſultations were held, for the laudable purpoſe of reuniting to the committee lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn from it; and yet he ſays, that the plan encloſed was ſanctioned by lord Fingal, and thoſe very gentlemen who had left the committee in the month of January preceding, by which he was guilty of a groſs inconſiſtency.

We may conceive, how much the ſemibarbarous popiſh rabble, tumultuouſly aſſembled in their reſpective chapels, muſt have been agitated by ſuch a procedure.

The

The writs were obeyed, the elections were made with the utmoſt celerity, the convention aſſembled, and began its ſeſſion on the third of December, 1792, and was ridiculouſly called the Back-lane parliament; becauſe it ſat in Tailors-hall in that ſtreet.

As the Roman catholick committee reſolved on the fifteenth of January, 1783, that the Roman catholicks of Ireland were fully and completely repreſented in that aſſembly, we ſhould be inclined to think, that this new plan of election would have been unneceſſary, and that it was brought about merely to put the popiſh multitude into a ſtate of commotion, to alarm and overawe the government.

A member of the Back-lane parliament, who quitted it on account of its raſh and intemperate proceedings, aſſured me, that on their firſt meeting they reſolved, not to petition parliament as Roman catholicks, but as Iriſhmen. This was done with a view of inducing the preſbyterians to unite with them; by inſinuating, that they had no particular object on the ground of religion, but were actuated by a pure and diſintereſted love of liberty.

The proteſtants were ſo much alarmed at this bold and extraordinary procedure of Edward Byrne, in iſſuing writs for electing a popiſh convention, that the grand juries, at the ſummer aſſizes of 1792, entered into ſtrong reſolutions, condemning it in ſevere terms; and declaring, that they would maintain the conſtitution, as it then ſtood, againſt all hoſtile attacks, particularly againſt the dangerous effects of democratic principles; and ſome of them vindicated the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and the reſpectable Roman catholick gentlemen who had ſeceded from the committee, from the aſperſions which had been caſt on them in the publick prints.

The latter end of the year 1792, and the beginning of the year 1793, the popiſh houſekeepers in many pariſhes aſſembled, and voted addreſſes to the general committee, in which they vilified theſe noblemen and gentlemen, and ſtrongly recommended the expulſion of lord Kenmare.

The Roman catholicks aſſembled in ſeveral counties, diſtricts, and towns, defended Edward Byrne's plan of election, and retorted with much acrimony on the reſolutions of the proteſtants. On the ſeventeenth of September, they ſubmitted a caſe to two barriſters for their opinion, to know, whether the plan adopted by Edward Byrne, for ſummoning a popiſh

popiſh convention, was loyal and conſtitutional? and they anſwered in the affirmative. Theſe opinions and anſwers were publiſhed in the publick prints, in order to give confidence and courage to the demagogues of the party, at that time very active in many parts of the kingdom in agitating the people.

The Back-lane parliament continued to ſit and debate for ſome time, with the doors of the room in which they aſſembled, cloſed; and they framed an addreſs to the king, containing an exaggerated ſtatement of their grievances, which they forwarded by five delegates, ſir Thomas French, Chriſtopher Bellew, James E. Devereux, Edward Byrne, and John Keogh, eſquires.

Having gone round by Scotland, attended by their ſecretary Tone, a noted traitor, they met with a very kind and warm reception from the republican levellers of Belfaſt, who regarded the object of their miſſion as conducive to promote their wiſhes of overturning the conſtitution.

The following account of their arrival appeared in the Northern Star, a noted vehicle of treaſon:

Belfaſt, December 12th, 1792.

"At nine o'clock this morning, the delegates from the catholicks of Ireland, who were elected to preſent their petition to the king, arrived at the Donegal arms in this town, on their way (by Portpatrick) to London. Immediately on their arrival being known, a number of reſpectable inhabitants waited on, and breakfaſted with them. They remained here about two hours; and, on their departure, the populace, who had aſſembled in the interim, took the horſes from their coach, and having faſtened ropes to it, dragged them throughout the town, quite over the long bridge on the road to Donaghadee; and then permitted the horſes to be put to, amidſt the loudeſt huzzas of "ſucceſs attend you," "union," "equal laws," and "down with the aſcendancy." The delegates politely returned thanks for this ſtrong mark of affection; declared their determination to maintain that union which formed the ſtrength of Ireland: and proceeded on their way, accompanied with three cheers."

His majeſty was pleaſed, in conſequence of the addreſs of the Roman catholicks, to recommend to parliament in his ſpeech, in January, 1793, to take into ſerious conſideration the ſituation of the Roman catholicks; and, in compliance with his majeſty's benevolent intentions, they repealed the whole of the reſtrictive laws, except thoſe which excluded them from

ſitting

ſitting in parliament, and from about thirty great offices of ſtate, which are immediately concerned in the confidential departments of the executive government.

We ſhall find, in the ſequel, that theſe very liberal conceſſions by no means ſatisfied the Roman catholicks.

The debate which took place in the houſe of commons, on the bill for granting theſe conceſſions to the Roman catholicks, will remain a laſting monument of the depravity and frailty of human nature; for, though the defenders, a popiſh banditti, encouraged by the Catholick committee, were committing murder and robbery at that very time in many parts of the kingdom, ſome members praiſed them for their ſteady loyalty, their peaceable deportment, and reſpect for the laws.*

The reſolutions of a numerous body of diſſenters, aſſembled at Croſa-rule, in the county of Cavan, on the third of February, 1793, throw an oblique cenſure on the inconſiſtency of theſe gentlemen in parliament. They ſtate and complain of "the enormities committed by the defenders, in plundering the houſes of proteſtants of arms, and other property, as if they meant to compel the legiſlature, by intimidation, to grant a relaxation of the popery laws, which they were on the point of conceding from motives of liberality."

In moſt parts of the country, the preſbyterians held the defenders in ſuch abhorrence, and were ſo unwilling to commit any outrages, that they often joined and aſſiſted the king's troops, who, at different times, were wantonly attacked, when on their march, by this banditti. But the republicans of Belfaſt laboured with unceaſing ſedulity, and at laſt with ſucceſs, in corrupting great numbers of them.

On the twenty-fifth of April, 1793, the general committee of Roman catholicks aſſembled at Tailors-hall, and agreed to an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for the benefits they had received, to the lord lieutenant, and to both houſes of parliament; and, after tranſacting ſome buſineſs, they reſolved, that with pleaſure and gratitude they obſerved, that the houſe of commons had unanimouſly taken into conſideration parliamentary reform; and they moſt earneſtly exhorted the catholicks of Ireland, to co-

operate

* Though there iſſued a proclamation on the thirteenth of February, againſt the defenders who were deſolating many counties, it is ſtated in the preamble of the act of parliament for their relief, "that from their peaceable and loyal demeanour, it is fit that the reſtraints and diſabilities ſhould be diſcontinued."

operate with their proteſtant brethren to carry into effect a meaſure ſo eſſential to the freedom, happineſs and proſperity of Ireland. After which, they diſſolved themſelves.

They alluded to the debate which took place in the month of January, on a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, when the heads and repreſentatives of the principal families of the kingdom declared in the houſe of commons, in the moſt unequivocal manner, their willingneſs to ſacrifice their parliamentary intereſt and influence, in conforming to the wiſhes of the people, for reforming the houſe of commons. Their weakneſs and puſillanimity on that occaſion afforded peculiar pleaſure to that intriguing body, the Catholick committee, as they hoped that it would lead to their favourite object, the eſtabliſhment of a republick.

The extraordinary inconſiſtency of the Iriſh parliament, in rejecting with indignant contempt the claims of the Roman catholicks in the year 1792, and the tameneſs with which they now conceded, much more than they had at that time demanded, joined to their fears and imbecility in expreſſing their wiſhes to renounce their power and pre-eminence to gratify a democratick faction, muſt convince every Iriſhman of ſpirit and common ſenſe, that ſuch an aſſembly, conſtantly oſcillating between one extreme and another, and convulſed by party zeal, was incapable of promoting the peace and proſperity of his native country; and that he muſt depend for its accompliſhment on nothing but the firmneſs, the wiſdom, and diſintereſtedneſs of an Imperial parliament.

As excluſive ſalvation, of all the doctrines of the Romiſh church, is the moſt fatal to the peace and ſecurity of ſociety, doctor Duigenan, a gentleman of great ſagacity, extenſive erudition and of diſtinguiſhed firmneſs and integrity of mind, propoſed that a clauſe of the following tenor ſhould be inſerted in an oath of allegiance, preſcribed by the law which was then paſſing through the houſe of commons, for relief of the Roman catholicks: Nor do we believe, that any other ſect of chriſtians are, of courſe, to be doomed to eternal damnation hereafter, and that they may not enter into a ſtate of ſalvation, becauſe they happen to differ from us in religious tenets. But all their eccleſiaſticks, and the leading members of the laity declared, that the fundamental principles of their religion rendered ſuch an oath inadmiſſible.

The reader may judge of the ſincerity of the Roman catholick committee, from the following tranſaction:

It appears by a report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, publiſhed in 1793, inſtituted for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the origin and cauſe of the ſpirit of treaſon and diſaffection, which the defenders manifeſted in many parts of the kingdom, that ſalutary meaſures might be adopted to prevent the progreſs of it; that John Sweetman, ſecretary of the Roman catholick committee in Dublin, wrote letters to a perſon in Dundalk, of the name of Coleman, of conſiderable opulence, and of the Roman catholick perſuaſion, relative to the defenders, numbers of whom were then impriſoned in that town; and in one of them, dated the ninth of Auguſt, 1792,* he, in the name of the Roman catholick committee, directed enquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the culprits were accuſed. By this report it appears, that the Roman catholick committee were warmly intereſted about the defenders; and that the perſon to whom the letter was addreſſed, did employ, at a conſiderable expence, an agent and counſel, to act for ſeveral perſons, who were then in priſon under an accuſation of being defenders.

They were well able to do ſo; for in the years 1792 and 1793 they levied an immenſe ſum of money on the members of their religion, in every part of the kingdom, which appears by a circular letter, dated the fifth of February, 1793, publiſhed in ſaid report of the houſe of lords, in which they ſay, that the object is, the raiſing a fund to defray the heavy and growing expences of the committee, in conducting the affairs of the catholicks of Ireland. See theſe letters, Appendix, No. IV.

It is obſervable, that in the letter of the ninth of Auguſt, 1792, the name of one Nugent, a defender then in priſon, is mentioned.

The Roman catholicks of the city of Dublin, aſſembled in November, 1792, ſtated in their declaration, that they never will forego the hopes of emancipation; that they defy the malice of invention to produce any one inſtance of their having ever made any efforts in favour of a popiſh king, or French connections, ſince they conſented to a Revolution in 1691; and that their inclinations are not to ſubvert any one eſtabliſhment. They admit, "that from the moment the proteſtant began to make conceſſions, the Roman catholick began to extend his claims; and in their addreſs preſented at St. James's in January, 1793, they ſpeak of their unvarying loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and ſubmiſſion to the laws, for one hundred years, and their determination to perſevere in the ſame."

At

* Report of ſecret committee, Appendix, No. I. 2, 3. † Ibid.

At this time they enjoyed more extenſive privileges than the Roman catholick ſubjects of any proteſtant ſtate in Europe, and by far more than proteſtants living under any popiſh government.

Why they roſe in their claims, ſo moderate at firſt, may be accounted for in the following manner:

Knowing that Mr. Edmund Burke, a warm favourer of popery, had in a high degree conciliated the eſteem of our gracious ſovereign, and the government of England, by his ingenious and energetic writings againſt the extravagant theories and frantick proceedings of the French republicans; they reſolved to employ his ſon, an over-weening, petulant young man, to be their agent, in forwarding their pretenſions; hoping thereby, to enſure the weight and conſideration of his father for that purpoſe. They then ſent one of their body to London, in September, 1791, to Mr. Richard Burke, who, through his father, rendered them the moſt important ſervices;* and ſoon after having gone to Ireland, he made a moſt extenſive circuit there, and in the courſe of it, viſited many of the nobility and gentry, and endeavoured to conciliate them to ſupport the claims of the Roman catholicks. As he was their hired agent, we are not to impute his conduct to diſintereſted and generous motives; though we may infer that he had a predilection for popery, from the ſtrong attachment which his father had to it, and becauſe his mother was a moſt rigid papiſt. Though he did not attain the object of his miſſion, he awakened the ambition of the Roman catholicks, and gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that a ſteady perſeverance in their claims would finally produce a total repeal of the popery laws.

The ſucceſs of the French on the continent, to whom the Iriſh Roman catholicks were, on former occaſions, very much attached, and the invitation of the former, to the ſubjects of every nation in Europe, to riſe againſt their reſpective governments, elevated their hopes, and filled them with expectations, that the parliament would be impelled by motives of fear, to grant what their policy and prudence might have refuſed. To theſe cauſes we may impute the ſudden riſe in their demands, and their condemnation and renunciation on the ſixteenth of January, 1792, of the addreſs preſented by lord Kenmare, to the viceroy, on the twenty-ſeventh of December preceding.

* This was ſtated by Mr. John Keogh in his ſpeech.

It appears by the ſpeech of Mr. John Keogh, in the debate of the Roman catholicks, aſſembled on the twenty-third of March, 1792, in Dublin, that there was an interior cabinet in the Catholick committee, with the ſecrets of which the nobility and gentry had been unacquainted; for he calls them, who ſigned the loyal addreſs preſented by lord Kenmare, "ſixty-eight dupes, many of whom were totally ignorant of the negotiation going on at the foot of the throne."

Mr. Keogh ſaid, "That, from the negotiation in London, there was every reaſon to expect, that though a great and vaſt catalogue of reſtrictions would be retained, yet ſufficient would be removed, to afford protection to all the claſſes of our people."

"I now come to what is more pleaſing; that is, to ſtate my opinion, that the time is not remote, when we ſhall meet to join with heart and voice, in the ſincereſt gratitude to parliament and to government. When that day arrives, and it will ſoon arrive, you will then prove your juſt and unfeigned gratitude to your deliverers, to government, to the legiſlature, to the illuſtrious men who eſpouſed your cauſe in parliament, to the virtuous, patriotick, and enlightened citizens of Belfaſt, the firſt (let it never be forgotten) who came forward as a body to apply to parliament for our relief."

From the confidence with which Mr. Keogh expreſſed himſelf, we may infer, that he knew that their ambaſſador in London had received ſecret aſſurances from high authority that they would ſucceed in their expectations; but it is to be lamented, that their attainment did not ſatisfy them, and prevent their body from proceeding afterwards to deſperate exceſſes.

As a very large ſum of money had been levied on the Roman catholicks, it is not improbable that their ambaſſador, who repaired to London in the year 1791, applied, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Burke, a large portion of it to very good purpoſes; for otherwiſe how can we account for the extraordinary and ſudden change which took place in the opinion of the adminiſtration of England?

Mr. Keogh ſaid in that debate, ſhould we look to America, to France, to the Netherlands, to all Europe, and aſk each other why it is that we, *as faithful ſubjects as any king in Europe can boaſt of, are reduced to ſlavery.*

The

The invitation of the Roman catholicks to the proteſtants to fraterniſe with them, and to extend civil and religious liberty equally to both orders, reminds us of James II.'s reign; for that monarch announced, on his arrival in Ireland, that his chief care was to ſatisfy the minds of his proteſtant ſubjects; and that the defence of their religion, their privileges and property, concerned equally his care with the recovery of his own rights; and the popiſh parliament, which he aſſembled in 1689, paſſed a law for a general liberty of conſcience; though it is well known, and the act of attainder againſt all proteſtant landholders unqueſtionably proved, that they ſecretly aimed at nothing leſs than a total extirpation of proteſtants.

ORIGIN

ORIGIN OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

A PERSON who had been many years a member of the Catholick committee, gave me the following account of this inſtitution. I ſhall not take upon me to vouch its authenticity; but ſhall leave the reader to judge of it from the views and deſigns which they afterwards diſplayed.

The Catholick committee very wiſely enliſted in their ſervice ſome proteſtant barriſters of abilities, but deſperate circumſtances, and totally deſtitute of all religious principle. Though they were ſtipendiaries, and received pay, it was agreed that they ſhould appear to have volunteered in their cauſe from generous and diſintereſted motives, for the purpoſe of lulling the ſuſpicion of proteſtants in general, of decoying and attaching to the Catholick cauſe, by varniſhing it over with the ſemblance of general and abſtract liberty, ſuch perſons of that perſuaſion as had revolutionary deſigns, particularly the preſbyterians.

The honourable Simon Butler, brother of the late lord Mountgarret, and Theobald Wolfe Tone, were the leaders of this band, and the firſt perſons who engaged themſelves in the ſervice of the Catholick committee.

The laſt, who was the ſon of a mechanick, received a good education in the univerſity of Dublin, and was afterwards called to the bar; but having a wife and children, being unſucceſsful in his profeſſion, though he had diſtinguiſhed abilities, and being indigent in his circumſtances, he hoped, by promoting that innovating ſpirit which had ſhaken the foundations of many European ſtates, to ſubvert our conſtitution, and to riſe, during a ſeaſon of anarchy and confuſion, from poverty and obſcurity to wealth and celebrity. Tone informed the Catholick committee, that they could not ſucceed in their extenſive plan of emancipation, unleſs it had, at leaſt, the ſemblance of being ſanctioned and approved of by a conſiderable number of proteſtants; and knowing that the inhabitants of Belfaſt, the maſs of whom are Calviniſts, had manifeſted during the American war, when volunteering flouriſhed, an earneſt deſire of ſubverting the

the conſtitution, under the pretext of reforming it, propoſed to ſome republican friends in that town, to inſtitute the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, round whoſe ſtandard revolutioniſts of every religious perſuaſion were to rally.

Tone, their hired agent, knew, that if the repeal of the reſtrictive laws were propoſed by a numerous body of proteſtants, it would have peculiar weight, as flowing apparently from a liberal and diſintereſted love of liberty.

Subſequent experience has proved, that aſſurances were at the ſame time given to the republicans of Belfaſt, that the Catholick committee and ſuch of their perſuaſion as they could influence, ſhould co-operate with them in ſubverting the conſtitution.

They embraced the propoſal with alacrity, and the firſt ſociety of united Iriſhmen ſat at Belfaſt in the month of October, 1791; when Richard Simms was ſecretary.

But before I proceed further, it will be neceſſary to ſhew the deſigns of Tone and Jones, from their own publications. The former publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled, "The Northern Whig," in the year 1791, ſoon after he enliſted in the ſervice of the Catholick committee. The whole of this publication, which he entitled, in the ſecond edition, "An argument on behalf of the catholicks of Ireland," is entirely taken up in recommending a total repeal of the penal laws againſt them.

He endeavoured to put on the cloak of liberality, and the maſk of diſintereſtedneſs, by making the following declaration, in the beginning of this pamphlet: "Before I proceed to the object of this book, I think it neceſſary to acquaint the reader, that I am a proteſtant of the church of Ireland,* as by law eſtabliſhed, and have again and again taken all the cuſtomary oaths, by which we ſecure and appropriate to ourſelves all degrees and profeſſions, ſave one, to the utter excluſion of our Catholick brethren. I am, therefore, no further *intereſted in the event*, than as a mere lover of *juſtice*, and a ſteady deteſter of *tyranny*, whether exerciſed by one man or a million."

This work was reprinted by the united Iriſhmen of Belfaſt in the year 1792, and ſix thouſand copies of it were ſoon circulated, which ſhewed that

* He was a profeſſed deiſt.

that a cloſe union, and an ardent deſire of mutual co-operation exiſted between them and the Catholick committee.

In it he cenſures and viliſies the conſtitution, repreſents it as a ſyſtem of tyranny; and aſſerts, that nothing but a total repeal of the reſtrictive laws againſt Roman catholicks can reſtore it to its original purity.

This turbulent adventurer, the founder of the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, was one of the ſecretaries of the Catholick committee, and had the chief direction of both.

Mr. Todd Jones, having injured his fortune in electioneering, was led, by the hope of repairing it, to become their advocate, both in and out of parliament; and I have not a doubt, but that ſome other members of that aſſembly were attached to their cauſe from the ſame ſordid and ſiniſter motives; as they often panegyriſed the Roman catholicks for their ſteady loyalty and unremitted reſpect for the laws, when they were in actual rebellion.

Mr. Jones wrote a pamphlet in the year 1792, entitled, "A letter to the ſocieties of united Iriſhmen of Belfaſt, on the reſtoration of the Catholick rights;" and he gives the following reaſons for publiſhing it:

"In cheriſhing from my early years the auguſt idea of the emancipation of the catholicks from a profligate, miſtaken, paſſionate, and impolitick farrago of ſtatutes of penalty and diſqualification, I have frequently enquired into the motives of my own mind, why I ſhould never experience apprehenſions upon this ſubject, in common with many ſelfiſh and ſome innocent antagoniſts of ſuch a glorious reſtoration to their country; and it may be pardonably objected againſt me, that poſſeſſing, from my family decline, inconſiderable property to hazard, I could not be liable to that delicate ſenſe of danger which muſt come home to the feelings of the great proteſtant proprietors; but granting I have but little, comparatively at ſtake, that little is my all."

He denies that the popiſh parliament, which ſat in Dublin in the year 1689, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt all the proteſtant landholders of the kingdom, though James II. acknowledged in his diary, found in the Scotch college at Paris, that he gave his aſſent to it with reluctance, and merely to gratify his Iriſh Roman catholick ſubjects; and Harris, in his life of king William, declares, that he found it in the Rolls office; but all the acts paſſed by king James's parliament, were afterwards burnt by the

the hands of the common hangman; and therefore Mr. Jones denies that it ever paſſed, and aſſerts, that it was fabricated by archbiſhop King, who gives a copy of it.*

The firſt ſociety of united Iriſhmen at Belfaſt publiſhed their plan or proſpectus in the Northern Star in October, 1791, though it had been fabricated in Dublin.

We need no other proof of this, than that a paper, containing the original deſign of that aſſociation was circulated in Dublin in June, 1791, which may be ſeen in page 50 of the report of the ſecret committee.

We may fairly conclude, that the heads of the Catholick committee in Dublin, and the turbulent leaders of the preſbyterians at Belfaſt, reſolved to unite their reſpective orders, for the purpoſe of ſubverting the conſtitution.

One of the moſt intelligent and efficient members of the catholick body, and whoſe writings ſerved them materially, becauſe he aſſumed, at leaſt, the appearance of moderation on moſt occaſions, made uſe of the following menace to the proteſtant ſtate, in a pamphlet which he publiſhed in the year 1792: "Will the preſbyterian yeomanry of the North take up arms for the courtiers who enjoy penſions, for the parſons who exact tithes, and for the landlords who exact rack rents? They too are complainants; and if they unſheath the ſword againſt their brethren, (meaning the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church,) will they be likely to return it to the ſcabbard, until they have procured very ample redreſs, and removed the cauſe of their complaints? Should that people ever be embodied, tithes, boroughs, and all the arts and practices of monopoly will inevitably fall before them."

We may infer from this, that the Roman catholicks hoped for the co-operation of the preſbyterians in their revolutionary deſigns; but the prophecy was not fulfilled; for the preſbyterian yeomen of the North continued loyal during the rebellion, though numbers of their perſuaſion were ſeduced. This odious picture of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, the hope with which this writer endeavours to inſpire the members of his ſect, that they would be joined by the preſbyterians, and the lure

 which

* Though I condemn Mr. Jones for hiring out his talents to the Roman catholicks, yet I would not be underſtood to include him in the ſtrictures which I make on his coadjutors, as I know and eſteem him, and believe him to be a gentleman of principle in other reſpects.

which he holds out to the latter, indicate the dangerous deſigns which were at that time brooding.

The Roman catholicks ſucceeded ſo eaſily at Belfaſt, that at a town-meeting held there the twenty-eighth of January, 1792, in a preſbyterian conventicle, the reverend Sinclare Kelburn, one of their miniſters and a noted demagogue, in the chair, they reſolved * to petition parliament to repeal the whole of the popery laws; but two hundred and fifty-five of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants of that town proteſted againſt it.

In a ſhort time after the commencement of the ſociety at Belfaſt, there were no leſs than four grand ones eſtabliſhed there, who reſolved to ſet on foot ſimilar ones in every part of the kingdom.

On the ninth of November, 1791, the united Iriſhmen of Dublin began their ſeſſion, and publiſhed their declaration, which was exactly ſimilar to that at Belfaſt; but with this difference, that a teſt was annexed to it.† The honourable Simon Butler was in the chair, and James Napper Tandy was ſecretary. I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. VII. for their conſtitution and their mode of election. Revolutionary deſigns are very evident in their declaration.

On the thirtieth of December, 1791, they held a ſeſſion and adopted a circular letter, and reſolved to have it printed and diſperſed through every part of the kingdom, to encourage the formation of ſimilar ſocieties; and they annexed to it a declaration of their political principles, and the teſt which they had taken, "as a ſocial and ſacred compact to bind them more cloſely together." See Appendix, No. VIII.

On the fourteenth of September, 1792, they addreſſed the Iriſh nation, and declared their indignation at the inſidious means employed to ſtifle the catholick voice. The whole of this addreſs was on the grievances of the Roman catholicks; and it ſtrongly recommends a total repeal of the reſtrictive laws. They ſay in it, "popery is no longer to be met with but in the ſtatute book."

It muſt ſeem extraordinary, that a ſet of men, who were deſtitute of principle and property, ſhould be ſo anxious about the intereſt of that ſect from whom they differed in religion; but Tone and Butler, the leaders of the ſociety, were their agents, and received pay from them.

In

* About the ſame time a revolutionary club at Belfaſt, called a reading ſociety, entered into reſolutions in favour of the Roman catholicks.

† See Appendix, No. VI.

In their addreſs of the fourteenth of September, 1792, to the Iriſh nation, they ſeverely condemned the county meetings and the grand juries, who thanked the majority of the houſe of commons for rejecting the petition of the Roman catholicks, and for paſſing reſolutions againſt granting the elective franchiſe to them, and for cenſuring Edward Byrne's circular letter for chooſing delegates. They condemn alſo the addreſs preſented by lord Kenmare on the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1791, with as much acrimony as the demagogues in the Catholick committee did; and becauſe it was humble and reſpectful, they called it an eleemoſynary addreſs. In ſhort, the whole of it is taken up with the claims of the Romaniſts.

On the twenty-third of November, 1792, William Drennan, chairman, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, ſecretary, they addreſſed the delegates for promoting a reform in Scotland; and on December the fourteenth, the volunteers of Ireland, to whom their addreſs is a direct invocation to rebellion. It directs that parochial meetings ſhould be held, and that each ſhould elect and return delegates to form a national convention; and they ſay in it, that the civil aſſembly ſhould be attended by military aſſociations.

October twenty-ſixth, they addreſſed the friends of the people at London; November twenty-fifth, the delegates for reform in Scotland; and introduce catholick emancipation into it.

November thirtieth, they addreſſed a circular letter to all the ſocieties of united Iriſhmen in the kingdom; and reſolved to effect a better organization, and a more intimate union with the different ſocieties, than had before ſubſiſted; and to communicate all their publications to the confederated ſocieties.

On the twenty-fifth of January, 1793, they addreſſed the Iriſh nation.

November twenty-fifth, they addreſſed the Britiſh convention who had affiliated with them, and propoſed univerſal ſuffrage and annual parliaments, which the united Iriſhmen aſſented to, and reſolved to adopt.

By a report made the fourteenth of Auguſt, 1797, by a provincial meeting of delegates of Ulſter, it appears that there was a number of ſocieties of united Iriſhmen in North America, whoſe profeſſed object was to aſſiſt Ireland.*

* See report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. IV.

All theſe addreſſes, which are very inflammatory, are to be found in the Appendix, No. V. of the laſt report of the ſecret committee of 1798.

It is obſervable, that the main purport of them is the repeal of the penal laws againſt the Roman catholicks.

They had a committee of conſtitution, of finance, of correſpondence, of accommodation, a treaſurer, a ſecretary, and a ſeal of office.

Their law agent was Matthew Dowling, a fellow of a moſt infamous character, who has been tranſported to Scotland with a numerous gang of traitors, who probably would have been hanged, but that they obtained the royal mercy on condition of going into baniſhment.

A writer in America, who aſſumes the name of Peter Porcupine, deſcribes the inſtitution there, and gives an account of their declaration and conſtitution. It complains much of the tyranny of England over Ireland, and enforces the neceſſity of her emancipation, and the eſtabliſhment of a republick there.

On the twenty-firſt of January, 1792, they made a report of the popery laws in force in the kingdom, by their chairman, the honourable Simon Butler. In fact, he was in the utmoſt indigence, and was paid by them for making it, though it was in the name of the ſociety. It contained many groſs falſehoods and exaggerated miſtatements, tending to inflame the popiſh multitude, and to deceive the government of England and Ireland.

In the debate of the Roman catholicks, aſſembled in Dublin on the twenty-third of March, 1792, Mr. Keogh ſaid of it, "For a late publication, the digeſt of the popery laws, the united Iriſhmen, and their reſpectable chairman, the honourable Simon Butler, demand our warmeſt gratitude."

It is ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, made in 1797, "That the leaders and directors of the united Iriſhmen are now, and have been for ſome time paſt, anxiouſly engaged in uniting with them a claſs of men who had formerly diſturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery and murder, under the appellation of defenders; and that the committee had reaſon to apprehend, that in a certain degree they had ſucceeded."

The following obſervation is to be found in the report of the houſe of commons made in 1798, page 9; and, in the courſe of my enquiries, I have found it to be ſtrictly true:

"That the counties in which defenderiſm had prevailed, eaſily became converts to the new doctrines; and, in the ſummer of 1797, the uſual concomitants of the treaſon, namely, the plundering houſes of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of thoſe who did not join the party, began to appear in the midland counties."

William Paulet Carey, who was admitted a member of the ſociety, became their printer. He publiſhed a newſpaper, called the National Evening Star, which he called the organ, and himſelf the printer, of the people. It was very inflammatory.

He was proſecuted by the attorney-general for having printed in his paper ſome ſeditious publications, at the inſtance of the united Iriſhmen, who reſolved, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to defend him at their own expence; but they afterwards abandoned him to the vengeance of the law, and he was ruined.

In revenge, he wrote a pamphlet, in which he abuſed and expoſed them with ſome ability, and not without wit.

He beſtows the following encomium on Mr. John Keogh. In ſpeaking of one Matthew, a chandler, he ſays, "In the Catholick committee he appeared for nine years the colleague of Keogh, whoſe courage and talents firſt gave the impulſe of freedom to three millions of Iriſhmen, and who originated the bold meaſure of overturning the ariſtocracy of the Catholick committee."*

He ſpeaks of Napper Tandy in the higheſt ſtrain of panegyrick, and of E. Crookſhank Keane.

He is extravagant in his praiſe of Edward Byrne, and of William T. Jones, the firſt proteſtant ſenator, he ſays, who brought forward the queſtion of Catholick emancipation.

Among the liſt of worthies whom he panegyrizes, we find Matthew Dowling.

Carey ſays, in his pamphlet, "That as the united Iriſhmen came forward in the preſence of God, and pledged themſelves to labour for a reform

* This alludes to the ſeceſſion of ſixty-three members.

form of every ſpecies of corrupt influence, and had eloquently declaimed againſt the profuſion of the publick money, he could not have expected that they would have abandoned the preſs and the printer, for the wine caſk, the cook and the vintner."

They, in excuſe, complained of the apathy of the people; that their funds were exhauſted; that money came in ſlowly; and that they muſt diſcharge, in the firſt place, 200l. which ſum was yet due for wine drank in Newgate. This alludes to the impriſonment of Bond and Butler, which I ſhall explain hereafter.

Though they ſacrificed this unfortunate man, they defended, at their own expence, Meſſrs. Drennan, Rowan, Tandy, Bond and Butler, who were proſecuted for ſeditious practices.

Carey makes the following juſt remark in his pamphlet: "The hiſtory of political parties is but too often a picture of knaves betraying, and of knaves betrayed; of ambitious and indigent profligates, labouring to get into affluence and power; and of honeſt men contributing by their own degradation to lift them into affluence and power."

The idea of uniting the preſbyterians and Roman catholicks, to ſubvert the conſtitution, had exiſted for ſome years.

I mentioned before, that the biſhop of Cloyne wrote a pamphlet in the year 1787, on the perſecution of his clergy; and that it drew on him the vengeance of ſome preſbyterian miniſters and popiſh prieſts, whoſe ſectaries ſeemed to rejoice at this apparent junction of the two orders. On that occaſion, Carey, who had been bred at the Dublin ſociety as an engraver, publiſhed a print, repreſenting doctor Campbell, a diſſenting miniſter, and father O'Leary, a friar, ſhaking hands. They were the moſt virulent antagoniſts of the biſhop.

In the beginning of the year 1793, the houſe of lords inſtituted a ſecret committee, to enquire into the nature and origin of the diſturbances made in different counties by the defenders, and ſummoned ſome perſons to give evidence concerning them.

The ſociety of united Iriſhmen in Dublin, the honourable Simon Butler in the chair, Oliver Bond, ſecretary, publiſhed ſome ſevere animadverſions on the powers which they aſſumed; and in doing ſo, they were guilty of a groſs libel on that aſſembly, and a violation of its privileges;

for

for which they were committed to Newgate by the houſe of lords, and fined 500l. each.

While in priſon, they were maintained in the following manner, by the members of the ſociety: They made four hundred tickets, of which a certain number were blanks, the remainder were marked with the dates of the days that the priſoners were to remain in confinement; and any perſon who drew one of the latter, was obliged to provide a dinner, with twelve covers, on the day ſpecified in his ticket. Four perſons were invited by each of the priſoners, and three by the perſon who procured the repaſt, who, with himſelf, made twelve.*

There is not a doubt, but that there was a cloſe connection between the Catholick committee and the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, for ſome of the former were members of the latter; but it is very remarkable, that none of the Romaniſts ever took an open and active part in it, ſuch as chairman or ſecretary; but remaining behind the curtain, they left the obnoxious and oſtenſible proceedings to be conducted by a few men who were totally void of all religious principle, though they aſſumed the maſk and the name of proteſtants.

The united Iriſhmen, who were bold and enterpriſing, aſſaulted the conſtitution as it were with a battering ram; the Catholick committee ſilently, and by ſap, inciting the people to inſurrection and outrage, while they made publick declarations of their unſhaken loyalty and unremitting reſpect for the laws.

The latter had this advantage, that none but Romaniſts could be members of the committee; and perſons of their perſuaſion were admitted into the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, and were actually aſſociated in it.

We find, that when perſons were ſent to different parts of the country from Dublin, to perſuade the people to unite and fraternize, they often conſiſted of perſons delegated from each body, which ſhewed their intimate connection.

As the lower claſs of preſbyterians bore an inveterate hatred againſt the Roman catholicks, and as they on all occaſions ſucceſsfully oppoſed the defenders, who were encouraged and protected by the Catholick committee,

* The heavy expence attending this ſcheme contributed to damp the ardour of the ſociety, and induced ſome members to ſecede from it.

mittee, we find that the latter, and the united Iriſhmen, uſed the utmoſt exertions to unite the two orders, as their co-operation was neceſſary to promote their revolutionary deſigns.

In the month of July, 1792, Theobald Wolfe Tone, John Keogh, and Richard Mc. Cormick were ſent by the Catholick committee on a miſſion to the northern counties, which were diſturbed by the peep-of-day boys and defenders, to effect a reconcilement between them.* In their way they were joined by Samuel Neilſon, an active and artful demagogue, who was profeſſedly a preſbyterian, but who, as well as Tone, a reputed proteſtant, was deſtitute of all religious principle. They pretended to be actuated by motives of the pureſt patriotiſm and benevolence; but as Tone, Neilſon, and Mc. Cormick, appeared afterwards to be notorious traitors, we cannot be at a loſs to know their real views.

At Rathfriland, in the county of Down, Tone mounted the roſtrum, and haranguing the populace, recommended peace and unanimity to them, on the grounds of chriſtian charity and brotherly love. He threw out many invectives againſt government, whom he repreſented as deſirous of dividing the people, for the purpoſe of governing them corruptly and deſpotically; and he adviſed that all orders ſhould unite to oppoſe their baſe and ſiniſter deſigns. A magiſtrate, who happened to be preſent, ſilenced the orator, by reminding him that there were ſtocks in town; on which he and his aſſociates precipitately left it, and proceeded on their miſſion.

Soon after, Mr. John Keogh, accompanied by one O'Hanlon, a grocer of Newry, and his ſon, both papiſts, made a ſecond attempt to reconcile theſe two orders, at Rathfriland; but the diſſenters ſhewed ſo ſtrong an averſion to it, that the miſſionaries were forced out of town, and were refuſed accommodation at the principal inn.

It required ſome time and unabated exertion to overcome the ſtrong antipathy which exiſted between the papiſts and the lower claſs of preſbyterians; and it probably could not have been accompliſhed, if the leaders of the conſpiracy had not attached to their cauſe the clergy of both.

From the men who compoſed this miſſion, it is evident, that the Catholick committee, and the united Iriſhmen were cloſely connected, and

* Many miſſions of this kind were undertaken in 1792 and 1793.

and labouring in the ſame vineyard: Tone was at the ſame time the ſecretary of the former, and the original framer and the chief leader of the latter in Dublin; Neilſon in Belfaſt; Keogh and Mc. Cormick were the moſt active members of the former. At a general meeting of the Roman catholick committee in July, 1792, an addreſs was voted to the defenders, and circulated in every pariſh, where they had made their appearance, exhorting them to a peaceable deportment, a reſpect for the laws, and to abſtain from every meaſure that might give offence to their proteſtant brethren. For their laudable endeavours in this inſtance, as well as by their miſſionaries, to reſtore peace and ſocial order, they received many flattering encomiums from their republican friends in Belfaſt, publiſhed in the Northern Star.

The following anecdote will ſhew the reader what a ſtrong antipathy there exiſted between the preſbyterians and papiſts of the North:

On Monday, May ſixth, 1792, the funeral of a Roman catholick, attended by great numbers decorated with ribands, carrying a flag and forming a kind of martial proceſſion, proceeded from the village of Hilltown in the county of Down, through the town of Rathfriland to the grave-yard of the pariſh of Ballyroney. In paſſing through Rathfriland, they were hooted, inſulted and pelted with dirt, by the preſbyterians; but when they arrived at the grave-yard, and the prieſts began to chaunt the requiem of the deceaſed, they were attacked by the preſbyterians with ſtones and clubs, and compelled to fly, leaving the corpſe unburied. They were then hunted acroſs the country, and purſued to a conſiderable diſtance by their aſſailants.

There appeared in the year 1792, in the Northern Star, a newſpaper publiſhed at Belfaſt, which was a vehicle of treaſon and ſedition, many exhortations to the Roman catholicks and preſbyterians to unite in the common cauſe; an addreſs to them for that purpoſe, penned with peculiar energy, was publiſhed in that print on the ſeventeenth of January, 1792. It is certain that the preſbyterians of Belfaſt were as warm in this courtſhip as the Roman catholicks. In the year 1792, when the former paid the moſt ſervile adulation to the latter, they built a chapel for them at Belfaſt; and Waddell Cunningham, a merchant of great wealth in that town, and a noted republican, attended the celebration of maſs in a popiſh chapel there, at the head of a company of volunteers,

who, as well as their leader, were preſbyterians; and a ſimilar ſcene was exhibited at Liſburn by doctor Crawford, a phyſician and captain of a company of preſbyterian volunteers. As religioniſts they hated each other; but both having one grand object, the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, politicks became the inſtrument of their union, like two fluids that are heterogeneous and immiſcible, but which can be made to unite and amalgamate by what the chymiſts call an intermede or a tertium quid.

About that time, a prieſt of Belfaſt, who was ſenſible and loyal, happened to be invited by two principal merchants of that town to take ſhare of a bottle of wine with them. Politicks, and the ſincere regard which the preſbyterians of Belfaſt entertained for their catholick brethren, became the ſubject of converſation, when one of the merchants propoſed that a marriage ſhould take place between the two orders. The prieſt wittily replied, with all my heart, I can have no objection to it; though when a ſimilar propoſal was lately made to me by a member of the eſtabliſhed church, I abſolutely oppoſed it. Why ſo? ſaid one of the preſbyterians; that appears very extraordinary: Not at all, replied the prieſt; for I conſider an union with the eſtabliſhed church as a kind of inceſt, as we are too nearly related; but the preſbyterians may marry with us whenever they chooſe, for we are not the leaſt akin.

It is moſt certain, that the firſt leaders in the North, though regarded as preſbyterians, were in fact infidels, who endeavoured to extinguiſh all religious principle by the diſſemination of French doctrines, the circulation of Paine's Age of Reaſon, and publications of that ſtamp; and well knowing that even the religious part of their order were inimical to monarchy, and particularly to our hierarchy, they endeavoured to avail themſelves of that propenſity in them to overturn the government; knowing alſo, that the Roman catholicks had diſpoſitions ſtrongly hoſtile to a proteſtant ſtate, they endeavoured to form a union with them for the above purpoſe.

The preſbyterians engaged in the conſpiracy were chiefly confined to the counties of Down and Antrim; and even there none of the reſpectable members of that order were concerned in it. Some of the moſt profligate diſſenting miniſters * in thoſe counties, who became partizans of

* See in Appendix, No. XII. the preſbyterian miniſters of the counties of Down and Antrim concerned in the rebellion, and the puniſhments which they ſuffered.

of the united Iriſhmen, prevailed on the rabble of their perſuaſion, and ſuch of them as were devoid of principle and property, to join in the plot; but very few, if any, of the really religious preſbyterians entered into it.

Some of the moſt intelligent perſons of the North have aſſured me, that the infidel leaders thought they had gone rather too far, even before the rebellion broke out, in raiſing the hopes of a popiſh eſtabliſhment in the maſs of the Roman catholicks; having diſcovered too late that religious bigotry formed the principal, if not the ſole ſpring of action among them, which evidently appeared on the exploſion of the conſpiracy.

It is a poſitive fact, that John Sheares † promiſed a complete extinction of his religion in conſideration of catholick co-operation, without reflecting that it was an act of ſpontaneity in them; by this he meant the ſubverſion of the proteſtant hierarchy, for he was as deſtitute of religious principle as the few conſpirators of that perſuaſion who confederated with him. The only bounds of ſeparation between the preſbyterians and papiſts was the eſtabliſhed church, which ſuſpended and ſuppreſſed their mutual enmity; and the ſubverſion of it, like the removal of a peninſula between two raging ſeas, would have produced colliſion and diſcord. While ſome of the unprincipled preſbyterian miniſters of the counties of Down and Antrim were decrying religious bigotry, under the pretext of liberality, they almoſt proſtituted religion itſelf, in order to prepare the minds of their flock for the reception of rebellious doctrines; but the popiſh prieſts, fearing that the light of the new philoſophy would diſpel the illuſions of purgatory, holy oil, holy water, and abſolution, which gave them a complete aſcendancy over their ſuperſtitious ſectaries, and which, like true alchymiſts, they could turn into gold, infuſed into them a more than ordinary degree of fanaticiſm, well knowing that it would augment the ſacerdotal power over them, and encreaſe their hatred to the proteſtant eſtate; for theſe reaſons, the popiſh multitude appeared more ſanguinary againſt the members of the eſtabliſhed church, and more devoted to their clergy wherever the rebellion broke out, than they had been for many years before; though they univerſally pretended that their influence was entirely done away.

* A Cork gentleman who was a moſt efficient member of the union, having ſtudied the theory of inſurrection at Paris.

Thus the diſſenting miniſters and popiſh prieſts endeavoured to attain the ſame end by different means. Joined to the malignant efforts of the united Iriſhmen, there is not a doubt, but that the active interference of ſome French democrats among the diſaffected part of the Iriſh nation, their extravagant admiration of the French revolution, and their correſpondence with ſome of the clubs in France, contributed materially to diffuſe the intoxicating poiſon of republicaniſm.

In the years 1791 and 1792, Rabaud de St. Etienne, the boſom friend of Briſſot, the famous leader of the Girondine party in the French national aſſembly, paſſed ſome time between Dublin and Belfaſt, ſowing the ſeeds of future combuſtion.

The ſociety of the friends of the conſtitution, aſſembled at Clermont in France in the month of October, 1791, reſolved, that, on peruſing the different publications addreſſed from various parts of Ireland to the national aſſembly and the people of France, an addreſs, then agreed to, ſhould be forwarded to the volunteers of Ireland, at Dublin, and which addreſs was publiſhed in the publick prints; and an anſwer to ſaid addreſs was agreed to by the volunteers of Dublin, and forwarded to France in January, 1792. It was ſigned by James Napper Tandy, Thomas Bacon a tailor, Edward Newenham, William T. Smith, A. H. Rowan, J. T. Aſhenhurſt; and contained the moſt extravagant encomiums on the French conſtitution, and condemned the Iriſh as imperfect, and as founded in tyranny.

In a ſociety of united Iriſhmen aſſembled at Temple Patrick, in the county of Down, on the nineteenth of December, 1791, which was ſoon after the formation of the inſtitution, and ſhews how rapidly it ſpread, they reſolved to promote Catholick emancipation, and a reform of parliament; and aſſert, that whilſt an extra-national government retains the power of the national purſe; and whilſt religious animoſities, under the direction of inſidious adminiſtrations, continue to diſunite Iriſhmen, it is vain to expect emancipation, or the bleſſings of a free conſtitution.

The celebration of the anniverſary of the French revolution, which took place at Belfaſt on the fourteenth of July, 1792, opened a wide and extenſive theatre for traitors and diſaffected perſons of every rank, character, and religious perſuaſion, to fraternize and ſpread the infection of their noxious principles.

Some

Some months before, it was announced in the publick prints, and all the volunteers of the province of Ulſter were invited to aſſiſt there. Mr. Tone, thinking that this would afford him a good opportunity of attaching to his ſyſtem a great number of the Northern preſbyterians, well trained to arms, ſent to a republican friend at Belfaſt, the reſolutions and declarations of the united Iriſhmen, and deſired him to propound them to the volunteers, when they were intoxicated with the admiration of French liberty.

The main object of the reſolutions is, "a complete internal union of all the people of Ireland, to reſiſt the weight of Engliſh influence." He ſays in his letter, "with a reformed parliament every thing is eaſy; without it nothing can be done. The foregoing contain my true and ſincere opinion of the ſtate of this country, ſo far as in the preſent juncture it may be adviſeable to publiſh them. They certainly fall ſhort of the truth; but truth itſelf muſt ſometimes condeſcend to temporize. My unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Iriſh proſperity is in the influence of England. * I believe that influence will be extended while the connection between the two countries continues; nevertheleſs, as I know that that opinion is for the preſent too hardy, though a little time may eſtabliſh it univerſally, I have not made it a part of the reſolutions. I have not ſaid one word that looks like a wiſh for ſeparation; though I give it to you as my moſt decided opinion, that ſuch an event would be regeneration to this country."

"I think the beſt time for publiſhing them will be on the fourteenth of July: I learn there is to be a commemoration of the French revolution; that morning ſtar of liberty to Ireland!"

"The volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may adopt it, and I have worded it ſo as to leave them an opportunity. I have left, as you ſee, a blank for the name. As to the Roman catholicks, I have alluded to them, but ſo remotely, as I hope not to alarm the moſt cautious proteſtant. It is wicked nonſenſe to talk of a reform in Ireland, in which they ſhall not have their due ſhare."

This ſhews how anxious he was about the Roman catholicks, whoſe hired agent and ſecretary he was at that time; and how artfully he endeavours

* In the reign of James II. the Iriſh Roman Catholicks made a great outcry againſt Engliſh intereſt, as may be ſeen in lord Clarendon's ſtate letters.

deavours to allure the proteſtants to promote their intereſt, though their own deſtruction was involved in it.

The anniverſary of the French revolution * was celebrated with great pomp and ſplendour by a proceſſion of many volunteer corps, in which ſome pageants and large emblematick figures, with mottos ſuitable to the occaſion, were drawn by horſes. On one of them, drawn by four horſes, there was the following inſcription: "The releaſement of the priſoners from the Baſtile." On the reverſe, there was a figure of Hibernia, with one hand and foot in ſhackles, and a volunteer preſenting to her a figure of liberty. The following motto was inſcribed on another: "Our Gallic brethren were born July fourteenth, 1789: Alas! we are ſtill in embryo." On the reverſe, "Superſtitious jealouſy, the cauſe of the Iriſh Baſtile: Let us unite and deſtroy it." Among them appeared the portrait of doctor Franklin, with this motto, "Where liberty is, there is my country."

I have been informed by many gentlemen well acquainted with the real ſentiments of the preſbyterians of the North, that they harbour a moſt inveterate hatred towards the Roman catholicks; that they never ſincerely wiſhed that they ſhould obtain the elective franchiſe; and that they endeavoured to raiſe their expectations very high, from a malignant hope, that a diſappointment, ariſing from not having them fulfilled, would exaſperate them againſt the ſtate, and make them more ſanguine in their deſires to overturn it.

On the other hand, the Romaniſts were leſs ſincere; for the late rebellion proves that they meant to make uſe of that ſect of the proteſtants, merely as an engine to overturn the conſtitution, and to have extirpated the whole order of proteſtants when they had ſucceeded. As there are many good and loyal ſubjects among both theſe religioniſts, I think it right to apologize to them; and to aſſure them, that I allude only to the ignorant, the unprincipled, and uneducated ranks of both.

The Catholick committee, hoping that they might conciliate and gain over to their cauſe the volunteers of Ulſter, aſſembled at Belfaſt, when the flame of liberty excited in their breaſts the moſt tender emotions of fraternity and benevolence, and extinguiſhed all mean and ſelfiſh affections, ſent fourteen delegates there, of whom one was a prieſt, ſome days before the civick feaſt began.

A Frenchman

* It laſted ſome days.

A Frenchman, who had been very buſy intriguing in Dublin, attended there alſo.

When the proceſſion was over, the volunteers and many of the inhabitants of the town aſſembled in the linen-hall, and entered on the diſcuſſion of politicks. Parliamentary reform, and an univerſal reſtoration of all the privileges of the Roman catholicks were reſolved on.

They then voted an addreſs to the national aſſembly of France, and another to the people of Ireland.

The leading orators, and the chief friends of the Romaniſts on this occaſion, were Meſſrs. Sampſon and Neilſon, notorious rebels, preſbyterians by profeſſion, but decided deiſts; the reverend T. Birch, the reverend doctor Dickſon, and the reverend S. Kelburne,* preſbyterian miniſters, and doctor Caldwell, a noted republican.

Theſe active citizens, and the delegates from the Roman catholick committee, whoſe hatred towards each other could be equalled by nothing but their zeal to overturn the conſtitution, which was their only bond of union, were like two bands of robbers in Arabia, whoſe competition for plunder was an unceaſing ſource of enmity; but meeting with a rich caravan, ſo well guarded, that they deſpair ſingly of conquering it, they therefore unite for that purpoſe.

The Roman catholick delegates having completely ſucceeded in their negotiation for fraternizing with the preſbyterians, and for attaching them to their cauſe, gave way to immoderate joy, and poured out many a libation to Bacchus, on the night of the day that the civick feaſt was held.

On the fourteenth of July, the volunteers of Dublin aſſembled and fired three vollies on the quay, in commemoration of the French revolution; and on that day, and on the ſixteenth of July, many political clubs dined together, to celebrate that event.

On the twenty-third of May, 1792, the Poliſh revolution was celebrated at Belfaſt; that day being its anniverſary. A numerous company who dined at the Donegal arms, drank the following among other toaſts: The rights of man and Tom Paine: the ſovereignty of the people: may philoſophy enlighten all nations, and form the whole into one family: the revolution ſociety of London: James Napper Tandy, and a ſpeedy check to unconſtitutional and undefined privileges.

May

* Birch and Dickſon have been tranſported; Kelburne was impriſoned a conſiderable time.

May eighteenth, 1792, the Belfaſt ſecond ſociety of united Iriſhmen reſolved on contributing their ſhare of money to aſſiſt the people of France in the preſent war.

At this time there exiſted a Northern whig club, which frequently publiſhed reſolutions of a revolutionary tendency.

On the twenty-eighth of October, 1792, they celebrated, with great pomp, at Belfaſt, the retreat of the duke of Brunſwick's army from France. Liſburn, and many other towns of the North, followed their example.

December thirty-firſt, 1792, the union ſociety at Newry, conſiſting moſtly of Romaniſts, Patrick O'Hanlon,* ſecretary, reſolved, "that their object was to remove religious prejudices, and to promote unanimity and brotherly love among Iriſhmen of every ſect and perſuaſion."

The Roman catholicks of Dublin, duly convened by publick ſummons the thirty-firſt of October, 1792, Thomas Braughall in the chair, voted their thanks to the different volunteer corps reviewed in Ulſter; to the ſocieties of united Iriſhmen of Dublin and Belfaſt; to the proteſtant freeholders of Cork;† and the gentlemen on grand juries, and at county meetings, and to all others among their proteſtant brethren ‡ who manifeſted a wiſh for their emancipation.

Leſt the lower claſs of the Romaniſts ſhould not feel that enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of emancipation which the Catholick committee did, numbers of the popiſh multitude under the denomination of houſeholders of Dublin, were convened in their reſpective pariſhes, the latter end of the year 1792, when they entered into a diſcuſſion of their claims.

At an aſſembly of them the thirty-firſt of October, one of the leading members of the Catholick committee, to animate them, ſaid, "Look to the proteſtant part of Ireland, the North; look to Belfaſt; look to the four ſocieties of united Iriſhmen there; to the declaration of the volunteers in every part of Ireland, *riſing once more from their lethargy, to raiſe their degraded country.*"

Two volunteer corps, aſſembled under arms at Belfaſt on the ſeventh of September, 1792, expreſſed their joy at ſeeing that the ſpirit of volunteering

* He attended John Keogh on his miſſion to Rathfriland.

† This was a mob conſiſting moſtly of papiſts, convened by a few diſcontented gentlemen ſoured by diſappointed ambition.

On the contrary, the real proteſtants this very year were loud and vehement againſt granting the Roman catholicks the elective franchiſe.

ſunteering was reviving throughout the province of Ulſter, being confident, that the rights of the people are moſt ſecure, when they are able to aſſert them; and that they are perſuaded the country owes whatever commerce and conſtitution it poſſeſſes to the ſpirit and wiſdom of the volunteers; and they re-adopt the reſolutions of thoſe aſſembled at Dungannon the fifteenth of February, 1782, and the eighth of September, 1783, in which a total repeal of the popery laws, and an union of perſons of every religious perſuaſion, is recommended.

A revolutionary club, who called themſelves the Iriſh jacobins of Belfaſt, publiſhed a moſt ſeditious addreſs to the publick on the fifteenth of December, 1792, in the Northern Star, in which they ſay there is no national government, and that there muſt be a complete repreſentation of the people; and they inculcate the neceſſity of parliamentary reform and Catholick emancipation.

Different revolutionary ſocieties in the North, raiſed by ſubſcription, in the year 1792, conſiderable ſums of money for the republicans of France. At Coleraine they ſubſcribed 600l. The inhabitants of Drumacoe, in the pariſh of Newtownlimavady, and its vicinity, ſet one on foot the tenth of July, and invited perſons of every religious perſuaſion to contribute to it.

In July, 1792, Monſieur François read a letter in the French convention, written by a ſociety of friends to the French conſtitution in Ireland, who praiſed it very much, and offered eight hundred livres towards the expences of the ſtate.

In the year 1792, there exiſted the following political clubs in Dublin: The Whig club: The Whigs of the capital, who circulated twenty thouſand copies of Tom Paine's Rights of Man, at 1d. each, but many of them *gratis*, to enlighten the people: The friends of the conſtitution, liberty and peace:* The Catholick committee: The Catholick ſociety: The united Iriſhmen; who were very numerous: The defenders, who multiplied to a very extraordinary degree, were much influenced by the united Iriſhmen, and with whom they began to affiliate in the year 1792: Many reading clubs: The Shamrock, Telegraphick, and Philanthropick ſocieties,

* Many men of principle and good fortune, who wiſhed for nothing but a ſimple reform of parliament, were members of it, but did not know the latent deſigns of the rebels.

which were ramifications of defenderiſm, and conſiſted of the loweſt claſſes of the people, and furniſhed the united Iriſhmen with aſſaſſins. The Philanthropick paſſed ſentence of death on captain Giſſard in the year 1794, when high ſheriff of the city; but the aſſaſſin appointed to execute it, being touched with remorſe, informed him of it, and put him on his guard.

On Monday the twenty-ſeventh of February, 1792, an event happened which filled all loyal ſubjects with alarming apprehenſions, and with ominous conjectures, leſt the malignant deſigns of the traitors, who were numerous at that time in the metropolis, might terminate in its deſtruction. About the hour of four o'clock on that day, when the houſe of commons were in a committee, a member, conceiving that he perceived the ſmell of fire, ſent ſome of the ſervants to the dome of the edifice, and they immediately announced that it was on fire. The members, having inſtantly retired to the oppoſite ſide of the ſtreet, ſaw the flames burſting from it in ſeveral places and in oppoſite directions, and the whole was inſtantly in a blaze. The utmoſt exertion, with all the buckets and engines of the city, were uſed to extinguiſh it, but in vain; for that magnificent edifice was entirely conſumed.

It occaſioned univerſal conſternation; the guards at the caſtle, and the magazine in the park, were doubled; and the artillery approached the city.

A committee of the houſe, who ſat to determine on the cauſe of it, reported, that it happened by accident; though the ableſt members of that committee were convinced that it was done by deſign; but they feared that the admiſſion of it would be injurious to the trade and credit of the nation. An idea was univerſally diſſeminated, that one of the metal flues, conſtructed for the purpoſe of warming the houſe, had communicated fire to the dome; but for the following reaſons that will appear to have been utterly impoſſible: They were made of caſt iron; they were placed outſide the houſe, ſo as to have no communication with the dome, which was ſheathed with a thick coat of copper; and there was no timber employed in the conſtruction of the flues.

Mr. Penroſe, an able architect,* and well verſed in many other ſciences, was decidedly of opinion, that it was not poſſible for the flues, or any accident,

* He was architect of the houſes of parliament, and had been at that time daily inſpecting the roof of the houſe of commons, as he was repairing it.

accident, to have occaſioned the fire; that it was done by deliberate deſign, and muſt have been effected by ſome chemical proceſs.

The dome was formed of an immenſe body of ſolid timber, which, in the ordinary progreſs of fire, would require ſome hours to conſume; and yet it ſoon formed a circular body of fixed inextinguiſhable flame, and was conſumed in about an hour and a half.

As there were at that time in the city two deſperate factions, who, we have learned by fatal experience, meditated the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the deſtruction of the government, it is not unlikely that it was perpetrated by one or either of them, or by both in conjunction; as it will appear in the ſequel that they often co-operated.

Napper Tandy had narrowly eſcaped the vengeance of the houſe of commons, for having offered a groſs inſult to one of its members; and a proclamation for his apprehenſion appeared at that time in the newſpapers.

About the ſame time, all the efforts of Richard Burke, agent to the Catholick committee, were completely baffled; and he with difficulty eſcaped the reſentment of the houſe of commons. He had prevailed on one of its members to preſent a petition on the part of his employers, and he had the folly and preſumption to enter into the body of the houſe, to prompt the gentleman who had undertaken that taſk, which excited the indignation of that aſſembly; and nothing but his precipitate retreat ſaved him from being arreſted by the ſerjeant at arms.

The overweening and inſolent petition of that body had been recently diſmiſſed with indignant contempt; and the new popery bill, which though it gave them conſiderable privileges, blaſted their future expectations, had juſt paſſed through the houſe of commons. The leading catholicks of Dublin gave various proofs of the indignation which they felt at theſe diſappointments, particularly in their debate on the twenty-third of March in Fiſhamble-ſtreet.

From the many traitors and incendiaries who appeared in theſe two bodies in the year 1798, we may fairly conclude, that they would not heſitate to form a ſcheme for deſtroying the houſe of commons, when they had meditated a plot for overturning the ſtate, and the extirpation of numbers of the moſt valuable members of ſociety.*

* Some of the wretches arreſted on the exploſion of the rebellion, acknowledged that they knew of, and were privy to, the burning of the houſe, previous to its perpetration; and one perſon ſwore an information of it.

Suppoſing, therefore, that it was an accident, it muſt be acknowledged that it happened at a very critical moment.

It is obſervable, that a few days before the perpetration of this horrid crime, the following printed paper was diſtributed through the ſtreets in the form of a hand bill, and poſted on the city walls, and even on the houſe of commons, under the proclamation iſſued for apprehending Napper Tandy:

"The members of a certain great houſe, not far from the college, are hereby cautioned how they perſecute to ruin a virtuous citizen, for defending his character, and aſſerting the liberties of Ireland; if they do not, let them beware of the awl of the cobler of Meſſina."*

Early in the year 1792, a military body who ſtyled themſelves national guards, becauſe they endeavoured to aſſimilate to thoſe at Paris, were arrayed and diſciplined in Dublin. Subſcriptions were ſet on foot to purchaſe uniforms, pikes and accoutrements for them, and of which they beſpoke large quantities.†

They wore green uniforms, with buttons, having a harp, and a cap of liberty inſtead of a crown.‡ Their leaders were A. H. Rowan and James Napper Tandy, who addreſſed each other, and the members of their rebellious corps, by the appellation of citizen, in imitation of the French.

The multitude in Dublin were ſo much diſaffected at this time, that they uſed to wiſh ſucceſs to theſe traitors, openly and without reſerve, as they paſſed them by in the ſtreet, or ſaw them on parade.

The maſs of the people were ſo much infected with treaſon, and ſo prone to riſe the latter end of the year 1792, and the beginning of the year 1793, that a general inſurrection was apprehended; and even particular nights were fixed for that purpoſe, of which government had certain

* A gentleman, now living, informed a member of the privy council, that he was acquainted with circumſtances which would lead to the diſcovery of the burning of the houſe of commons; but he afterwards informed him, that the council did not wiſh to enter into an inveſtigation of it.

† This band of traitors ſprung from the volunteers; as ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee.

‡ Carey, the printer of the united Iriſhmen, boaſted in his pamphlet, "that he was Mr. Rowan's companion in arms, in the firſt national battalion; and that he oppoſed and finally procured the abolition of the miſchievous button and cockade, which afforded a pretext to the enemies of our glorious volunteer inſtitution to prevent its ſuſpenſion."

tain information. In ſhort, the city was like a great ſhell, fraught with various combuſtibles, and ready to explode on the application of a match.

Five nights out of ſeven alderman Fleming, by the orders of government, patroled the ſtreets with a body of horſe.

Lord Weſtmorland deſired him to attend particularly to the cuſtom-houſe, the poſt-office, and the gaol, as his excellency had undoubted information that they were the firſt places to be attacked; and that the ſignal for riſing was to have been the pulling down of the ſtatue of king William in College-green, with ropes.

One night lord Weſtmorland was ſo much afraid that the inſurrection would take place, that, though he had given orders in the morning to the alderman to patrole that night, he ſent an aid-de-camp in the evening to ſee that he was in readineſs to do ſo.

It was diſcovered at that time, that there was a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate Mr. Beresford. One of the perſons privy to it confeſſed it to alderman James.

The national guards, and all the volunteer corps of Dublin, were ſummoned by Matthew Dowling, to aſſemble on Sunday the ninth of December, 1792, to celebrate the victory of the French, and the triumph of univerſal liberty. The ſummons began with the appellation of "citizen ſoldier."

Government, having received undoubted information that a general inſurrection was meditated, iſſued a proclamation on the eighth of December againſt their aſſembling, which ſtruck ſuch terror into them, that the national guards did not aſſemble; and the only perſons who appeared on parade were A. H. Rowan, J. N. Tandy, and Carey the printer. For this meaſure of precaution, which ſaved the city from plunder and conflagration, and its moſt valuable inhabitants from aſſaſſination, we are indebted to the earl of Clare, the preſent lord chancellor, whoſe wiſdom, ſagacity, and unabated fortitude, notwithſtanding many plots which were formed to murder him, have preſerved the kingdom of Ireland, on various occaſions, from utter deſtruction. The exalted ſphere to which he has been raiſed, and the honours conferred on him by our gracious ſovereign, prove the ſuperior excellence of a mixed government like ours, where the monarch ſelects men, like him, diſtinguiſhed for wiſdom, abilities, and virtue, to fill the principal departments of the ſtate; but in a republick, where demagogues can turn the giddy multitude like a torrent,

to

to overwhelm every thing that is great and good, a Tone, a Tandy, or a Sheares, would fill the department over which this noble lord ſo worthily preſides.

On the thirty-firſt of January, 1793, an addreſs of thanks to lord Weſtmorland was moved and carried in the houſe of commons, for having iſſued this proclamation. In the debate on it, lord Edward Fitz-Gerald aroſe, and ſaid aloud, in an angry tone, "I give my moſt hearty diſapprobation to this; for I do think, that the lord lieutenant, and the majority of this houſe, are the worſt men in the kingdom." The houſe had ſerious thoughts of expelling him; but, with ſingular puſillanimity, pardoned him on making a ſlight excuſe.

There was as much treaſon in the city of Dublin in the year 1792 as in the year 1798; but with this difference, that it was not organized into ſyſtem.

An ingenious writer, in a letter addreſſed to a friend in England, and publiſhed in the year 1792, makes the following obſervations on this period: "On your ſide the water, philoſophy, I ſuppoſe, is defined after the good old manner; the love or ſtudy of wiſdom, moral or natural. With us it is a word of a very different import; for in Ireland, no man is allowed to poſſeſs either wiſdom or learning, who does not believe in the new American goſpel; who is not in politicks a republican; and in religion a preſbyterian, a papiſt, or an infidel. Out of theſe, there is no ſaving wiſdom: Such are the ſigns by which Iriſh philoſophy is known. Sometimes, indeed, it diſplays itſelf in libels on the king and the revolution; and he who diſcharges the greateſt portion of filth is the deepeſt philoſopher."

The political horizon of Ireland was ſo much darkened at this time by black threatening clouds, that trade and publick credit were materially injured. Bank ſtock which had been ſo high as 171 l. fell to 158 l. and the other funds in proportion. Lottery tickets ſhared the ſame fate.

As the Roman catholicks were chiefly inſtrumental in bringing the country into this alarming ſtate, doctor Mc. Kenna, a member of that order, ſtepped forward with a ſeaſonable and judicious addreſs, in which he told them, "that they lived under a wiſe and fortunate organization of ſociety; that, violence in aſſerting what they call their rights, ought not

not to be employed; for few political benefits are of ſufficient value to be purchaſed by commotion."

When the diſaffected clubs found that they could not elude the vigilance of the magiſtrates, who often diſperſed or arreſted them, they uſed to aſſemble in the environs of the capital, particularly at Harold's-croſs, under a pretext of boxing or playing at foot-ball.

Notwithſtanding the proclamation of the eighth of December, the goldſmiths' corps, commanded by major Bacon the tailor, and that noted traitor Dowling, paraded in Ship-ſtreet, on Sunday the twenty-ſeventh of January, but were diſperſed by alderman Warren; however, before their diſperſion, they entered into ſtrong reſolutions in favour of catholick emancipation * and reform of parliament.

In defiance of the proclamation of the eighth of December, to prevent the aſſociation and aſſembling of diſaffected perſons in arms, under a pretence of obtaining a redreſs of grievances, the Dublin rangers paraded in Ship-ſtreet, on Sunday the twenty-fourth of February, 1793. Alderman James, unattended by any civil or military force, deſired them to diſperſe; but, on their refuſal, Mr. Oliver Carleton, an active and intelligent magiſtrate, purſued and overtook them on Eſſex-bridge, where he attempted to ſeize the adjutant; telling him, at the ſame time, that he was his priſoner; but he was reſcued. Mr. Carleton received ſome blows, and was pelted with ſtones by the mob, who were warm partiſans of theſe armed traitors. Alderman James purſued them to Drumcondra, with a party of the army, but they diſperſed before he could approach them.

On the ſixteenth of January, the inhabitants of Belfaſt aſſembled, and voted an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for having recommended the Roman catholicks to the conſideration of parliament.

On the fourteenth of January, 1793, a motion was made in the houſe of commons for a parliamentary reform, which was the grand deſideratum of the united Iriſhmen, and one of the engines by which they hoped to overturn and proſtrate the conſtitution.†

Many

* Theſe words were adopted to make the people of England believe that the Iriſh papiſts were ſlaves, though they enjoyed more civil liberty than the moſt favoured ſubjects of any European ſtate, except England.

† It is remarkable, that the oppoſition in the parliaments of England and Ireland fed the hopes and promoted the wiſhes of the diſaffected by inflammatory ſpeeches.

Many attempts were made at Belfaſt, ſo early as the year 1792, to ſeduce the military. Joſeph Cuthbert, a maſter tailor, there was condemned to ſtand in the pillory for that offence.

In the month of April, 1793, the diſaffected people of that town would not ſuffer the loyal inhabitants to illuminate their houſes, for the ſucceſs of our allies on the continent. Some of the diſſenting miniſters of that town offered up prayers for the ſucceſs of the French republicans againſt the powers who oppoſed them. It generally happens that the moral and political principles of men, in a great meaſure, emanate from and are modified by their religion. As the preſbyterian church was formed in a republick, and as its eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment was aſſimilated to the civil policy of the ſtate, its members in every country in Europe have ſhewn a diſlike to every form of government but a democratick. For this reaſon, the calviniſtical miniſters in France, juſtified the rebellion againſt Charles I. and prayed publickly for its ſucceſs; and, leſt from their zeal they might have been conſidered as entertaining views and wiſhes hoſtile to their own government, one of their ableſt profeſſors at Saumur publiſhed the following abſurd apology for them: That the kings of France were abſolute by preſcription; but that thoſe of England were ſubordinate to the parliament. Nothing ſhews ſo much the excellence of our conſtitution, as having the king at the head of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

I before obſerved, page 8, that while this policy was adhered to by the emperors of Rome and Conſtantinople, peace and tranquillity reigned in their dominions; but when the biſhop of Rome aſſumed a right to regulate religious matters in them, it produced inceſſant ſtrife and diſcord.

It was a ſtanding law of an early date at Rome, that no one ſhould ſeparately have new gods, or worſhip privately foreign gods, unleſs admitted by the commonwealth, * and Iſocrates tells us, that the ſame law exiſted at Athens. †

Mæcenas, in his advice to Auguſtus, ſaid to him, "Perform divine worſhip, in all things, exactly according to the cuſtom of your anceſtors, and ſuffer no innovations in religion; becauſe thoſe who create ſuch, are

* Cicero de Legibus, lib. 11. † Iſocrates Areopagus.

are apt to make changes in civil affairs; hence conſpiracies, ſeditions, and riots; things very dangerous to government." ‡ This obſervation applies ſtrongly to the ſtate of Ireland at preſent, and that of England in the reign of Elizabeth and James I. before the bleſſings of the reformation were fully experienced in it.

James Napper Tandy was indicted at the ſpring aſſizes of 1793, held at Dundalk, in the county of Louth, for having diſtributed ſeditious handbills the preceding ſummer, to encourage the people of that country, much infeſted by the defenders, to riſe; but having, through his attorney Matthew Dowling, diſcovered that there were ſtrong charges for high treaſon againſt him, he fled, forfeited his recogniſances, and never ſince appeared, till he was brought a priſoner from Hamburgh.

On the ſeventh of March, 1793, alderman James found and ſeized ſome pikes in Suffolk-ſtreet, and lodged them in the king's ſtores; † ſo early did the diſaffected begin to procure theſe weapons.

In the month of January, 1793, the Roman catholick inhabitants of many pariſhes in Dublin aſſembled, debated on their claims and pretenſions, and voted addreſſes to their delegates in the general committee; in which ſome of them recommended the expulſion of lord Kenmare, and applauded the conduct of Meſſrs. Braughall, Ryan, and Sutton.

The reader may eaſily conceive for what purpoſe the maſs of the papiſts were thus aſſembled, and how much it muſt have inflamed their paſſions, and prepared their minds for the reception of ſedition and treaſon.

As the Roman catholicks of ſome counties and diſtricts had aſſembled with their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, to join in an addreſs to teſtify their allegiance, the ſub-committee of the Roman catholicks diſſuaded them from doing ſo, "ſince," as they ſaid, "that end was anſwered in a more dignified, ſolemn, and authorized manner, by their delegates."

As large quantities of gun-powder and arms had been ſent from the metropolis to the defenders, concealed in packages, and it was univerſally believed that much of both had been imported into the kingdom, the attorney general introduced a bill into the houſe of commons, to prevent any perſon from keeping, importing, or removing, any more than a certain quantity, without a licenſe, under a penalty of 500l.

* Dion Caſſius, lib. iii.

† They were the firſt of thoſe weapons diſcovered in Dublin.

This very ſalutary law, to which the ſalvation of the kingdom may in ſome degree be imputed, was violently oppoſed by the minority in parliament, and ſeverely condemned by the united Iriſhmen, who ſeemed to concur in cenſuring every meaſure of prevention and precaution, which government adopted to defeat the deſigns of the conſpirators.

In the year 1793, when republican principles were diſſeminated by all the revolutionary ſocieties, in many publick prints, and various inflammatory publications, doctor Troy, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled a Paſtoral Letter, in which, after departing from the main deſign which he profeſſed, he ſaid, that the antient republicks of Florence, Sienna, and Piſa, were eſtabliſhed and governed by Roman catholicks, who ſtill continue to ſupport thoſe of Poland, Venice, Genoa, Raguſa, Lucca and Marino; and he makes the ſame remark in reſpect to the popiſh cantons of the Helvetic union, and obſerves that the calviniſtical ones prefer an ariſtocratical government.

As popery has been generally congenial to monarchy, and rather favourable to deſpotiſm, it was believed that the doctor did this to attach more firmly the preſbyterians to their cauſe, by proving that the popiſh perſuaſion was well ſuited to a republick.

The reader may deduce from ſubſequent events, whether this conjecture was well founded.

It ſtruck me, and many perſons of ſagacity obſerved, that the horrors which people in general felt at the cruelties and barbarities committed by the French republicans, began to abate in the minds of the Roman catholicks in the beginning of the year 1793, and that they continued to wear away gradually, till the rebellion broke out.

Doctor Huſſey, in a paſtoral letter, publiſhed in the year 1797, endeavoured to prove how well ſuited popery was to a republican form of government.

We may form ſome opinion of the alarming ſtate of the North, from the report of the ſecret committee of the lords, made in 1793; and from a proclamation which iſſued the eleventh of March, of that year, which alludes chiefly to Belfaſt. It ſtates, "that certain ſeditious and ill-affected perſons, in ſeveral parts of the North, particularly in the town of Belfaſt, have endeavoured to foment and encourage diſcontent, and to defame the government and the parliament, by ſeditious publications, circulated

circulated among the people; and that ſeveral bodies of men have been collected in armed aſſociations, and have been levied, and arrayed in the ſaid town of Belfaſt; and that arms and gun-powder to a very large amount have been ſent thither; and that bodies of men have been drilled and exerciſed by day and night, under the pretext of obtaining a redreſs of grievances, though the obvious intention appears to be, to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both."

It then charges all perſons, under their allegiance, to abſtain from committing ſuch offences reſpectively.

This ſalutary and vigorous meaſure gave a vital blow to volunteering; and the preſſure of the times called for it, as the Belfaſt volunteer company, aſſembled the ſeventeenth of December, 1792, reſolved on an addreſs to the volunteers of Ireland; in which they encouraged them to aſſemble as uſual, and ſeverely condemned the proclamation which iſſued on the eighth of December.

When the proclamation of the eleventh of March iſſued, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary wrote to the ſovereign of Belfaſt, deſiring him to prevent all illegal meetings of perſons in arms; and informing him, that he and the other magiſtrates would be aided by the military, ſhould they meet with any oppoſition in diſperſing them.

In the month of January, 1793, there was a meeting held at Ballynahinch, to which all the pariſhes in the county of Down ſent delegates regularly choſen, and recommended to them to promote parliamentary reform and catholick emancipation; and at a town meeting held in February following at Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim, beſides diſcuſſing theſe ſubjects, the policy of holding a national convention was ſtrongly enforced.

In the beginning of the year 1793, meetings of the people were held in different towns and diſtricts in the counties of Down and Antrim; when they inculcated the neceſſity of parliamentary reform and catholick emancipation, condemned the eſtabliſhment of the militia, as tending to enſlave the nation, and recommended the volunteers to aſſemble as uſual.

On the fifteenth of February, 1793, a provincial meeting was held at Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, to which moſt of the pariſhes in Ulſter ſent delegates.

Their debates were highly inflammatory. Every thing that could tend to depreciate the conſtitution, and debaſe and vilify the members of the government in the opinion of the people, was ſaid there. They inveighed ſtrongly againſt the war, and entered into reſolutions againſt it.

Doctor Dickſon, a preſbyterian miniſter, and a noted demagogue, was the leading orator there. He inveighed bitterly againſt fencibles;* ſaid that the militia were but ſubſtitutes for them, and that the object of both was to enſlave and not to defend the nation. He ſaid, that catholick emancipation was but a ſhadow, as the gunpowder act, which he ſeverely condemned, deprived not only the Roman catholicks, but the proteſtants, of the uſe of arms. He reprobated the proclamation iſſued the eleventh of March againſt the illegal aſſociation of men in arms, and ſtrongly exhorted the volunteers to aſſemble as uſual. He declared, that he had three ſermons ready for the preſs, which were calculated to enlighten the people; and he recommended to the delegates to circulate them in their reſpective diſtricts. The publication of them was to be announced in the Northern Star, and Samuel Neilſon was one of the perſons appointed to receive ſubſcriptions. He ſaid, that the militia eſtabliſhment was merely to promote venality and patronage, for the infamous train who fatten on the ſpoils of the people. He condemned the war in ſevere terms.

At the requeſt of the herd of republicans aſſembled at Dungannon, he preached a ſermon, or rather a political diſcourſe, fraught with phlogiſtick principles, in a meeting-houſe, and was attended by perſons of every religious perſuaſion. His text was Joſeph's advice to his brethren, "See that ye fall not out by the way."

He recommended in his ſermon catholick emancipation, and reform of parliament, on the baſis of chriſtianity.

In the ſummer of 1797, he, after the manner of Thelwall, uſed to read political diſcourſes, which he called evening lectures, to his congregation at Portaferry, for the purpoſe, as he ſaid, of enlightening them.

At Dungannon, they framed fifteen reſolutions, which reflected upon government, and were very inflammatory; and before their prorogation, they

* Four regiments of them were raiſed in the year 1782, on advantageous terms to the ſtate; becauſe the officers were not to receive half-pay on being diſbanded. They were hateful to the factious demagogues of that day, who hoped, through the volunteers, to ſubvert the conſtitution, as there were but few troops in the kingdom.

they appointed a ſtanding committee, who were to concert meaſures for aſſembling a national convention.

Soon after, moſt of the volunteers and many town and diſtrict meetings of the people in Ulſter, aſſembled, and expreſſed their approbation of theſe reſolutions.

Nothing can afford a ſtronger argument in favour of an union with Great Britain, than ſuch meetings of the people, aſſembled for the purpoſe of overawing the parliament; particularly as they were conſtantly encouraged and made uſe of as engines to diſtreſs government, by the diſcontented members of the houſe of commons, at the expence of publick morals, peace, and induſtry.

In defiance of the proclamation of the eleventh of March, the true blue and Cork union volunteers adopted the following reſolution, the thirty-firſt of May, 1793: "We proclaim aloud, that we will never part with our arms, but with our lives;" and many other volunteer corps entered into ſimilar reſolutions.

Though the Roman catholicks were recently put exactly on a footing with proteſtants, except that they were precluded from ſitting in parliament, and from about thirty offices in the executive department, the defenders began in the month of June to commit the moſt dreadful outrages in many parts of the kingdom, but particularly in the counties of Kerry, Cork, Wexford, Limerick, Queen's County, Meath, Weſtmeath, Dublin, Cavan, Monaghan, Louth, and in the liberties of Drogheda, Leitrim, Longford, Roſcommon, Mayo, Sligo, Armagh, Down, Donegal, and Derry.

Treaſon and diſaffection were univerſally diſſeminated at this time. The united Iriſhmen uſed to ſend emiſſaries to different parts of the kingdom, who made it a practice of diſperſing ſeditious hand-bills, in every county through which they paſſed, from carriages.*

As the united Iriſhmen of Dublin and the provincial meeting at Dungannon propoſed the convoking a national aſſembly, which was to have aſſembled in the month of September following, the lord chancellor, whoſe ſagacity and political wiſdom could be equalled by nothing but his firmneſs,

* Leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that what I have aſſerted as to the diſturbed ſtate of the kingdom this year is not founded, I give in Appendix, No. XII. a ſtatement of ſome of the outrages committed in different parts of the kingdom.

firmneſs, preſented a bill, "To prevent the election or other appointment, of conventions, or other unlawful aſſemblies, under pretence of preparing or preſenting publick petitions or other addreſſes to his majeſty, or the parliament."

This ſalutary meaſure averted a ſtorm, which would probably have produced general anarchy and deſolation, as there were but few troops in the kingdom; and the volunteers, at that time numerous, well armed and appointed, were very much inflamed againſt government, by the ſpeeches of factious demagogues.

Nothing can evince more ſtrongly the policy and utility of this law, than that Samuel Neilſon declared upon oath, before the houſe of lords, "That the convention bill was calculated to meet every part of the ſyſtem of united Iriſhmen." When he read it, he ſaid, "he ſuppoſed the framer of it had their conſtitution before him whilſt he was framing it." Neilſon was one of the moſt active and intelligent members of the Iriſh union, except Tone.

In the month of October, 1793, the reverend and amiable Mr. Butler, chaplain to the biſhop of Meath, was murdered near his lordſhip's houſe at Ardbrackan. It appeared afterwards, that he had been previouſly tried and ſentenced to die by a committee of aſſaſſination.

During the whole of the year 1794, the defenders became terrifick, committing nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, in the counties of Cork, Dublin, Meath, Leitrim, Longford, Armagh, Louth, Cavan, and part of Down; in conſequence of which, the proteſtant inhabitants of moſt of them aſſembled, formed aſſociations for their defence, and offered rewards for bringing the defenders to juſtice.

They were ſo daring and deſtructive in the county of Longford, that the nobility, clergy and freeholders united, reſolved to levy money by ſubſcription, for raiſing and maintaining a body of horſe for their defence; and having addreſſed the viceroy for permiſſion to do ſo, obtained it.

In the month of February, 1794, a numerous body of inſurgents aſſembled between Dunmannaway and Bandon, in the county of Cork, and ſwore ſeveral perſons not to pay tithes, taxes, or hearth-money, and to obey no laws but thoſe of captain Right; and even threatened to attack the town of Bandon. They were incited to this by ſeditious hand-bills, ſome of which were ſent by poſt from Dublin.

They

They aſſembled again in the month of March, aſſumed the function of legiſlators, and diſperſed a body of police attended by a magiſtrate. They had the boldneſs to attack a party of the Carlow militia, and wounded a magiſtrate, while reading the riot act.

In that month they aſſembled often in different parts of that county.

The ſheriffs of the city of Dublin, in the year 1794, and the other magiſtrates there, aſſured me, that the defenders were conſtantly forming plots and conſpiracies in it.

On the fourth of March, a bill was preſented to the houſe of commons, for a reform of parliament.

In the month of March, 1794, the united Iriſhmen diſperſed ſeditious hand-bills in the univerſity of Dublin, in order to ſeduce the ſtudents from their allegiance.

In the month of January of this year, Mr. Pentland, a revenue officer, was barbarouſly murdered at Drogheda in the night.

On the twenty-eighth of April, 1794, the reverend Mr. Jackſon, a proteſtant clergyman, was committed to Newgate on a charge of high treaſon.

He came to Ireland as a miſſionary from the French government, to lay a plan for invading it; and was convicted of that crime in the year 1795, but died of poiſon in the dock, before the ſentence could be pronounced. This man was formerly the confidential friend and private ſecretary of the famous ducheſs of Kingſton, who was better known by the name of Miſs Chudleigh.*

A. H. Rowan, who was concerned in the plot with him, made his eſcape from Newgate, where he was under ſentence of impriſonment, for having diſperſed ſome ſeditious papers.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, 1794, alderman Warren, ſheriffs Giffard and Jenkin, attended by ſome conſtables, repaired to Tailors-hall in Back-lane and diſperſed the united Iriſhmen, whom they found ſitting in conſultation, and ſeized their papers; but they continued afterwards to ſit, and to carry on their nefarious machinations with ſecreſy, but with equal effect. It appeared afterwards, that many of the leaders

* There is not a doubt but that this man was invited by the Iriſh republicans to undertake this miſſion.

leaders of the Catholick committee were members of the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, though they artfully concealed themſelves while that body openly avowed its exiſtence, and publiſhed its proceedings; having left the obnoxious and dangerous part to the proteſtants, who, though few in number, ſerved as ſcape-goats to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and the deteſtation of all good men and loyal ſubjects.

I give the reader the names of ſome of the proteſtant leaders, with the fate which befel them.

Theobald Wolfe Tone convicted, but cut his throat,
Honourable Simon Butler, died in extreme poverty in Wales,
James Napper Tandy, fled,
Archibald H. Rowan,†
Oliver Bond, convicted of high treaſon, but died in priſon,
Beauchamp B. Harvey,*
Thomas Ruſſel,†
Arthur O'Connor,†
Roger O'Connor,†
Samuel Neilſon,†
John Chambers,†
Henry Sheares,*
John Sheares,*
Joſeph Levins,†
William Levingſton Webb,†
Henry Jackſon,†
Matthew Dowling,†
James Reynolds,†
Thomas A. Emmett,†
John Burke,†
Hugh Wilſon,†
Robert Simms,† proprietor of the Northern Star,
Edward Hudſon.†

† Exiles. * Were hanged.

CIVIL

CIVIL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

I SHALL now endeavour to give the reader an idea of the organization of their clubs, which, to impoſe on the people, were ſaid to be formed merely for civil purpoſes; and the better to induce the populace to enter into them, it was falſely and wickedly ſuggeſted, that it would produce an abolition of tythes, and an equal diſtribution of property. The inferior ſocieties at their firſt inſtitution conſiſted of thirty-ſix members; they were afterwards, however, reduced to twelve. Whenever they exceeded that number, the exceſs was diſmiſſed, with orders to make proſelytes for the foundation of a new ſociety. The twelve choſe a ſecretary and treaſurer; and the ſecretaries of five ſocieties formed what was called a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate direction and ſuperintendance of the five ſocieties, who thus contributed to its inſtitution.

From each lower baronial committee thus conſtituted, one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which in like manner aſſumed and exerciſed the ſuperintendance and direction of all the lower baronial committees in the ſeveral counties. The next ſuperior committees were, in populous towns, diſtinguiſhed by the name of diſtrict committees, and in counties by the name of county committees, and were compoſed of members delegated by the upper baronials. Each upper baronial committee delegated one of its members to the diſtrict, or county committee, and theſe diſtrict or county committees had the ſuperintendance and direction of all the upper baronials, who contributed to their inſtitution.

Having thus organized the ſeveral counties and populous towns, a ſubordinate directory was erected in each of the four provinces, compoſed of two or three members, according to the extent and population of the diſtricts which they repreſented, who were delegated to a provincial committee, which had the immediate direction and ſuperintendance of the ſeveral county and diſtrict committees in each of the four provinces; and a general executive directory, compoſed of five perſons, was elected

by the provincial directories; but the election was ſo managed, that none but the ſecretaries of the provincial knew on whom the election fell. It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors, the appointment being notified only to thoſe on whom the election devolved; and the executive directory, thus compoſed, aſſumed and exerciſed the ſupreme and uncontroled command of the whole body of the union.

The manner of communicating the orders iſſued by the executive directory was peculiarly calculated to baffle detection. One member alone of the executive communicated with the ſecretary of each provincial committee or directory; the order was tranſmitted by him to the ſecretary of each county or diſtrict committee in his province; the ſecretaries of the county and diſtrict committees communicated with the upper baronials in each county; they communicated with the ſecretaries of the lower baronial committees, who gave the order to the ſecretaries of each ſubordinate committee, by whom it was given to the ſeveral inferior members of the union.

In the month of March, 1794, many perſons were convicted at Dundalk of appearing in arms in the night as defenders, and of adminiſtering unlawful oaths; thirteen of them were capitally convicted.

In the month of May, 1794, the defenders were guilty of inſurrections and outrages, little ſhort of open rebellion in the counties of Meath and Cavan. At Kilnaleek in the latter, and in the neighbouring country, they were three days under arms. They laid waſte a large tract of the biſhop of Meath's eſtate, having plundered and burned the houſes of many of his proteſtant tenants. The royal Dublin militia, aſſiſted by a number of preſbyterians, purſued them to Ballynaugh, which town they took poſſeſſion of, and fired on the king's troops from the windows. At laſt the militia were obliged to burn the town to diſlodge them.

About the ſame time, at Drumſna in the county of Leitrim, nine police men fled into a houſe from a mob of inſurgents, who ſet fire to the houſe, and murdered all the police men as they endeavoured to eſcape from the flames.

In the province of Connaught, particularly in the county of Roſcommon, the defenders were terrifick in the years 1794 and 1795. The maſs of the people were furniſhed with pikes, and the houſes of proteſtants were conſtantly plundered of arms. At laſt, many of the nobility and

gentry

gentry aſſembled at Roſcommon in the month of Auguſt, and reſolved to lower rents, and to raiſe the wages of labourers, in hopes of allaying the dreadful ſpirit of outrage which actuated the people.

They adjourned their meeting for a week; but they ſoon diſcovered the folly of compromiſing with a mob in a ſtate of inſurrection, little ſhort of open rebellion.

When they were approaching the town, on the day to which they adjourned, they ſaw numbers of people armed with pikes in all the adjacent fields, who purſued ſome of their philanthropick benefactors ſo cloſely, that they narrowly eſcaped into Roſcommon.

While they were ſitting in the town-hall, aſhamed of their folly and puſillanimity, Mr. Mills of Fairymount, about ſix miles off, arrived with an account that a numerous body of pikemen had ſet fire to his houſe, after having plundered it.

The reverend Mr. Carey, a magiſtrate, having gone there with a party of dragoons, and found the houſe in flames, attacked a large body of the inſurgents, who were armed with pikes, and killed about thirty of them.

In the year 1794, many houſes were plundered of arms in the counties of Meath and Weſtmeath.

At the ſpring aſſizes for the county of Sligo, much diſturbed by the defenders, many of them were convicted of robbing houſes of arms, and adminiſtering unlawful oaths.

Early in the year 1795, one Cunny, a ſchoolmaſter, was detected near Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal, in the act of adminiſtering the defenders oath. He acknowledged his crime, and convicted ſome of his accomplices. The purport of the oath was, to emancipate the Roman catholicks; to aſſiſt the French, and to extirpate the proteſtants; and it inculcated ſobriety, ſecreſy, and obedience to their committees in all things. It contained an oath of allegiance to the king, as long as he lives. Some ſuch mental reſervation appeared in all oaths adminiſtered by the defenders; which was conſtrued thus (by Weldon, a defender, executed in the year 1796,) to ſuch perſons as he ſwore: "If the king's head were off to-morrow, there would be an end of your oath." This mental reſervation was couched in the following words in the oaths adminiſtered in other places: "As long as I live ſubject to the ſame government;" which appeared in the oath found upon Sharky, at Drumba-

nagher, in the county of Armagh, in the year 1789; but they meant to get rid of their oath by renouncing and overturning the government, which appeared afterwards to have been the object of all the defenders.

At the foot of the oath found upon Cunny, there was a tree of liberty, and a croſs marked thus, R.+C. meaning Roman catholick.

Defenderiſm was introduced into the county of Donegal from Connaught, by Leitrim and Roſcommon; and the doctrines of the united Iriſhmen from Belfaſt, in the year 1796, by men who appeared in the guiſe of pedlars.*

In 1795 the defenders became more furious and formidable than ever, in many parts of the kingdom, which aroſe from the following cauſe:

Lord Fitzwilliam, appointed to ſucceed lord Weſtmorland in the government of Ireland, landed at Dublin on the fourth day of January.

Some time before his arrival, the leading Romaniſts having received aſſurances that the whole of the popery laws would be repealed during his adminiſtration, the ſub-committee prepared a petition to parliament, praying that a law might paſs for that purpoſe; and they recommended to perſons of their perſuaſion, in all counties, towns and boroughs, to prepare ſimilar petitions. Their orders were obeyed, and the petitions were preſented to parliament on its meeting.

It was univerſally ſaid and believed, that Mr. Grattan, who came to Dublin ſometime before earl Fitzwilliam left London, gave undoubted aſſurances to the leading Romaniſts there, that they were to be gratified in their wiſhes in the fulleſt manner.

It was ſaid in the Northern Star, on the eighth of September, 1794, that there was good authority for ſaying, that lord Fitzwilliam was to be viceroy; and that the firſt meaſure of his adminiſtration was to be the emancipation of the Roman catholicks.

On Monday the ſecond of February, the petition of the town of Belfaſt, (the maſs of whoſe inhabitants are preſbyterians,) in favour of catholick emancipation, was preſented to the houſe of commons by the members of the county of Antrim.

About

* This ſtrongly marked the diſcriminating features of the conſpiracy. Belfaſt was the centre of motion in the north, and its inhabitants, who were moſtly preſbyterians, meditated the eſtabliſhment of a republick as their main object, and conſidered aſſaſſination merely as the means of promoting it; but the maſs of the conſpirators in Munſter, Leinſter, and Connaught, being papiſts, aimed at the extirpation of proteſtants in the firſt inſtance, and as their primary object, of which the reader will be convinced in the ſequel.

About the ſame time, there appeared in the Northern Star ſome inflammatory addreſſes to the volunteers, invoking them to reſume their arms and ſave their country.

On the twelfth of February, 1795, Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for further relief of the Roman catholicks.

Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled ſuddenly from the government of Ireland, and returned to England on the twenty-fifth of March.

The reaſons aſſigned for it were, that his lordſhip exceeded the powers granted to him by the adminiſtration of England, in attempting to repeal the whole of the popery laws, and to remove moſt of the old officers of the crown, who had ſerved his majeſty the greater part of their lives with the utmoſt fidelity; and this by the advice of his excellency's cabinet miniſters in Ireland, of whom Mr. Grattan was the chief.

It is not to be doubted, but that the Romaniſts were buoyed up with the hope of being admitted to equal privileges with the proteſtants, though the Engliſh cabinet never empowered lord Fitzwilliam to make them ſuch conceſſions; but on the contrary, deſired him to prevent the catholick claims from being diſcuſſed. Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt publickly defied his lordſhip to prove that he had received ſuch powers.

On the ſecond of March, 1795, a debate took place on the recal of lord Fitzwilliam, in the courſe of which ſir Laurence Parſons ſaid, that, if the Roman catholicks were diſappointed in the expectations with which they had been filled, every gentleman in Ireland would be under the neceſſity of keeping five or ſix dragoons in his houſe for his protection; and it turned out afterwards that he ſpoke prophetick truth.

It was univerſally believed, and the contrary has never been proved, that Mr. Grattan was the perſon who filled the Roman catholicks with theſe falſe hopes, with a view of acquiring popularity, or from ſome other ſecret motive.

It was generally thought that he reaſoned thus: If the Roman catholicks of Ireland, the majority of its inhabitants, who have been ready on all occaſions to join any foreign foe againſt the intereſt of the proteſtant empire of Great Britain, ſhall come forward in a body, and aſk for an equal participation of civil liberty and political power with the proteſtants, in a ſtyle of ſturdy and menacing ſolicitation, at a time that both Great Britain and Ireland are threatened by a barbarous enemy, the Engliſh miniſtry

niſtry muſt grant, from intimidation, what their policy and prudence might withhold.

At the ſame time Mr. Grattan, and the partiſans of the Romaniſts, aſſured earl Fitzwilliam, that a ſeparation of Ireland from England would moſt certainly take place, ſhould they be diſappointed in their expectations; and the very diſturbed ſtate of the kingdom, agitated at that time by the defenders and the united Iriſhmen, gave ſome credit to their aſſertions.

His excellency, relying on their veracity and integrity, perſiſted in promoting the wiſhes of the Romaniſts, I believe, from the beſt motives, and was therefore recalled.

From the reſpectability and amiableneſs of his character, no perſon could doubt of the rectitude of his intentions, or that he had any other object at heart than the intereſt of the empire; but it is believed that his lordſhip was unacquainted with the real ſtate of the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding the recal of earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grattan preſented, on the twenty-fourth of April, a bill for further relief of the Roman catholicks, which contained a total repeal of the popery laws. It was read a ſecond time, debated, and rejected the fourth of May; the numbers having been 155 to 84.

It muſt be univerſally allowed, that Mr. Grattan was very imprudent in bringing this meaſure forward, becauſe he could not entertain the moſt diſtant hope of its ſucceſs; and he muſt have known that the diſcuſſion of it would excite much diſcontent among the maſs of the Romaniſts, who had manifeſted a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection during the three preceding years.

The Roman catholicks of Dublin voted an addreſs of thanks to Mr. Grattan for his exertions in their favour; and his anſwer to them was very intemperate and inflammatory.*

The diſappointment of the Romaniſts was ſuch, as to fill them with the moſt implacable hatred againſt the government and their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, which manifeſted itſelf in various ways, but particularly in the deſtructive rage of the defenders, who deſolated many parts of the kingdom; and particularly the counties of Dublin, Meath, Weſtmeath,

* See Mr. Grattan's addreſs, Appendix, No. X.

meath, Kildare, King's and Queen's-county, Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, Roſcommon, Leitrim, Longford, Sligo, and part of the county of Down.

They plundered proteſtant houſes of arms, often burned them, and killed ſuch of their inmates as made any reſiſtance: They houghed their cattle, wrote threatening letters to compel perſons to comply with their unreaſonable requiſitions; and frequently maſſacred thoſe who dared to proſecute them, or to aſſiſt the civil magiſtrate in enforcing the execution of the laws. The loyal ſubjects deſerted their houſes in the diſturbed countries, and fled to their reſpective county towns, or to the metropolis for protection.

Lord Camden, who ſucceeded lord Weſtmorland as viceroy of Ireland, landed in Dublin on the ſecond of April, 1795; a nobleman univerſally revered there, for his good ſenſe and firmneſs, the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, and the amiableneſs of his manners.

The chief officers of ſtate, and many of the nobility and gentry repaired to the caſtle, to pay their reſpects to his excellency. The lord chancellor at his return was attacked by a gang of aſſaſſins, who, by repeated vollies of ſtones, broke the pannels of his coach, gave his lordſhip a ſevere contuſion in the forehead, and would have murdered him, but that the ſkill of his coachman, and the agility of his horſes, enabled him to eſcape.

The primate was alſo attacked at his return from the caſtle, but received no other injury than that his coach was in ſome degree damaged.

The ſame party repaired immediately to the houſe of Mr. John Claudius Beresford, nephew of the marquis of Waterford, and aſſaulted it with many ſhowers of ſtones; but one of them having been killed by a ſhot from it, the remainder fled.

It was afterwards proved, that this mob was entirely compoſed of defenders, who had been ſelected by their leaders, to raiſe an inſurrection; and lord Clare and Mr. Beresford's family were particularly the object of their vengeance; becauſe they had given the moſt decided oppoſition to Catholick emancipation, and reform of parliament, the two engines by which the diſaffected hoped to ſubvert the conſtitution.

The

The Romaniſts in Dublin were ſo much incenſed at lord Fitzwilliam's recal, that a combination was formed in Francis-ſtreet chapel, that no papiſts ſhould hold any dealings or any friendly intercourſe with proteſtants; and their example was followed in all the other chapels.

There was to have been a charity ſermon in James's-ſtreet chapel, but it was ſuddenly put off, for the purpoſe of entering into this combination; by which many of the poorer claſs of proteſtants in Thomas, Francis, and James's-ſtreets, principally inhabited by papiſts, were ruined.

An eminent flour factor aſſured me, that all the popiſh bakers, who had dealt with him, ſuddenly left him; and that to make up for the loſs which he ſuſtained by it, he was under a neceſſity of giving credit to perſons whoſe ſolvency was doubtful. Papiſts alſo withdrew their cuſtom from proteſtant bakers.

Should the proteſtants purſue the ſame vindictive and uncharitable ſyſtem, the Roman catholicks would be by far the greateſt ſufferers; as the former poſſeſs at leaſt nineteen parts out of twenty of the property of the kingdom.

The maſs of the popiſh rabble were univerſally infected with defenderiſm in the metropolis and its environs, in which outrages were perpetrated every night, and committees were frequently detected and ſeized with their papers, in the act of forming treaſonable plots. The police commiſſioners were in poſſeſſion of a muſter-roll of 4000 perſons aſſociated in theſe clubs; but the popiſh multitude in the metropolis were at this time enrolled in them.

The united Iriſhmen and defenders were then very active, and in many inſtances ſucceſsful in ſeducing the military from their allegiance, and in attaching them to their cauſe. They occaſioned a mutiny in the 104th and 111th regiments quartered in Dublin, and endeavoured to procure their co-operation and aſſiſtance in an inſurrection and maſſacre, which they meditated on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1795. Many of the ſoldiers deſerted from their regiments to join the rebels; and on that day a mob of traitors, who met the caſtle guard on Eſſex-bridge, were ſo confident of being joined by them, that one of their leaders attempted to wrench the colours from the officer who bore them, as a ſignal for a general inſurrection; and another of them mounted on the bridge, and began to exhort the populace to riſe, in an inflammatory harangue;

harangue; but he was ſoon ſilenced by a dragoon, who drew his ſword, and gave him a deſperate wound.

Another dragoon, who was ſent with intelligence of this event to the lord lieutenant, who reſided in the park, was ſeized by the rebels, cruelly beaten, and narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination.

It was very fortunate that the intemperate zeal of the rebels got the better of their prudence; for, if they had poſtponed the execution of their plot till night, it is very probable that the city would have been in flames; but the arrival of a large body of troops from Lehaunſtown camp completely put an end to the hopes of the diſaffected. The joy of the ill-diſpoſed to government, and to the conſtitution, on the arrival of the earl Fitzwilliam, could be equalled by nothing but the rage and diſcontent which they diſplayed at his departure; for they were led to hope, that the meaſures of his adminiſtration would have enabled them to ſucceed in their grand object of forming a republick.

A general mourning was obſerved at Belfaſt the twenty-fifth of March, the day of his departure; and the congregations of two meeting houſes there reſolved not to addreſs lord Camden.

Some of the diſſenting congregations in Dublin, following their example, reſolved, on the ſixth of April, "that it is the unanimous opinion of the underſigned, that this congregation ſhould not, as a religious ſociety, wait on any lord lieutenant, on his arrival in this kingdom, with a congratulatory addreſs."

On the twenty-fifth of March, 1795, the following paragraph appeared in the Northern Star, printed at Belfaſt: "It cannot but be matter of proud exultation to the ſocieties of united Iriſhmen, that the whole people of Ireland, with exceptions ſcarcely worth mentioning, are now of thoſe very opinions which they broached three years ago, and which were then conſidered by the wiſe, the conſtitutional, the moderate and the cautious, as ſymptoms not only of madneſs, but even of wickedneſs in the extreme;" ſo convinced were the republicans of Belfaſt, that the departure of lord Fitzwilliam had poiſoned the minds of the people, and had infected them with the contagious doctrines of the united Iriſhmen.

The Romiſh committee in Dublin, diſappointed and incenſed at the recal of lord Fitzwilliam, ſent three delegates to St. James's, John Keogh,

Edward Byrne, and Mr. Huſſey, commonly called baron Huſſey, with a petition, which they preſented to his Majeſty at the levee, praying that his excellency might continue in the government of Ireland; but they received no other anſwer, than that the ſecretary of ſtate informed them, that the lord lieutenant of Ireland had received orders to communicate to them his Majeſty's wiſhes on the ſubject of their application.

On the ninth of April, a meeting of the Roman catholick gentlemen and tradeſmen of Dublin was convened by publick notice at Francis-ſtreet chapel, to receive the report of their delegates, who had preſented their petition at St. James's.

Mr. John Keogh, ſtated, "that the only anſwer they could get from the duke of Portland was, that his Majeſty had communicated his wiſhes on this head to the lord lieutenant of Ireland."

He ſaid "he was not ſorry however that the effort had been made, though defeated; for it pointed out one fact at leaſt, in which the feelings of every Iriſhman were intereſted, and by which the Iriſh legiſlature would be rouſed to a ſenſe of its own dignity. It ſhewed, that the internal regulations of Ireland, to which alone an Iriſh parliament was competent, were to be previouſly adjuſted by a Britiſh cabinet. * The preſent, he hoped, was the laſt time the catholicks would aſſemble in a diſtinct body, their cauſe being no longer a diſtinct cauſe, but adopted by their proteſtant brethren." †

He ſtated, "that revolutions had taken place in America, in France, Brabant, Holland, and Poland, which aroſe from the apprehenſions of the people, and which rouſed them to reſiſtance: That in endeavouring to ſubdue America, England had incurred a debt of one hundred millions, which ſhe muſt bear till the day of judgment, *if her government laſts ſo long.*" In ſhort, he gave a broad hint, what was to be apprehended from the diſcontent of his brethren in Ireland.

In the courſe of the debate, the orators ſeverely denounced the meaſure of an union with England, which they abuſed as vicious, venal, ambitious, and bankrupt.

They

* This doctrine, which was univerſally entertained by the diſaffected, led to a ſeparation, and evinced the neceſſity of an union.

† This was by no means true; for the proteſtants of the church of Ireland, with a very few exceptions, were averſe to conceding their claims; and the corporation of Dublin petitioned the throne againſt them.

They anxiouſly endeavoured to impreſs the proteſtants in the country parts of Ireland with a belief, that thoſe of Dublin earneſtly deſired to promote the wiſhes of the Romaniſts; which was by no means the caſe, as they frequently gave unequivocal proofs of the contrary in the years 1792 and 1795.

I ſhall give the reader a conciſe account of the trial of James Weldon, a trooper, who was tried for high treaſon in Dublin, on the twenty-fifth day of December, 1795; as it will give him a perfect idea of the malignant deſigns of the miſcreants, called defenders, who were very numerous at that time in the metropolis.

Two men of the names of Kennedy and Brady having prevailed on one Lawler, a carver and gilder, to become a defender, conducted him to the lodgings of Weldon, near the barrack of Dublin, where he was quartered, and where he was ſworn a member of that order.

At different meetings afterwards, it was ſaid, that there would be a riſing, to carry into effect the purpoſes of the defenders; and at one held in Plunket-ſtreet, where eighteen or nineteen perſons were aſſembled, a propoſition was made for buying gunpowder and arms, for the purpoſe of ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin; and it was alſo propoſed to ſeduce the army.

They knew each other by certain ſigns, which Weldon communicated to Lawler, and the paſs-word was Eliphiſimatis, which has been variouſly explained.

Weldon adminiſtered the following oath to Lawler: "I William Lawler, of my good will and conſent, do ſwear to be true to his majeſty king George the third." This paragraph, which is not only unexceptionable but laudable, ſerved as a lure to inveigle ſuch perſons as were loyal, and to varniſh over the ſubſequent part of it, which is treaſonable. The next paragraph is: "I will be true while under the ſame government:" Obliquely importing, that they would be faithful no longer than during the exiſtence of the government, which they meant to ſubvert. "I ſwear to be true, aiding and abetting, to every true brother;" which was a name for a defender known among themſelves. "And in every form and article, from the firſt foundation in 1790, and every amendment hitherto; and I will be obedient to my committees, ſuperior commanders, and officers, in all lawful proceedings." This meant their own

bye-laws. It then imports, "that he will not quarrel with a brother, but live friendly and lovingly with him."

In a ſubſequent converſation, Weldon obſerved on the firſt paragraph of the oath, "That if the king's head were off to-morrow morning, we ſhould be no longer under his government."*

Hart, one of the conſpirators, told a young man, whom he introduced to Weldon to be ſworn, that the object was to get arms, and to aſſiſt the French when they ſhould come.

Lawler ſaid he paſſed for a Roman catholick among the defenders, becauſe Brady deſired him to do ſo; and Hart declared he would not ſit with Dry and Coffey, two defenders, becauſe they were proteſtants.

At laſt, Hart having informed Lawler, who was a proteſtant, that all perſons of that religion were to be maſſacred, he, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, diſcloſed the whole of the plot to Mr. Cowen of Grafton-ſtreet, who employed him.

The ſubſtance of what he related to Mr. Cowen, was this: That Hart informed him on Sunday the twenty-third of Auguſt, that there was to have been a general inſurrection, and a maſſacre of all the proteſtants, on Saturday the twenty-ſecond; but it was poſtponed till the harveſt was over, leſt a famine might enſue, ſhould it take place before. Mr. Cowen took him to Mr. Hamilton, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary; and while they were at the caſtle, the mutiny, which I already deſcribed, occurred on Eſſex-bridge. Another meeting took place next day, when Lawler informed them, that there was to be a numerous aſſembly of the defenders at the Coombe, in the Liberty, on that night; that they were to ſurpriſe the Coombe guard; to take their cloaths and their arms; to repair to the caſtle, where, having the guiſe of ſoldiers, they would be admitted; and then to diſtribute among their friends all the arms in the arſenal. As the two regiments in garriſon at this time were diſaffected, it is probable that they would not have been oppoſed. Mr. Hamilton ſent for alderman James, and deſired him to repair to the Coombe with a body of cavalry, which he accordingly did, attended by Mr. Cowen and Lawler; and they found there a mob of three or four thouſand ruffians, who gave them three

* This appeared in the oath found upon Sharky in 1789.

† Trial of Weldon, taken by counſellor Ridgeway, and publiſhed by alderman Exſhaw.

three cheers on their arrival, but hiſſed them at their departure. Lawler, who mixed with his brother defenders, recommended to alderman James not to ſuffer a ſhot to be fired, becauſe, ſhould a conflict enſue, it was to be feared that the Coombe guard would join them; however, on being threatened by alderman James to be fired on, they diſperſed. Lawler ſwore, on the trial of Brady, Kennedy, and Hart, that, at a meeting of the defenders held at Stoneybatter, they ſpoke of attacking the chancellor in the courſe of the winter, as he returned from the houſe of lords, and of hanging him on a tree in Stephen's-green.

Every collateral circumſtance in this buſineſs corroborated the teſtimony of Lawler. He ſwore, that Weldon always carried the oath in his fob; and when he was arreſted it was found there. The ſame thing occurred on the apprehenſion of Kennedy.

Weldon, on whom the defenders oath was found when arreſted, was convicted of high treaſon, and hanged on the ſecond of March, 1796. Previous to his execution, he confeſſed to one of his officers, that Hanlon (a noted defender) told him, there was to be a general inſurrection; that none but defenders would be ſafe, and that they were all Roman catholicks.

It is very remarkable, that the defenders oath, adminiſtered in the moſt remote counties from the capital, was much of the ſame tenor with that which Weldon exhibited to Lawler; and that it contained the condition, "as long as I live under the ſame government," or, "as long as the king lives."

It appeared on the trials of Brady, Kennedy and Hart, for the ſame crime, on the twenty-ſecond of February, 1796, that one Burke, who had been expelled from the univerſity for having endeavoured to propagate treaſon and atheiſm among the ſtudents, informed Lawler, that the plan was this: That he was to find ten ſelect men, each of whom was to procure ten more; that each of them was to find five, and that they, united, would be ſufficient to take the caſtle.

One hundred of them were to get ſcarlet uniforms, to make the people believe that the ſoldiers had joined them.

Lawler made up his number in a fortnight. They met in a room in High-ſtreet, and were called the philanthropick ſociety. Le Blanc, a Frenchman,

Frenchman, who fled, was a member, and was moſtly either chairman, or committee-man.

I give the reader a conciſe account of the trial of ſome aſſaſſins, who conſpired to murder one Hanlon, a gunner in the artillery, as it will unqueſtionably evince the ſanguinary and treaſonable deſigns of the defenders.

Thomas Smith, a gunner in that corps, and a proteſtant of the eſtabliſhed church, was ſworn a defender in January, 1795, in the houſe of James Doyle, on George's-quay, and in the preſence of ſaid Doyle and Andrew Glennan, who were commanders of the regiment of defenders to which they belonged. It was then propoſed to him, to form an intimacy with Hanlon, to conduct him to Doyle's houſe, with a promiſe of entertaining him there, that they might murder him, and throw his body into the river Liffey, as he was returning to his quarters at Chapelizod. Next morning Smith related the whole of what paſſed at Doyle's to Lane the ſerjeant-major, and ſaid he would pretend to ſecond their deſigns.

The next meeting was at the houſe of one Carmichael, in Thomas-ſtreet, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1795, when the aſſaſſination was planned in the preſence of him, Glennan, and three men of the names of Kinſhela, Sleaven, and Shanaghan. The reaſon for wiſhing to aſſaſſinate Hanlon was, that he, on behalf of the crown, was to proſecute ſome defenders who were then confined in the gaol of Naas.

Smith communicated every thing that paſſed to his ſerjeant-major and to Hanlon, who agreed to accompany him to Carmichael's houſe, on being aſſured that ſome magiſtrates and conſtables would be ready near at hand, and would arreſt the aſſaſſins; and accordingly aldermen Alexander and Tweedy, and ſome peace-officers did attend, and arreſted the aſſaſſins, in number thirteen, who were afterwards convicted and puniſhed.

In the courſe of the trial it appeared, that Smith, ſoon after he became a defender, diſcovered, that all the order of defenders had the moſt inveterate hatred and ſanguinary deſigns againſt proteſtants of every deſcription; in conſequence of which he, from motives of ſelf-preſervation, concealed his bible and prayer-book, and denied that he was of that religion; and at laſt, he and his wife agreed that he had better go into the artillery, for the ſake of protection, and that he might have an opportunity

nity of exerciſing his devotion. He therefore enliſted in that corps on the fifteenth of April, 1795.

In a converſation with a body of defenders, at the houſe of one Connor in Dublin, they ſaid, "That they daily expected a rebellion, and a maſſacre; that no proteſtant was to be left alive; that the oath was to ſerve France and Ireland, and under James Cole, ſir Edward Bellew, Napper Tandy, and Hamilton Rowan; that they were to have no king; to recover their eſtates; ſweep clean the proteſtants; to leave none alive; and to kill the lord lieutenant."

In the month of April, 1795, they entered into a reſolution to ſhoot the lord lieutenant as he paſſed through the park; to ſeize the magazine there; and to kill all the nobility in Dublin.*

I give the reader in Appendix, No. IX. a liſt of ſome of the outrages committed in the year 1795.

In conſequence of the dreadful outrages committed by the defenders in ſome northern counties, which I have already deſcribed, the earl of Carhampton, by order of government, viſited thoſe of Weſtmeath, Leitrim, Longford, Roſcommon, Mayo and Sligo, in order to reſtore ſocial order in them; as thoſe miſcreants had completely impeded the execution of the laws, by a ſyſtem of terror, and had exerciſed deſpotick ſway in them.

In moſt places his lordſhip found that a leader of banditti, under the feigned name of captain Stout, had intimidated the people of the neighbourhood ſo much, that ſuch perſons as had ſuſtained any injury were afraid to proſecute, and the magiſtrates were deterred from enforcing juſtice.

Some informers had been murdered, and others, fearing the ſame fate, forfeited their recogniſances ſooner than give evidence againſt them. One ſaid, that Larry, a farmer in his neighbourhood, another, that Thady would have his houſe burned, and himſelf murdered; for they had the hardened audacity to avow themſelves in ſome places, where they had completely ſilenced the voice of juſtice.

A party of this banditti, in the county of Roſcommon, after having plundered the houſe of a widow of various articles, and of her rent, which

* Trial reported by counſellor Ridgeway in 1796.

which ſhe had ready to pay her landlord, ſet fire to it, and threw her into the flames; in which ſhe would have periſhed, but that her ſon, touched by filial piety, reſcued her, and fought for her life at the riſque of his own.

They were prevailed on to proſecute; but at the aſſizes they were ſo inſulted and threatened, that, from motives of fear, they prevaricated in their evidence, and pretended not to know the priſoners, though they were their neighbours.

They were therefore indicted for perjury, and caſt for tranſportation; but in conſideration of the age and infirmity of the woman, her ſentence was mitigated at the inſtance of lord Carhampton.

A farmer near Caſtlereagh, in the county of Roſcommon, being alarmed at a report which prevailed, that he entertained hoſtile deſigns againſt captain Stout, and had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of him, repaired to a magiſtrate, ſwore an affidavit that he never had, and never would, malign, injure, or proſecute captain Stout; and poſted it up in the moſt publick part of the town; and he alſo aſked pardon of captain Stout, if he had ever uttered any expreſſions tending to diſparage him. Lord Carhampton found this affidavit poſted up in the town of Caſtlereagh.

A reſpectable proteſtant clergyman of the county of Roſcommon informed me, that a body of pikemen ruſhed into his houſe in the night, and offered to ſwear him to be loyal; and on aſſuring them that he would be loyal to the king, they aſked him, What king? and on his ſaying king George, they cried out, No, no, a Roman king, meaning a popiſh ſovereign; and they added, that they muſt have a king of their own.

An active and intelligent magiſtrate in the county of Sligo, who had the courage to do his duty in defiance of the menaces of theſe miſcreants, informed me, that the prieſt of his pariſh adviſed him not to perſevere in his exertions, but to remain a paſſive ſpectator of theſe outrages, for that otherwiſe he would be murdered. He alſo diſcovered, that the prieſts, at their reſpective chapels, collected money on Sundays and holidays, for the purpoſe, as they ſaid, of defraying the expence of obtaining a right to ſit in parliament for perſons of their order; but he afterwards diſcovered that it was to purchaſe arms and ammunition.

A gentleman in the county of Roſcommon informed me, that the defenders uſed frequently to ſend anonymous letters to perſons, threatening them

them with deſtruction, unleſs they permitted them to cut trees and poles in their plantations, for the purpoſe of making pikes.

In the year 1795, ſo many proteſtant families fled to the town of Roſcommon for protection, that they could ſcarce get accommodation there.

This year, the ſum applied for to the grand jury by different perſons who ſuffered in the county of Meath, from the enormities committed by the defenders, ſuch as houghing cattle, and plundering and burning of houſes, amounted to 1700l.

Lord Carhampton, finding that the laws were ſilent and inoperative in the counties which he viſited, and that they did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable ſubjects, who in moſt places were obliged to fly from their habitations, reſolved to reſtore them to their uſual energy, by the following ſalutary ſyſtem of ſeverity:

In each county he aſſembled the moſt reſpectable gentlemen and landholders in it, and having, in concert with them, examined the charges againſt the leaders of this banditti, who were in priſon, but defied juſtice, he, with the concurrence of theſe gentlemen, ſent the moſt nefarious of them on board a tender, ſtationed at Sligo, to ſerve in his majeſty's navy.

By this bold meaſure, founded in obvious principles of political neceſſity, he completely reſtored peace in the diſturbed counties.

The loyal inhabitants, and the grand juries in them, thanked lord Carhampton for his wiſe and ſalutary exertions; but the diſaffected in every part of the kingdom, exaſperated that he had checked the progreſs of their revolutionary ſchemes, raiſed a great clamour in conſequence of it; and as they meditated many proſecutions and civil actions againſt him, a law was paſſed in the month of February, 1796, to indemnify ſuch perſons as had exceeded the limits of the law in reſtoring peace and good order; which, as a matter of courſe, was violently oppoſed by the minority in the houſe of commons.

On the twenty-fifth of June, 1795, the reverend Mr. Birch, a preſbyterian miniſter, preached a ſermon to a numerous body of diſſenters at Saintfield, in which he recommended the uniting perſons of every religious perſuaſion in one family, or brotherhood, in the bonds of philanthropy. He denominated kings butchers and ſcourges of the human race, who revel on the ſpoils of thouſands, whom they have made father-

leſs, widows, and orphans, until the judgment of the Almighty ſhall come down on thoſe miniſters, and cauſe them who uſe the ſword to periſh by the ſword.

In the month of January, 1795, ſome ſoldiers of the Wexford regiment were poiſoned at Cavan, while on guard at the gaol.

The defenders became ſo furious in the metropolis, and its environs, in the ſpring and ſummer of 1795, committing robbery and aſſaſſination, that the inhabitants of Charlemont-ſtreet, Charlemont-place and Charlemont-row, Cullen's-wood and Cullen's-wood avenue, Mount-pleaſant, Ranelagh, and Dunnville, combined for their mutual defence. The inhabitants of Baldoyle, and the adjacent country, followed their example.

A numerous aſſociation was alſo entered into in the diſtrict of the metropolis, on the eighth of October, for mutual defence, and the ſuppreſſion and puniſhment of thoſe miſcreants; and it was ſigned by the lord mayor, many of the nobility and gentry, and a great number of reſpectable citizens.

As the earl of Carhampton was ever diſtinguiſhed for his zeal and ſpirit in enforcing the execution of the laws, about three hundred loyal ſubjects, many of them gentlemen of landed property, aſſembled at his ſeat at Luttrel's-town, entered into reſolutions, and ſubſcribed a ſum of money for the purpoſe of defending the lives and properties of all loyal ſubjects againſt theſe deſperate bands of ruffians. After repeated meetings their numbers encreaſed very much. They declared their wiſhes that perſons of every religious perſuaſion ſhould enrol themſelves in the ſociety; but no Roman catholick but one ever offered himſelf a candidate; and though he was ſtrongly ſuſpected of diſaffection, they admitted him by ballot. This man was afterwards known to be very much diſaffected, and it was believed that he joined the aſſociation for ſiniſter purpoſes.

As a college was erected at Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, for the education of Romiſh prieſts in the year 1795, and, as it was amply endowed by government, I ſhall make a few obſervations on it. In the year 1794, and in the adminiſtration of lord Weſtmorland, doctor Troy made a repreſentation to government, that, in conſequence of the diſturbances in France, four hundred Iriſh ſtudents, who were candidates for the prieſthood, had been deprived of the means of education; and that there would

would be a difficulty of obtaining prieſts to perform the neceſſary duties of religion, without the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary.

Mr. Burke, whoſe intemperate zeal for the advancement of popery I before mentioned, uſed his utmoſt exertions for the accompliſhment of that object, and when lord Fitzwilliam was coming to Ireland, he recommended to his lordſhip the reverend doctor Huſſey, an Iriſh prieſt, who had been bred at Seville in Spain, as a perſon well qualified to ſuperintend that inſtitution.

After the departure of earl Fitzwilliam, and during the adminiſtration of lord Camden in the year 1795, this inſtitution was eſtabliſhed by an act of parliament, by which certain truſtees were empowered to receive donations for eſtabliſhing and endowing an academy for the education of perſons profeſſing the Roman catholick religion, and to acquire lands free from forfeiture by mortmain. Little ſhort of 40,000l. was granted for its eſtabliſhment at firſt; and in every ſubſequent ſeſſion, a regular charge of 8000l. has been made to parliament for its annual ſupport; but it is worthy of obſervation, that no donation has been made to it by the Roman catholick body, or by any individual of that order, except by lord Dunboyne, who died in the year 1800, and left an eſtate of 1000l. a year toward the endowment of that college; and yet the Roman catholicks raiſed immenſe ſums of money in the years 1794 and 1795, for purpoſes not the moſt friendly to that proteſtant ſtate, which laid the foundation of, and richly endowed their ſeminary.

Lord Dunboyne had been popiſh biſhop of Cork, and on getting the title and an eſtate, he became a convert to the eſtabliſhed church; and with ſingular diſſimulation he gave the ſtrongeſt indications of ſincere converſion for ſome years; but in his laſt moments he relapſed into popery; and, in conſideration of having obtained abſolution for the great crime of being a heretick, he left an eſtate worth 1000l. or 1200l. a year, to promote the inſtitution before mentioned. A ſtriking proof of the ſtrong and indelible impreſſion which the popiſh ſuperſtition makes on the human mind, where it has been early imbued with it!

Two hundred ſtudents were to be maintained and educated in this college. Sixteen or ſeventeen were expelled on account of being concerned in the rebellion: Some of them were ſlain in fighting againſt the king's troops, and others fled to eſcape the puniſhment which their guilt merited.

I have been aſſured that between thirty and forty of them fought againſt the king's army.

It was obſervable that father Huſſey frequently attended the camp at Lehaunſtown, in the ſummer of 1795, ſaying maſs and preaching to the ſoldiers; though there were many popiſh prieſts in its vicinity, who uſed to officiate to them. This buſy interference of father Huſſey among the ſoldiers, and ſome artful conduct which he diſplayed there, gave a very ſerious alarm to ſome of the Iriſh nobility and gentry who commanded regiments, or were field officers there.

Though a conſpiracy for ſubverting the conſtitution had exiſted ſo early as the year 1792, the oppoſition in parliament, and all the diſaffected perſons in the kingdom, raiſed a great outcry againſt lord Camden, by falſely aſſerting, that the outrages and inſurrections, ſo diſgraceful to the kingdom, were occaſioned by the rigorous and ſevere meaſures adopted by his excellency; yet every wiſe and good man condemned him for not having acted with more vigour and energy; but from the benevolence of his heart, and the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, he was averſe to ſeverity, and hoped to gain the affections of the people by conciliation. *

The attorney general introduced a bill into the houſe of commons in January, 1796, which paſſed into a law in March following; to its ſalutary coercion, we may juſtly impute the ſalvation of the kingdom.

It enacts, that the information of any proſecutors on behalf of the crown who may be aſſaſſinated, ſhall be admitted as evidence againſt delinquents; any perſon having arms is required by it to regiſter them, his name, and place of abode.

A magiſtrate may ſearch for arms the houſe of any perſon who ſhall not do ſo.

If a magiſtrate, or peace officer, be murdered while on duty, or in conſequence of his exertions to ſerve the publick, the grand jury may levy a ſum of money on the county for his repreſentative.

If any county, or any part thereof, be diſturbed, the magiſtrates may notify it to the privy council, who are thereupon required to proclaim the diſturbed part: On which the magiſtrates are required to hold petty ſeſſions

* Robbery and aſſaſſination became ſo frequent and univerſal from the year 1795 to the exploſion of the rebellion, that it would exceed the compaſs of my deſign to enumerate the many inſtances of them which occurred.

ſeſſions as often as neceſſary, but never at a longer interval than fourteen days; and to puniſh offenders in a ſummary way.

All perſons are required to keep within their houſes between ſun-ſet and ſun-riſe; and are liable to be tranſported if found out of their houſes in the night.

In ſuch parts of Ireland, as this ſalutary law was enforced, it completely put an end to the nocturnal ravages of the united traitors.

Every perſon, acquainted with the ferocious and ſanguinary diſpoſition of the lower claſs of people in Ireland, will agree with me, that this wiſe law ſhould never be repealed. It is inoperative, and cannot be enforced, till the emergency of the times calls for it; and of this the magiſtrates of the county, and the privy council, are proper judges.

The removal of the Iriſh parliament to England, in conſequence of the union, makes it peculiarly neceſſary, that this law ſhould remain unrepealed; for, from the ſpirit of inſurgency and rapacity of the common people in Ireland, an entire province may be deſolated, before proper laws could be enacted in the imperial parliament to check it.

The events which occurred in the late rebellion, demonſtrate the truth of what I aſſert; for though martial law was proclaimed, and there was an army of one hundred thouſand men, including the yeomanry, in the kingdom, the principal part of the province of Leinſter was deſolated by the deſtructive ſpirit of fanaticiſm in the ſpace of a week; and the county of Wexford continued in the poſſeſſion of the popiſh multitude, headed by their lay and ſacerdotal leaders, for the ſpace of three weeks; in which they deſtroyed almoſt every monument of human art and induſtry, and maſſacred ſuch of its loyal and moſt uſeful inhabitants as could not make their eſcape. Thoſe abſtract principles of criminal law which have been laid down and generally aſſented to by the ableſt writers upon this ſubject, are by no means applicable to Ireland.

The ſeverity of the penal code ſhould depend on the compound ratio of the facility with which the laws may be infringed, the temptation to violate them, the degree of moral reſtraint impoſed by religion on the paſſions of the multitude, and the poſſibility of eluding the execution of the laws.

The common Iriſh are doctrinally taught that they are bound by their religion to reſiſt the laws and ordinances of a proteſtant ſtate; and

and that an oath of allegiance is null and void; for which reaſon they uniformly oppoſe the adminiſtration of juſtice. A monſter, ſtained with the blood of his father, muſt be led to the gallows by a military guard; but in England, the maſs of the people unite in enforcing the execution of the laws, becauſe they know that the preſervation of their lives and property depend on it.

The late rebellion, as well as all the former ones evince, that the lower claſs of the Iriſh do not conſider it a crime to injure the perſon or property of a proteſtant fellow ſubject.

The judicious and humane marquis of Beccaria, in his ingenious eſſay on crimes and puniſhments, obſerves, "that the eloquence of the paſſions is greatly aſſiſted by the ignorance and uncertainty of puniſhments." This obſervation applies ſtrongly to Ireland, where the feeble and imperfect execution of the laws, ariſing from the following cauſes, never fails to inſpire the multitude with the hopes of impunity: The miſtaken lenity of government,* often occaſioned by the indecent and improper interference of individuals in favour of delinquents; the diſregard of the common people to oaths;† and the certainty of enjoying eternal happineſs hereafter, through the intervention of their prieſts. The following circumſtances which have often occurred in the province of Munſter, will convince the reader of the truth of what I aſſert upon this ſubject:

A few days before the aſſizes, a proſecutor for murder or robbery has ſaid to a magiſtrate, "Sir, I am unable to defray the expence of my journey to the aſſizes town, and of remaining there till I am diſcharged; and in going thither I am afraid of being murdered by the relations of the delinquent." But ſuppoſe theſe difficulties ſurmounted: he is inſulted and threatened with certain death at the aſſizes, if he proſecutes; and, as the laſt reſource, they contrive to inveigle him into a dram ſhop, and intoxicate him. To my certain knowledge, burglars and felons have been frequently acquitted in conſequence of the ebriety of a witneſs. In moſt caſes the culprit has an attorney, and a bar of lawyers employed for him; but there is no fund appropriated, and no perſon to appear, for the proſecution. The

* This remark cannot allude to any period ſince the breaking out of the rebellions; becauſe extermination muſt have taken place, if lenity had not been very generally extended.

† In all the combinations of the white boys, right boys, and defenders, they have ſpurned at an oath of allegiance; but conſidered their oath of confederacy as binding.

The marquis of Beccaria ends his book thus: "I conclude with this reflection, that the ſeverity of puniſhments ought to be in proportion to the ſtate of the nation. Among a people hardly yet emerged from barbarity, they ſhould be more ſevere, as ſtrong impreſſions are required." However, the certain and prompt operation of mild laws will anſwer better to preſerve ſocial order, than the feeble and uncertain execution of ſevere ones.

The following rule of preventive juſtice, formerly preſcribed by our ſtatute law, was founded in great wiſdom: That if the property of a proteſtant be injured in the night, the amount of the damage which he ſuſtained ſhould be levied on the popiſh inhabitants of the pariſh, the barony, or the county.

I am convinced that the reader, on taking a retroſpect of the former rebellions in Ireland, and after peruſing theſe pages, will agree with me, that the revival of this law is abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the proteſtant religion and eſtabliſhment in it; and unleſs they are encouraged and preſerved better than they have been for ſome years paſt, ſhe muſt in proceſs of time be ſeparated from England. I am warranted in this aſſertion by the opinion of ſome of the wiſeſt men in Ireland.

Nothing can more ſtrongly prove the barbarous ſtate of the Iriſh, than that forcible entry and detainer of lands and houſes have been conſtantly practiſed in Ireland, contrary to the ſolemn adjudication of the law, pronounced by the ſuperior courts, and directed to the ſheriff, who has been frequently oppoſed and repulſed.

Leaders of banditti, reſembling the condottieri in Italy, in the middle ages, and noted for their proweſs in reſiſting the laws of the land, were frequently kept in pay by perſons who wiſhed to do ſo.

The earl of Clare ſtruck at the root of this miſchief, by a very wiſe law,* paſſed in the year 1787; and yet it has been frequently practiſed ſince that period.

PREDISPOSING

* Mentioned in page 45.

PREDISPOSING CAUSES TO REBELLION IN THE NORTH, PARTICULARLY IN THE COUNTIES OF DOWN AND ANTRIM, AND MEANS WHICH WERE MADE USE OF TO FORWARD IT.

CONSTANT communication with the American ſtates, whoſe ſyſtem of civil polity they very much admired, and the ſucceſs of the firſt Dungannon meeting in the year 1782, taught the preſbyterians of the North, already diſpoſed to republicaniſm, that an aſſembly of delegates from the volunteers, an armed body who overawed the exiſting government, might at any time dictate to parliament; and this inſpired them with an extraordinary degree of boldneſs, which produced the celebration of the anniverſary of the French revolution, the retreat of the duke of Brunſwick, and the ſecond meeting at Dungannon in the year 1792.

Some loyal and moderate men, having ſeen many inſtances of large bodies of men, ſelf-aſſociated for political purpoſes, meet, debate, and diſband, without any bad conſequence, were induced to approve and join with them; and afterwards they were lukewarm in oppoſing them, even when they were rather turbulent and alarming.

The jealouſy of the linen drapers, who made immenſe fortunes, towards the nobility and gentry, ſeiſed of old hereditary eſtates, on account of their ſuperior weight and reſpectability: The ſmall diviſion of farms in the North, where the buſineſs of farmer and manufacturer being united, makes the collection of tithes more vexatious and grievous than in the South, where they are diſtinct, and the farms are extenſive: The virulence of oppoſition, in vilifying and degrading adminiſtration, and in aſſerting that the legiſlative power was more corrupt than the executive, made the people believe, that a reform of parliament was neceſſary, and gave the republicans a ſpecious pretext for adopting it, as an engine to overturn the conſtitution; and the ſilly timidity of the members of adminiſtration, in complimenting their accuſers, gave an incredible

dible weight to their aſſertions in the publick mind.* Religious prejudices were aſleep in the North, except in the county of Armagh; and the ſpark of fanaticiſm which exiſted there was ſoon blown into a flame by the Catholick committee, that intriguing body, which ſat long brooding in grim repoſe, and unnoticed in Dublin; but came forward when the French revolution took place, and endeavoured to avail itſelf of the ſhock and fermentation of opinion, which that event produced, to advance the intereſt of its own order.

Some linen-drapers, from motives of envy which I have already ſtated, encouraged their workmen in imbibing the new revolutionary doctrines; and others, though loyal, were obliged, from the nature of their buſineſs, through motives of fear, to take the united oath; becauſe their rebellious bleachers might eaſily, and ſecretly, have ruined them.

As the ſucceſs of the great linen merchants in ſome meaſure depended on the ſkill of their bleachers, they were often obliged to conform to their wiſhes and prejudices, to retain them in their ſervice; and there was ſuch an emulation between them, that they often uſed ſiniſter artifices to decoy each others workmen, which rendered the maſters ſubſervient to them.

Many gentlemen of large property in the North, who courted the popular intereſt, were, by electioneering prejudices, and the ſervile obeiſance which they paid to the people, prevented from trying to check the growth of treaſon and ſedition.

This was very conſpicuous in the election for the county of Antrim in the year 1792, when the ſucceſsful efforts of the people, aſſembled in almoſt every pariſh, in dictating to the candidates, and their ſubſerviency and willingneſs to take teſts, inſpired the populace with a paſſion for political power.

The workmen in ſome bleach-greens joined in ſubſcribing for the Northern Star; in others, their maſters, who were diſloyal, treated them with it; and in ſome inſtances, the employers, though well affected, were impelled by fear to give it to them *gratis*.

* In this I muſt except lord Caſtlereagh, whoſe bold and manly eloquence, tempered with urbanity and good breeding, never failed to overturn the arguments of his adverſaries, and to make their ſcurrilous and envenomed attacks recoil on themſelves.

The propagandiſts of the revolutionary doctrines in the North often began by corrupting the loweſt ſervants, both male and female; and, creeping up through all the gradations of a family, the maſter found himſelf ſuddenly inſulated, and was obliged, through terror, to fraternize, and take the united Iriſhman's oath.

The diſaffected were ſo much enraged at earl Fitzwilliam's removal, that war and force were decided on: Songs, and various publications of an inflammatory tendency, were circulated: In ſome inſtances, jurors and witneſſes were bribed, in others intimidated, from doing their duty: Committees of aſſaſſination were formed:* Civil magiſtrates, conſtables, and others were intimidated from executing the law, and in ſhort, no perſon was permitted to remain neuter.

In the years 1794 and 1795, immenſe ſums of money were levied on the Roman catholicks in every part of the kingdom.

The conductors in Dublin and Belfaſt endeavoured to infuſe into the people an opinion, that the revolution would be incomplete, and would be ſucceeded by ruinous conteſts and ſtruggles, unleſs all the loyaliſts were extirpated; and that they could expect certain and perpetuated tranquillity from nothing but a general maſſacre of them, and a confiſcation of their property.

It appears by the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords in 1797, that it was decided by the conſpirators, "That all perſons who, from their principles or ſituation, may be deemed inimical to the conſpiracy, ſhould be maſſacred; and the firſt proſcribed liſt was calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thouſand perſons."†

Some leading members of the union, both in the North and the South, have aſſured me, that nothing tended ſo much to gain credit for their cauſe, and to promote the rapid diſſemination of their doctrines, as the following paragraph in Mr. Erſkine's plauſible, but deluſive pamphlet, which they procured to be printed and circulated univerſally: "That the ſpirit of reform is at preſent high in Ireland. The recent zeal of that *brave and virtuous* people has completely detected the falſe and pernicious calumnies on

* In a county committee at Belfaſt, it is laid down, "that if there is any united Iriſhmen on the jury that will convict any of the priſoners that are confined for being united Iriſhmen, they ought to loſe their exiſtence." Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. II. p. 27.

† See Appendix, No. III. p. 49.

on both countries. It has demonſtrated, that a deſire to reform abuſes in government, is not at all connected with diſloyalty to its eſtabliſhment; and that the reſtoration of a free conſtitution, by the wiſdom and ſpirit of a nation, has no alliance with, but on the contrary is abhorrent to, a ſubmiſſion to foreign force." This extravagant encomium on the rebels, by varniſhing over the enormity of their crimes, and by giving a colour of moral and political rectitude to their cauſe, encreaſed the number of their ſectaries in a very extraordinary degree.

That very wiſe law, the convention bill, having prevented the clubs from aſſembling publickly, the leaders of the conſpiracy had recourſe to another, and full as effectual, a mode of diſſeminating their doctrines of liberty and equality, by inſtituting reading ſocieties, which the loweſt claſſes of the people attended after the labour of their daily occupations was over. This inſtitution was almoſt excluſively confined to the counties of Down and Antrim, where the maſs of the people are preſbyterians, can read and write, and are fond of ſpeculating on religion and politicks.

Theſe meetings, formed after the model of the jacobin clubs in France, were uſually held in barns and ſchoolhouſes, and were liberally furniſhed with inflammatory publications, compoſed by the literati of the united Iriſhmen, or extracted from larger treatiſes of a ſimilar tendency in both kingdoms, and publiſhed in the form of pamphlets for more general circulation.

The pretext of reading for mutual information and improvement was conſidered as a plauſible motive for the lower claſs of people to aſſemble. Subjects of a delicate nature and dangerous tendency were frequently diſcuſſed in them, ſuch as, "Under what circumſtances are the people juſtifiable in reſiſting and uniting againſt the exiſting government? From what ſource is all juſt government derived, and what is its proper object? Is the majeſty of the king, or the people, moſt to be reſpected?" On theſe, and ſimilar topicks, the ruſtick orators declaimed, with much vociferation and zeal, to the great edification of admiring audiences. The moſt fluent ſpeakers went uſually from one ſociety to another, to diſplay their talents, and make proſelytes to the new philoſophy. Every opportunity was embraced to repreſent the chriſtian religion as a ſyſtem of ſuperſtition, calculated to enſlave mankind, and obſtruct the progreſs and improvement of reaſon. The doctrines of a future ſtate, of rewards and puniſh-

ments, were openly ridiculed and diſcredited; and publick worſhip deſpiſed and diſcouraged, which materially promoted the deſigns of the conſpirators, by extinguiſhing all moral principle.

Labourers, tradeſmen, and even ragged apprentice boys, enlightened by attending the reading ſocieties, were taught to decide dogmatically, concerning the fundamental principles of government and religion; to detect the ſuppoſed corruptions of the one, and the prieſtcraft of the other; to think themſelves amply qualified to dethrone kings, and regulate ſtates and empires.

Belfaſt was the centre of motion to the whole Northern union; Dublin to the middle and Southern; orders, directions and publications iſſued from the former with great regularity; and returns were made, at ſtated periods, to proper perſons appointed there to receive them, of the ſtate, progreſs, and diſpoſitions of the ſeveral ſubordinate ſocieties throughout the country.

A large impreſſion of Paine's age of reaſon was ſtruck off in Belfaſt, and diſtributed *gratis* among the united ſocieties. Bundles of them were thrown into meetinghouſe yards on Sundays, before the congregations aſſembled; and ſmall parcels were left on the ſides of publick roads, to contaminate the minds of thoſe who found them.

The leaders of the union at Belfaſt ſucceeded ſo well in removing the obſtacles which religion and conſcience preſented to their deſigns, that many aſſaſſinations were committed in that town, and its vicinity, in the year 1796, which eſtabliſhed ſuch a complete ſyſtem of terror, that jurors were afraid to convict delinquents, though their guilt was ſubſtantiated by the moſt unequivocal evidence.

A friar, of the name of Philips, went from Dublin to Belfaſt, and was introduced to the diſaffected ſocieties there. Soon after, having fallen under a ſuſpicion of being an informer, he was conſigned to the committee of aſſaſſination, who drowned him near the paper-mill; and to give a colour of ſuicide to that atrocious deed, they put a clock weight in his pocket.

It is worthy of notice, that one of the committee, concerned in the murder, was impanelled on the inqueſt jury which ſat on the body when diſcovered,

* The popiſh prieſts carefully guarded their flocks from the contagion of them, for reaſons which I have given in page 107.

diſcovered, and the verdict was, of courſe, ſuicide. A ſoldier from Blaris camp was likewiſe drowned in a river near Holywood, by the ſame committee; and a man was ſhot in Peter's-hill, Belfaſt, at the early hour of ſeven o'clock in the evening. Many other perſons were murdered in the ſame manner, on a bare ſuſpicion of being informers.

It ſeems to have been a maxim with the united conſpirators of Down and Antrim, adopted from the illuminati of Germany, and the philoſophiſts of France, that the end juſtified the means; and that no motives, human or divine, ſhould check them in the accompliſhment of their main deſign. Hence the moſt unbluſhing calumnies were propagated againſt thoſe who oppoſed them; and committees of aſſaſſination were conſtantly ſitting to condemn ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected of doing ſo, or of giving information againſt them.

Nothing forwarded the progreſs of the union ſo much as that vehicle of ſedition, immorality and irreligion, the Northern Star, eſtabliſhed by Robert Simms, the ſecretary of the firſt ſociety of united Iriſhmen, which ſat at Belfaſt in 1791. He was a wealthy merchant of that town, and has been tranſported to Fort George in Scotland, with a number of his confederates.

The conductors of that infamous print, which goaded the people to madneſs, had the flagitiouſneſs and audacity to recommend in it, in the year 1794, the peruſal of Paine's age of reaſon.

It is worthy of obſervation, that Simms, in the name of his ſociety, wrote letters in the years 1792 and 1793, to ſome of the moſt conſiderable members of the Roman catholick committee and Roman catholick ſociety in Dublin, inviting them to be enrolled in his corps; and they, proud of the honour, embraced it with alacrity; and ſome of them publiſhed the letters of invitation, and their anſwers.

Some of the infidel leaders of the North were ſo ſucceſsful in rouſing the people to a ſtate of frenzy, by copious infuſions of their intoxicating doctrines, that partial inſurrections, earlier than they wiſhed or expected, were on the point of baffling their deſigns, and involving them in ruin; like a chymiſt, whoſe experiment is defeated, and whoſe perſon runs a riſk of being injured by a premature and unexpected exploſion of his retort, in conſequence of having ſurcharged it with gas. On ſome occaſions,

ſions, the conductors were under a neceſſity of endeavouring to check the intemperate ardour of their adherents.

An attempt was made near Rathfriland in September, 1796, to begin hoſtilities, but it was overruled. About a thouſand united Iriſhmen aſſembled in that retired and mountainous part of the county of Down, to diſcuſs the expediency of a general riſing; and the queſtion was agitated a conſiderable time. At length it was propoſed to decide it by votes, and a diviſion took place, when upwards of three hundred declared themſelves averſe to open hoſtility at that time. Though the majority were for it, the ſchiſm was ſo conſiderable, that it was thought prudent to poſtpone it to a more favourable opportunity.

A Mr. John Magennis, who had married a ſiſter of the famous Bartholomew Teeling, took the principal lead in urging an immediate reſiſtance. The deciſion of that important queſtion was haſtened by an account, that a party of the antient Britons were approaching to diſperſe the aſſembly; and they actually purſued Magennis ten miles, but were not fortunate enough to apprehend him.

It may be proper to obſerve, that the majority, on that occaſion, conſiſted chiefly of Roman catholicks; and the minority of preſbyterians, and a few proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, who were not then ſufficiently enlightened to countenance a general maſſacre.

I think it right to obſerve, that the exertions of the united Iriſhmen, and Catholick committee of Dublin, to encourage union and fraternity among the preſbyterians and papiſts of the North, were confined to thoſe parts of Down and Antrim, where the former ſhewed a decided hoſtility againſt the defenders, which was done merely to lull them into a ſtate of indolent and fatal ſecurity; as they knew that their ſpirit, their knowledge of the uſe of arms, and their antipathy to the papiſts, would form a material obſtacle to the progreſs of the union; but the determination which the Roman catholicks ſhewed, on the exploſion of the rebellion, to extirpate proteſtants of every denomination, proved that they were not ſincere in their invitations to the preſbyterians to fraternize with them.

ORIGIN OF THE YEOMANRY.

IN the autumn of the year 1796, government having propoſed to all loyal ſubjects to embody themſelves as yeomen corps, ſimilar to thoſe in England, and ſubject to the control of government, the propoſal was embraced with alacrity in many parts of the kingdom.

On the ſeventh of October, the lord mayor, the ſheriffs, and the church-wardens of the different pariſhes in Dublin, aſſembled at the manſion houſe, and reſolved that a regiment of infantry, and a troop of horſe, ſhould be raiſed in each of the four wards of the city.

This wiſe and ſalutary meaſure, which proved the ſalvation of the kingdom, was oppoſed by all the leading Romaniſts of Dublin, and by all the active members of the Catholick committee; for when the church-wardens and magiſtrates attended at the different veſtry rooms, for the purpoſe of carrying this excellent ſyſtem into execution, one or other of theſe leaders, attended by a mob of the popiſh rabble, attempted to overpower them by vociferation and numbers.

When their malignant efforts to prevent this ſalutary inſtitution failed, they waited on Mr. Pelham, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary, and aſked leave to raiſe a corps of their own ſect excluſively; but received for anſwer, that they might join their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, if they wiſhed to ſerve their king and country.

They then entered into reſolutions againſt it, and publiſhed them in the jacobin prints, which teemed with invectives againſt government for having inſtituted it. *

On the fourteenth of October, the corporation of Dublin, duly aſſembled, entered into ſtrong reſolutions, and expreſſed their abhorrence of the vile calumnies, and reſolutions, publiſhed by certain pretended pariſh meetings againſt the yeomen corps, and againſt government, and the ſeditious means uſed to prevent the loyal ſubjects from forming themſelves into ſuch.

Notwithſtanding

* For the ſame reaſon the orange clubs were maligned and calumniated.

Notwithſtanding the decided oppoſition which the Romaniſts gave to this very excellent inſtitution, which ſaved the kingdom from impending deſtruction, the firſt eſtimate laid before parliament for twenty thouſand men was filled up immediately. In the courſe of ſix months it roſe to thirty-ſeven thouſand; and, during the rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded fifty thouſand, and they were all to be depended on; * for as very great diſaffection appeared among the popiſh yeomen, the different corps were quickly purged of ſuch of them as were known to be diſloyal.

In order to encourage the diſaffected to perſiſt in their treaſonable practices, it was boaſted at this time, in the Northern Star, that the populace, in and about Belfaſt, had ſaved the harveſt of all ſuch perſons as had been committed to the gaols of Dublin or Carrickfergus, on charges of high treaſon; and that ſeven thouſand perſons often aſſembled for that purpoſe.

In the month of October, the reverend Philip Johnſon was fired at and wounded, in the night, at Liſburn.

November the firſt, a party of traitors broke open the king's ſtores at Belfaſt, and ſtole thereout a large quantity of gunpowder.

The rebellious inhabitants of Belfaſt, who were preſbyterians, oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of the yeomanry, with as much vehemence as the Romaniſts in Dublin; and a few gentlemen in that town, who had courage to enter into it, were reviled and hiſſed, as they paſſed through the ſtreets.

On the twenty-ninth of October, a ruffian fired a piſtol in the town of Newtownards at the reverend Mr. Cleland.

About this time, the Hazard ſloop of war took, and ſearched, a veſſel off the harbour of Belfaſt, and found in her a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

On the ſixth of November a proclamation iſſued, ſtating, that, on the firſt, a number of armed men tumultuouſly entered Stewartſtown, in the county of Tyrone, and cut and maimed ſeveral perſons who had refuſed to join in their treaſonable aſſociations, and had enrolled themſelves in the yeomanry. The ſyſtem of terror became ſo great, and ſo general at this time, in the North, that numbers of loyal perſons ſubmitted to be ſworn, and aſſumed at leaſt the ſemblance of being ſincerely attached to the

* Report of the ſecret committee of 1798, page 5.

the union, to ſave their lives and properties from the vengeance of the rebels; and outrages became ſo frequent in the county of Down, that ſome diſtricts in it were proclaimed on the fourteenth of November, 1796, the firſt time that the inſurrection law was put in execution.

The leaders of the conſpiracy, having completed their revolutionary ſyſtem in the province of Ulſter ſo early as the tenth of May, 1795, and having made a conſiderable progreſs in introducing it into the province of Leinſter in the autumn and winter of 1796, proceeded at that period to convert it into a military ſhape and form, for the undiſguiſed project of rebellion, which was diſtinctly and unequivocally acknowledged by Arthur O'Connor, William James Mc. Nevin, Thomas Addis Emmett, and Oliver Bond, leading and active members of the conſpiracy, in their evidence upon oath before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords in the year 1798.

THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

THE military organization engrafted on the civil was conſtituted in the following manner: The ſecretary of each ſubordinate ſociety compoſed of twelve, was appointed their petty or non-commiſſioned officer: The delegate of five ſocieties to a lower baronial committee was commonly appointed captain of a company, conſiſting of the five ſocieties who had delegated him, and who made the number of ſixty privates; and then the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or diſtrict committee was commonly appointed colonel of a battalion, which was thus compoſed of ſix hundred: The colonels of battalions in each county ſent in the names of three perſons to the executive directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them adjutant general of the county, whoſe duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officer of the revolutionary ſtaff. They were required to inform themſelves of, and report, the ſtate of the rebel regiments within their reſpective diſtricts, of the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges, and fords, the military poſitions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate to the executive every movement of the enemy (meaning the king's troops) to announce the firſt appearance of their allies (meaning the French) and immediately to collect their force. A military committee was alſo appointed by the executive directory, to prepare a regular plan for aſſiſting a French army ſhould it land, or to form a plan of an inſurrection, ſhould it be ordered, even without their aſſiſtance. A regular and well digeſted plan of inſurrection was actually formed, and reduced to writing in April, 1797, which was given up only for the time, on the aſſurances of the executive directory of the union, that they would ſoon receive ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance from France. The directory gave orders that every perſon, who had the means, ſhould furniſh himſelf with fire arms and ammunition, and that ſuch perſons as could not afford it, ſhould ſupply themſelves with pikes; which

which orders were obeyed very generally through the provinces of Ulſter, Leinſter, and Munſter. In the province of Connaught they proceeded no farther in this ſyſtem of treaſon, than in adminiſtering oaths to the people, having been obſtructed by the vigorous exertions of government, till the rebellion broke out in open acts of hoſtility.*

In the month of December, 1796, a French fleet with fifteen thouſand troops for the invaſion of Ireland arrived in Bantry-bay; but having been diſperſed by a ſtorm, and having loſt about one-fourth of their ſhips, their intention was defeated. It is generally believed, that this plan was firſt ſuggeſted to the French government by Mr. Tone, then reſiding in France, but at the inſtance of the Iriſh directory, who accepted the propoſal of the French directory. This negotiation, which took place between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, was tranſacted by Edward John Lewins, the accredited agent and reſident ambaſſador of the Iriſh rebellious union to the French republick, and who was ſent to Paris as ſuch in the ſummer of 1795.†

The plan of the invaſion which the French attempted at Bantry was ſettled at an interview which took place in Switzerland, in the ſummer of 1796, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and general Hoche.

From the diſaffection of the lower claſs of people during the inſurrection of the white boys and right boys in Munſter, it was a matter of general aſtoniſhment, that they remained tranquil and apparently loyal, while the French hovered on the coaſt; but the acknowledgment of one of the Iriſh directory before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords fully accounts for it.

He declared upon oath, that, in the month of October or November, 1796, the French republick announced, by a ſpecial meſſenger to the Iriſh union, that the hoſtile armament was in a ſtate of preparation; but in a few days after the departure of the meſſenger from Paris with this intelligence, the Iriſh directory received a letter from France, which was conſidered by them as authentick, ſtating, that the projected deſcent

* Report of the ſecret committee of the Lords in 1798. † Ibid. page 9.

was poſtponed till ſpring, when England and Ireland would be invaded at the ſame time.

This threw the Iriſh directory off their guard; in conſequence of which no meaſures were taken to prepare the people of Munſter for the reception of the French. It is, however, to be feared, that the popiſh multitude would have riſen in many parts of Munſter, if the French had made the projected deſcent; for a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection appeared in different parts of the counties of Cork and Kerry, early in the years 1793 and 1794, particularly in the counties adjacent to Kinſale, Dunmanway, Bandon and Dingle, in which the people committed ſuch ſhocking enormities, even in the day, that, on the eleventh of March, 1794, the lord lieutenant iſſued a proclamation againſt them, and offered rewards for the diſcovery and proſecution of them. In the county of Limerick alſo, alarming inſurrections and dreadful outrages were committed in the year 1793; and great numbers of the lower claſs of people uſed often to aſſemble there, to form combinations and adminiſter illegal oaths.

It ſhould be recollected, that the white boys continued to commit outrages till the year 1790, in the county of Cork; and as we know that the firſt object of their inſtitution was to join the French, we cannot ſuppoſe that they would have remained loyal had they effected a deſcent. The popiſh multitude in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, took oaths of allegiance, and promiſed to be faithful and peaceable, a ſhort time before the French landed; but they joined them the inſtant they did ſo.

On the ſecond of January, 1796, the houſe of Mr. Harman, member for the county of Longford, at Bawn, in ſaid county, was forcibly entered in the night by a party of ruffians, who barbarouſly murdered him.

In conſequence of the military organization which took place in the autumn and winter of 1796, the province of Ulſter became dreadfully diſturbed by the eagerneſs of the diſaffected to procure arms.

This will appear by a proclamation which iſſued the ſixth of November, and which ſtates, "That divers ill-affected perſons had entered into illegal and treaſonable aſſociations, in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Londonderry and Armagh; and for effecting their treaſonable deſigns, had aſſaſſinated divers loyal ſubjects, and have endeavoured, and threaten, to aſſaſſinate all others who ſhould endeavour to detect their treaſon, or ſhould enrol themſelves under officers commiſſioned by his majeſty,

majeſty, for the defence of the kingdom, and have alſo procured arms and ammunition: That ſome evil-minded perſons broke open the king's ſtores at Belfaſt, and took thereout ten barrels of gunpowder; and that many large bodies of men have embodied and arrayed themſelves under a pretence of ſowing corn and digging potatoes."

In the month of November, 1796, the counties of Down and Armagh were proclaimed: In the month of February, 1797, parts of the counties of Donegal, Derry and Tyrone.

The diſaffected inhabitants of Belfaſt, who oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of the yeomanry with as much zeal as the Romaniſts did in Dublin, reſolved in the month of January, 1797, not to take up arms till the French landed on *their coaſt*, and then only to repel foreign and domeſtick enemies.

Thirty-ſeven gentlemen of that town and its vicinity, to their eternal honour, proteſted againſt that ſtriking inſtance of diſaffection.

On the fifth of February, 1797, Robert and William Simms, proprietors of the Northern Star, by whoſe inflammatory publications they never ceaſed to rouſe the people to a ſtate of rebellious frenzy, were arreſted and committed to Newgate in Dublin; and the former has been ſince tranſported to Fort George in Scotland.

In the beginning of the year 1797, immenſe quantities of arms were ſeized in the province of Ulſter by general Lake, and the general officers under his command; and in this he received material aſſiſtance from ſir George Hill, who ſhewed uncommon zeal, and uſed the moſt unabated exertions, often at the riſk of his life, in ſuppreſſing treaſon and ſedition.

It appears that the following number of arms was ſeized by the different general officers in that year, in the provinces of Leinſter and Ulſter only:

Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.	Blunderbuſſes.	Muſket barrels.
48109	1756	4463	4183	248	119

Sword blades.	Ordnance.	Pikes.	
106	22	70,630.	Total 129,583.

It appeared from the letters of the generals, that many arms were ſeized or ſurrendered, which are not included in this return; as in many places they remained in the poſſeſſion of the yeomen.*

On

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XXXIX. p. 298.

On the thirteenth of March, 1797, general Lake iſſued a proclamation by the advice of government, ſtating the atrocities committed, and recommending to the people to come in, ſurrender their arms, and return to their allegiance; he aſſured ſuch perſons of protection.* He promiſed the moſt inviolable ſecreſy to informers, and the amount of any arms which might be ſeized in conſequence of their ſecret information.

On the twenty-ſeventh of February, 1797, Mr. John Cummin of Caſtlebeg, in the county of Antrim, was barbarouſly murdered, and his houſe was robbed of arms, on account of his loyalty; though general Lake's proclamation, and his ſpirited exertions, were allowed to have materially contributed towards checking the progreſs of the conſpiracy, and to have ſtruck terror into the rebels.

On the ſeventeenth of March, the loyal inhabitants of the county of Donegal aſſembled at Raphoe, entered into ſtrong reſolutions for their mutual defence, and for defeating the machinations of the united Iriſhmen, and offered large rewards for their apprehenſion and proſecution.

On Monday the thirteenth of March, lord Camden ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, ſtating, "That an organized ſyſtem of robbery and murder exiſted in the province of Ulſter, which bid defiance to the exertions of the civil power; and that, by the firm and temperate conduct of the general of the diſtrict, a conſiderable quantity of arms had been taken; and that he hoped, by a continuance of vigorous meaſures, the conſtitutional authority of the civil power would be reſtored."

In the debate which took place on this meſſage in the houſe of commons, the oppoſition in general, but Mr. Grattan in particular, condemned with much acrimony the ſalutary ſyſtem of coercion which government had adopted, and imputed the diſturbances to the provocation which his majeſty's loyal and peaceable ſubjects had received from wanton and unneceſſary acts of ſeverity; and yet it has been univerſally allowed, that the feebleneſs of the inſurrection in the North, on the general riſing, was owing to thoſe ſeaſonable and vigorous exertions, and to the ſpirit diſplayed on that occaſion by the yeomanry and the loyal inhabitants of Ulſter; which is fully ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee † of the houſe of commons.

The

* This ſhewed the benign and conciliating diſpoſition of government, notwithſtanding the vile calumnies uttered againſt them, by the diſaffected both in and out of parliament.

† Page 8, of the year 1798.

The partizans of the united Iriſhmen propagated, with unabated induſtry, the moſt impudent falſhoods and calumnies, repreſenting the meaſures which the government and the parliament were compelled to reſort to, for the ſuppreſſion of midnight robbery and aſſaſſination, as a groſs and unneceſſary violation of the conſtitution, and as the real ſource of theſe complicated evils.

The main object of the ſyſtem of terror which they endeavoured to eſtabliſh by their midnight attacks, was, to drive country gentlemen from their houſes, or to enforce their connivance or ſupport; a courſe which was purſued with fatal ſucceſs in France.† Dreadful outrages ſtill continued to be committed in all the Northern counties.

In the month of April, 1797, a number of armed men entered the village of Glaſslough, in the county of Monaghan, plundered many houſes of arms, and committed other enormities there.

About the ſame time, one Mc. Donald, at Gilhall, near Dromore, was aſſaſſinated, becauſe he ſaid he could make diſcoveries of the united Iriſhmen.

In the month of March, the reverend Mr. Hamilton, late a fellow of the college, and who had retired on a living in the county of Donegal, was murdered at Sharon, the houſe of the reverend doctor Waller, in that county, with horrid circumſtances of barbarity, by a party of armed ruffians, who fired wantonly into the windows, by which they ſhot Mrs. Waller; and afterwards having compelled the ſervants of doctor Waller to force Mr. Hamilton out of the houſe, they mangled his body with wounds.

† Report of the committee of the houſe of lords of 1798.

FOREIGN

FOREIGN NEGOTIATION OF THE CONSPIRATORS WITH THE FRENCH REPUBLICK FOR ASSISTANCE.

FROM the time of the failure of the French expedition to Bantry in December, 1796, the diſaffected, to keep up the ſpirits of their party, circulated reports, that the enemy were ſoon to attempt another deſcent; and the executive directory of the Iriſh union thinking that they were rather dilatory in their preparations, ſent Mr. Lewins, their confidential agent, to urge the neceſſity of being expeditious. In the ſummer of that year, fearing that a premature inſurrection in the North, before the ſuccours from France arrived, would defeat their proſpects, they ſent a ſecond agent, doctor Mc. Nevin, in June, 1797, to preſs the French to haſten the armament; but meeting with ſome difficulty in going to Paris, he gave the miniſter of the republick, reſident at Hamburgh, a memoir, to be forwarded to the French directory.* This memoir ſhewed the deſperate deſigns of the Iriſh conſpirators, and their great anxiety leſt the vigorous meaſures purſued by government in the North would diſconcert their projects. This agent was authorized to aſſure the French republick of being repaid all the expences attending any future armament ſhe ſhould ſend to Ireland, as well as of the laſt which miſcarried; and that the reſources for that purpoſe were to be raiſed by the confiſcation of the lands of the church, and of the property of all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe them. He was alſo empowered to raiſe, either in France or Spain, 500,000 l. or at leaſt 300,000 l. A larger ſupply of arms was ſolicited by the agent than the firſt, on account, as he ſtated, of the encreaſing number of their adherents, and the diſarming of the North, where above ten thouſand ſtand of arms, and as many pikes, had been ſurrendered to the king's troops.

It appears alſo, that an attempt was made at the ſame time, to procure the aſſiſtance of ſuch Iriſh officers as were then in foreign ſervice,† as might

* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons of 1798, p. 15.

† This was done in the civil war of 1641. See Borlaſe and Temple.

might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the ſervice of the union; but, from the over-caution of the agent, nothing was effected in that way.

A ſecond memoir was preſented by this confidential agent on his arrival at Paris, in which he endeavoured to ſhew the French directory the neceſſity of forwarding the invaſion at that critical juncture, when the minds of the Iriſh were ſo favourably diſpoſed to join the French, and to co-operate with them in ſeparating the two kingdoms, and in eſtabliſhing a republick in Ireland.

Though the Iriſh directory were deſirous of obtaining aſſiſtance from France, they were unwilling to admit ſuch a body of troops as would enable her to conquer and keep it in her own hands; but the French ſhewed a decided inclication to ſend ſo great an army there as would enable them to ſubdue and retain it as a conqueſt.*

The demands of the firſt agent were, for any number not more than ten thouſand, nor leſs than five thouſand, with forty thouſand ſtand of arms, and a proportionate ſupply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, and experienced officers.†

Previous to this laſt miſſion from Ireland, a confidential perſon was ſent over by the French directory to collect information reſpecting the ſtate of Ireland; but having failed to obtain the neceſſary paſſports in London to enable him to go there, he wrote over to requeſt that one of the party might meet him in London; and accordingly a perſon repaired to him immediately with every neceſſary intelligence; and the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons have given it as their opinion, from various ſources of information, that this perſon was the late lord Edward Fitzgerald.‡

The directory gave the agent, ſent to Paris, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of aſſiſtance; and accordingly preparations of a very extenſive nature were made, both at Breſt and in the Texel, for the invaſion of Ireland; and in the autumn, the executive of the Iriſh union received advice that the troops were actually embarked in the Texel, and only waited for a fair wind.

* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons of 1798, p. 16, 17, 18.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 18.

In conſequence of this communication, great preparations were made by the Iriſh rebels, in the beginning of October, 1797, when it was announced to the different ſocieties, that the fleet was on the point of ſailing.* The French troops had been actually on board, commanded by general Daendells, but were ſuddenly diſembarked.

The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own admiral, as is generally believed, was obliged to put to ſea, at the inſtance of the French government; which led to the ever-memorable victory of the eleventh of October, 1797, obtained by lord Duncan.

Early in the year 1798, the Iriſh executive directory received advices from France, that ſuccours would be ſent to Ireland in the month of April; but notwithſtanding the ſtrong temptation preſented by the rebellion, which broke out on the twenty-third of May following, the French government never fulfilled their promiſe.

I ſhall now return to the internal affairs of Ireland, and ſhew the reader the means which the conſpirators purſued for forwarding the rebellion, having given him a brief account of their foreign negotiations.

On the eighth of April, 1797, a meeting was held in the Exchange of Dublin, ſuppoſed to conſiſt of the freemen and freeholders of the city, convened by the ſheriffs, purſuant to publick notice, for the purpoſe of petitioning his majeſty to remove his miniſters for ever; but the majority of that gregarious herd conſiſted of traitors, who wiſhed to create diſturbance and combuſtion.

The queſtion of adjournment was moved; but as a numerous rabble, who were not freemen or freeholders, ſuddenly ruſhed into the hall, the ſheriffs refuſed to put the queſtion.

The mob and their leaders nevertheleſs agreed to the petition, and it was preſented by Meſſrs. Grattan and Curran to the viceroy; who ſaid, that he would forward it, agreeable to their wiſhes, but accompanied with a ſtatement of the circumſtances which took place at the meeting.

The freemen and freeholders, on leaving the Exchange, proteſted againſt any proceedings which ſhould be held there afterwards.

This meeting was brought about by the minority in the Iriſh houſe of commons, and the diſaffected citizens of Dublin, at the inſtance of the oppoſition

* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons of 1798, p. 18.

oppoſition in the Britiſh parliament, for the purpoſe of promoting their own ambitious deſigns, at the expence of the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom.

On the twenty-ſecond of April, Sinclare Kelburne, the noted demagogue of Belfaſt, a preſbyterian miniſter, was committed to Newgate in Dublin, with ſeventeen other perſons, on charges of a very ſerious nature.

On the firſt of May, between ſix and ſeven thouſand perſons attending a funeral, made a proceſſion through a great part of the city. Having aſſembled in the earl of Meath's liberty, they went down Aungier-ſtreet and George's-lane, through Dame-ſtreet, and, paſſing by the caſtle, they proceeded to James's church, where the corpſe was interred.

This device was made uſe of to inſpire the lower claſs of rebels with confidence and courage, by ſhewing them what numbers of their brethren could be collected in a ſhort ſpace of time.

In conſequence of it, the lord mayor iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting unlawful aſſemblies, under a pretext of attending funerals.

As the Belfaſt News-letter, a paper printed there, was moderate and loyal, and in ſome degree qualified and counteracted the ſeditious doctrines diſſeminated by the Northern Star, the diſaffected frequently ſtopped the meſſengers who went about the country to circulate it, tied them hand and foot, and robbed them of ſuch papers as they had.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the county of Kildare was dreadfully convulſed by the united Iriſhmen, who committed robbery and aſſaſſination on proteſtants almoſt every night.

In the month of March, a motion was made by a member of oppoſition for repealing the inſurrection law, though the advantages derived from it in checking the progreſs of the conſpiracy were univerſally acknowledged.

In the month of April, lord Caledon's houſe, in the county of Tyrone, was plundered of arms.

The county of Down was ſo much agitated, that the magiſtrates of it aſſembled at Hillſborough, on the twenty-eighth of March, entered into ſtrong reſolutions againſt the nefarious proceedings of the united Iriſhmen, and made a large ſubſcription for ſuppreſſing them.

Ever ſince the introduction of defenderiſm into the county of Cork, in the year 1793, its contagion continued gradually and ſilently to diffuſe itſelf, and to poiſon the minds of the lower claſs.

On the thirteenth of April, 1797, lord Bantry conveyed to the gaol of Cork, four of theſe culprits, one of whom was the ſteward of Roger O'Connor, in whoſe pocket his lordſhip found the defenders oath; the tenor of which was to be true to one another; not to pay rent, tithes, or taxes; and to aſſiſt the French who were ſoon expected.

At the aſſizes of Omagh, in the county of Tyrone, held in the month of April, John Kinkaid, an active united Iriſhman, was convicted of making a conſtant practice of going to Romiſh chapels on Sundays, and of ſwearing the congregations, to ſtand by each other; to join the French when they ſhould land; to cut down tithes and taxes; and to kill the orangemen and yeomen. At the aſſizes of this year, both in Leinſter and Munſter, great numbers were convicted of treaſonable and ſeditious practices.

On the thirtieth of April, 1797, the reverend Mr. Knipe, a proteſtant clergyman, was murdered by a party of ruffians, who forcibly entered his houſe, near Clonard, in the county of Meath.

It had been the invariable policy of the leaders of the conſpiracy to announce an effort as at hand, to keep up the ſpirits of the people, though it was not ſeriouſly intended: However, in ſpring 1797, a plan was ſeriouſly diſcuſſed by the leaders then aſſembled in Dublin, for commencing a general riſing, without waiting for foreign aſſiſtance; but as this ſcheme did not meet with the approbation of the Dublin part of the committee, it was laid aſide; and, in conſequence of it, a coolneſs took place between the Ulſter and Leinſter delegates, which materially retarded the progreſs of the conſpiracy.*

May the thirteenth, the report of the ſecret committee having been preſented to the houſe of commons, a violent debate enſued, in which a gentleman of the bar, connected with the oppoſition, declared, that it was merely an apology for the violent coercive meaſures adopted by government.

The ſeduction of the army became very common at this time. No leſs than ſeventy of the Monaghan militia were corrupted at Belfaſt. At laſt, the practice became ſo common, ſo general, and ſo fatal to the military, that the following, among other regiments, offered rewards for diſcovering and proſecuting any perſons concerned in it: The 9th dragoons, the 1ſt fencible cavalry, the Angusſhire fencibles, the Kilkenny, Antrim, Longford, Tyrone, Wexford, and Waterford militia.

The

* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, p. 19.

The diſaffected reſted the ſucceſs of their cauſe very much on the attachment of the king's troops to it. At a provincial meeting held at Ballynahinch the twenty-third of November, 1797, orders were iſſued to every county delegate, to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, militia, or yeomen, whom they might conſider as their friends.

At a provincial meeting held at Armagh, the fourteenth of November, the number of the king's troops with their reſpective quarters, and on how many in each they might depend, was preſented. From the following returns, it appears that their hopes from the diſaffection of the king's troops were very high: In the county of Antrim, four thouſand, of which ſeven hundred were friends to the people: In Tyrone, two thouſand ſeven hundred, and one thouſand were attached to them: In Down, one thouſand one hundred, of which one thouſand were friends: In Armagh, four thouſand two hundred, among whom they reckoned only two hundred friends: In Donegal, two thouſand, and ſeven hundred of them were friends.

The different delegates were aſked by the ſecretary, if they thought their counties could diſarm the military within themſelves? and they all ſaid they could, except in Armagh.*

At a provincial meeting held at Randalſtown, the fourteenth of December, 1797, it appeared, that they expected an invaſion by the French. Orders were iſſued to every county delegate to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, military, or yeomen, and the quarters where they lay, and to bring it to the next provincial meeting; as alſo how many of them they could reckon their friends. The county delegates were to procure this information from the baronial members, at the next county meeting.†

At a meeting of colonels held at Rathfriland, the twenty-eighth of March, 1798, they were aſked individually, whether they were able to diſarm the military within the bounds of their own regiment? and they all agreed that they were.‡

At a provincial meeting held at Belfaſt the firſt of April, 1798, it was ſaid that the national committee were determined to have a riſing, though the French expedition ſhould be fruſtrated. The Leinſter delegate

* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, Appendix XIV. p. 123.
† Ibid. p. 108. ‡ Ibid. p. 120.

gate had received a letter from Bartholomew Teeling, who was one of their delegates in France, and he recommended a riſing at all events; as the citizens of Dublin, with the aſſiſtance of the army, could at any time ſeize the caſtle of Dublin.*

At a provincial meeting held at Armagh, the county delegates were aſked, whether they could diſarm the military in their reſpective counties? and they ſaid, they could in Derry, Donegal, and Louth; but not in Down, Antrim, and Armagh, and the upper half of the county of Tyrone.† The reaſon of this probably was, that in the three former the maſs of the people are papiſts; but in the latter, the proteſtants and orangemen were numerous.

A very intelligent gentleman of the North aſſured me, that ſuch of the linen merchants of the North as were members of the union, and wiſhed for a revolution, imagined that it would be effected quietly, and without violence, as the army was attached to their cauſe. Their property being perſonal, lying moſtly in their bleach greens, they were averſe to any meaſures that might end in rapine and plunder.

In the county of Tyrone there were five thouſand yeomen, of which above four thouſand were orangemen; and in that large body there were not more than two hundred Roman catholicks, and four-fifths of the body were preſbyterians.

There were regular returns made by the baronial members to the county delegates, by them to the provincial, and by the provincial to the executive, of the number of men organized and armed in their reſpective diſtricts, and of the money collected, and in the hands of the treaſurers of each.

Thus lord Edward Fitzgerald gave a paper in his own hand writing to Mr. Reynolds, which was a return to a national committee held the twenty-ſixth of February, 1798. It ſtated the number of armed men in Ulſter, Leinſter, and Munſter, to be two hundred and ſeventy-nine thouſand eight hundred and ninety-ſix; the ſum of money in the hands of the treaſurers to be 1485l. 4s. 9d.‡

It is not ſurpriſing that the conſpirators ſhould be confident of ſucceſs, when they were perſuaded that a great portion of the military were warmly

* Report of the ſecret committee, of the houſe of commons, Appendix XIV. page 121.
† Ibid. p. 124. ‡ Ibid. p. 141.

warmly attached to their cauſe; and that they could diſarm thoſe who continued loyal.

The above return, delivered to Mr. Reynolds by lord Edward, was confined merely to the men who were armed; for in the popiſh counties, all the farmers, peaſants, and mechanicks to a man, were ſworn, organized, and warmly attached to the union.

It appeared that the county of Kerry regiment required one hundred conſtitutions in the year 1796.* This ſhewed that they muſt have been very much diſaffected.

They did not begin to organize Munſter till the ſpring of 1797;† and as popiſh fanaticiſm gave wings to treaſon, it was reported to be in a good ſtate of organization the fourteenth of September following.‡

Neilſon ſays, in his evidence before the committee of the lords, that the affiliated ſyſtem of organization began in 1792; and that Ulſter was completely organized the tenth of May, 1795.§ It appears that there were four executives in November, 1797,§ one for each province.

To ſhew how far popiſh fanaticiſm was concerned in the rebellion, what an impulſe it gave to the mind, and how much it extinguiſhed all moral principle, I will relate a few circumſtances of a conſpiracy formed by James Dunn and Patrick Carty, with others, to aſſaſſinate the earl of Carhampton, on the twenty-fifth of May, 1797; becauſe he had always evinced the moſt unabated zeal and activity, both as a magiſtrate and an officer, to maintain ſocial order in his neighbourhood, and in checking the progreſs of rebellion.

The former was a blackſmith and farrier, who lived on his lordſhip's demeſne, and in his ſervice for many years, and had conſtantly experienced the moſt ſtriking inſtances of kindneſs from him.

Notwithſtanding theſe obligations, James Dunn repaired to the houſe of Maurice Dunn, a relation in Dublin, who kept a cabaret, on Sunday the ſeventh of May, and offered to a committee of ſixteen united Iriſhmen who were then ſitting there, to *do out* his friend and benefactor, the earl of Carhampton. This was a common cant expreſſion among the united Iriſhmen, for murdering a perſon.

When

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix II. p. 46. † Ibid. Appendix XXXI. p. 272. ‡ Ibid. p. 280. § Ibid. p. 106.

When he made the propoſal, one perſon ſaid it was great news; another, glorious news; another, the beſt news he had heard a long time.

Leſt a concourſe of ſo many people ſhould excite ſuſpicion, they appointed ſeven perſons as a committee of aſſaſſination to concert meaſures with Dunn.

As money would be neceſſary to procure weapons and horſes, application was made to one Burke, the ſecretary of finance, who was clerk to Myles Duigenan, a grocer in Grafton-ſtreet; but he poſtponed granting their requeſt, till Mr. O'Callaghan, at the head of the finance, ſhould recover, being confined with ſickneſs. It was at laſt agreed, that Dunn and Carthy, a labourer on his lordſhip's demeſne, and ſeven more perſons, ſhould aſſaſſinate him on the ſucceeding Sunday, the fourteenth of May.

Three of them on horſeback, having looſe coats with blunderbuſſes under them, and ſix mounted as yeomen cavalry with piſtols, were to fire into his lordſhip's carriage, as it paſſed through a narrow road near Lutterelſtown; and at the ſame time to murder his ſervants, and any perſons who might be with him. Ferris, who was at the head of the committee of ſixteen, and the only proteſtant member of it, ſtruck with horror at the atrocity of the plot, diſcovered it, and Dunn and Carthy were hanged.

While Dunn was in priſon, lord Carhampton went to ſee him, and ſaid, Conſidering the kindneſs I ſhewed you, I did not imagine you would have been concerned in an attempt on my life. To his lordſhip's utter aſtoniſhment, he replied, without heſitation, that he thought it a good act. On aſking him, whether he himſelf had propoſed to murder him? he anſwered, that he never had; but that he was ſworn to execute it; and if he were out again, he would perpetrate it if he could. He ſaid, though you might think it a good act to murder me, why ſhould you ſhoot a poor innocent poſtillion? Why! ſaid he; to do the thing completely. He afterwards gave much the ſame anſwers to the ſame queſtions, to lord Carhampton in the preſence of the earl of Enniſkillen.

On May the thirteenth, there was an engagement between the North Britains and defenders near Forkhill in the county of Armagh, where thirteen of the former were killed, and eighteen deſperately wounded.

On

On the ſeventeenth of May, a proclamation iſſued againſt the commiſſion of atrocities and diſturbances in general, and offering pardon to all perſons who had been ſeduced, or entered into illegal aſſociations; provided they, before the twenty-fourth of June, appeared before a magiſtrate, ſurrendered themſelves, took oaths of allegiance, acknowledged their errors, and entered into a recogniſance to keep the peace, and be of good behaviour.

On the twenty-ſecond of June, the time for taking advantage of this proclamation was extended to the twenty-fourth of July.

This wiſe meaſure was attended with the moſt ſalutary effects; for it induced thoſe who had become united Iriſhmen, from motives of terror, to renounce the connection; it confirmed in their allegiance thoſe who were wavering; and it inſpired the rebels with fear, leſt thoſe who repented, and took the benefit of the proclamation, would betray them.

Notwithſtanding this meaſure of mercy and warning to the diſaffected, in the latter end of the ſame month a general inſurrection in Ulſter was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county was arranged.* At the ſame time the inconſiſtency of the diſaffected could be equalled by nothing but their effrontery and malignity, in accuſing government of wanton and unneceſſary ſeverity, by which the people were ſtimulated to commit acts of outrage and licentiouſneſs.

The practice of ſeducing the military ſtill continued ſo much, that in the ſpace of one month, the following ſoldiers were ſhot for treaſonable plots: Four of the Monaghan, at Blaris camp; two of the Wexford regiment, at Cork; two of the Kildare, in the Phœnix park, near Dublin; and two of the Louth, near Limerick.

It was diſcovered, that houſes of entertainment were kept open in Dublin, Cork and Athlone, at a conſiderable expence, for the ſeduction of the ſoldiers. They were regaled there *gratis*, with the moſt delicious fare; and even proſtitutes were kept there to work on their affections.

In the month of May, ſeveral committees were ſurpriſed in the act of forming treaſonable plots in Dublin; and it was diſcovered that the blackſmiths there were buſily employed in making pikes.

* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, Appendix XIV. p. 123.

In the month of June, the pay of the military was encreaſed, which at this critical time was a very politick meaſure, as the united Iriſhmen were endeavouring to ſeduce them with unceaſing ſedulity.

One Murtagh Mc. Canwell, ſent from the North to the South for that purpoſe, was known to be ſo expert, and had done ſo much miſchief in that way, that a general court-martial, ſitting at Limerick, offered one hundred and twenty-five guineas for diſcovering and apprehending him. The defenders were ſo terrifick at this time, in the counties of Meath, Weſtmeath, Kildare and Longford, that many of the proteſtants were obliged to fly to the metropolis for protection.

As the members of oppoſition in the houſe of commons could not ſucceed in their plans of parliamentary reform and catholick emancipation, and in defeating the ſalutary meaſures of co-ercion which the government had adopted for the preſervation of the kingdom, they ſeceded from parliament in the month of May.

It was diſcovered, that there was to have been an inſurrection of the defenders on the night of the twenty-fourth of May, in the counties of Meath, Cavan, Longford and Monaghan, for the purpoſe of murdering the army, the yeomanry, and all the loyal ſubjects in them. It appeared that one of their emiſſaries circulated four or five hundred letters, to apprize them of the preciſe time of riſing.

On the ſeventh of June, Mr. Barber a preſbyterian miniſter, of Rathfriland, noted for turbulent and ſeditious principles, was committed to the gaol of Belfaſt.

On the fourteenth of October, William Orr, a noted propagator of the doctrines of the united Iriſhmen, was hanged at Carrickfergus; and as he was one of the moſt active agents of the Iriſh union, great efforts were made to ſave his life; but when they failed, the judge who tried him was reviled, the jury and the witneſſes were calumniated, and the government was univerſally vilified by the diſaffected, for having, as they ſaid, ſacrificed the life of this honeſt and innocent man to the vengeance and acrimony of party.

His death was deplored from one end of the iſland to the other, as much as that of father Nicholas Sheehy, a noted rebel, who was hanged at Clonmell in the year 1762; and all the diſaffected, in memory of him, wore ſome kind of emblem in rings, lockets, or bracelets.

WHAT

WHAT PROGRESS THE LEADERS OF THE CONSPIRACY MADE TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1797, IN UNITING THE PRESBYTERIANS AND PAPISTS.

IT is obſervable, that the defenders exiſted as an organized and armed body, at leaſt three years before the united Iriſhmen; for their plan, or proſpectus, found on captain Sharky, in the county of Armagh, was dated the twenty-fourth of April, 1789; and as there were ſimilar ſocieties in the county of Louth, affiliated with them, we may preſume that it required ſome time to bring them to a perfect ſtate of organization; and reference is made in that proſpectus to oaths which they had taken formerly.

It appeared alſo, that they exiſted at the ſame time in the counties of Antrim, Down and Monaghan; as general Euſtace was ſent there to ſuppreſs them.

The united Iriſhmen held their firſt ſeſſion at Belfaſt, in the month of October, 1791; in Dublin, in the month of December.

The former, who were excluſively papiſts, never appeared in any county except where popery predominated. They never exiſted in any part of the county of Down or Antrim, except in the barony of Iveagh in the former, and in Carey and Glenarm in the latter, in which Roman catholicks are numerous. The only ſpring of action with them was a hatred to proteſtants. The main object of the united Iriſhmen was, to unite the preſbyterians, and, if poſſible, the members of the eſtabliſhed church with the Roman catholicks, for the purpoſe of overturning the conſtitution. Their oaths were quite different. The Catholick committee ſhewed much zeal in promoting this junction; but the exterminating ſpirit which their ſectaries ſhewed during the rebellion, in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow, Wexford, Mayo and Sligo, proved that they were not ſincere, and that they meant to eſtabliſh excluſively their own religion on the abolition of every other. We may fairly conclude then, that they meant merely to lull the fears and ſuſpicions of the preſbyterians, and not to unite with them.

Samuel Neilſon, the moſt active member of the union, declared, that the affiliated ſyſtem began in ſpring 1792, and that it was not completed in Ulſter till the tenth of May, 1795.* The ſlow progreſs of the organization in that province aroſe from the very great difficulty of uniting the preſbyterians and papiſts, between whom there exiſted ſo great an antipathy, that it is more than probable it never could have been accompliſhed, if the leading conſpirators had not prevailed on the clergy of both to forward the intereſt of the union; and yet, we have very good reaſon for ſaying, that the amalgamation of the two ſects was ſo imperfect, that the united Iriſhmen and defenders in the Northern counties continued as ſeparate bodies, even ſo late as the end of the year 1797. For, at a meeting of the former, held at Belfaſt, it is ſtated, "that the provincial committee promiſed to give to the county committee, the number of defenders in the kingdom;"† and the zeal of the latter muſt have been very great, when it was ſaid, "that a defender up the country promiſed to give four thouſand guineas for the uſe of the united Iriſhmen; and all he aſks is, three or four of the united Iriſhmen as ſecurity for that ſum."‡

In the ſame provincial report, it is ſaid, "the orangemen in the county of Tyrone are taking the arms from the defenders." This ſhews a laudable zeal in the orangemen in diſarming this banditti, and the intereſt which the united Iriſhmen took in their concerns.

We find alſo, in a provincial report, at the ſame period, that it was conſidered as a matter of moment, "to make friends of catholicks and orangemen, as it is doing a great deal of good in Armagh."§ This was the grand object of the united Iriſhmen and Catholick committee in the North. This meeting was held at Belfaſt the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1797.

In the ſame report it appears, that at a meeting of captains on the thirty-firſt of July, 1797, at Downpatrick, great fears were expreſſed, that the catholicks and diſſenters would become two ſeparate parties."‖

In May, 1797, orders were iſſued by the executive directory, that all the captains in the different baronies ſhould aſſemble to chuſe field officers, and

* Examination before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, Appendix, No. V.
† Ibid. Appendix, No. II. p. 27. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. p. 29.
‖ Ibid. Appendix, No. XIV. p. 103.

and that office was performed by Joſeph Leſlie, in the barony of Loughinſholen, in the county of Derry; but having ſummoned proteſtants only, the Roman catholicks remonſtrated warmly, and he was obliged to change the day for aſſembling, and to ſummon indiſcriminately perſons of both perſuaſions. Though the two orders co-operated, they never were cordially united. The maſſacres in the province of Leinſter evinced the ſecret deſigns of the Romaniſts, and, by opening the eyes of the Northern preſbyterians, completely diſunited them.

The inhabitants of Glenarm, in the county of Antrim, who were papiſts, were organized according to the defender ſyſtem. During the rebellion, they were advancing in a body to join a party of united Iriſhmen on Belair-hill, who were headed by one Acheſon, a preſbyterian miniſter; but when the Glenarm rebels diſcovered them, they diſbanded, and ſaid, they never would ſubmit to be commanded by a proteſtant.* The ſame circumſtance occurred in the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne, Vinegar-hill, and Gorey, in the county of Wexford, where the prieſts and the other popiſh leaders denounced proteſtants, and deſired that they ſhould not be admitted into their ranks; but we cannot have a ſtronger proof of the inſincerity of the Romaniſts, and their determination to extirpate every order but their own, than the wanton and cold-blooded murders committed by them in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Wicklow, Carlow and Wexford; and the earneſt intention which they ſhewed to do ſo in Mayo and Sligo, and which they would have effected, but for the humane interference of the French.

By the following reſolution, ſeized by Mr. Fox in a committee of united Iriſhmen at Belfaſt, and dated the eleventh of April, 1797, it appears, that they did not conſider the defenders as united with them: "Reſolved, that the provincial (meaning committee) form a plan for the ſupport of poor families, that they get us the number of defenders in the kingdom, who are not united Iriſhmen, and if they will act with united Iriſhmen."†

Charles Mc. Fillin, a papiſt, declared upon oath, before ſir George Hill, baronet, that he attended as a delegate at a provincial meeting at Garvagh,

* To this the ſalvation of that part of the county of Antrim was imputed.

† Secret report of the houſe of commons, Appendix, No. II. p. 32.

Garvagh, in the county of Derry, in November, 1796; and that he was choſen a delegate, at four or five provincial meetings; and the reaſon he aſſigns for it is, to inſpire the Roman catholicks with confidence, as the ſyſtem was to unite all religious perſuaſions, to overturn the conſtitution. Mc. Fillin was the only papiſt at theſe provincial meetings, and there was conſiderable jealouſy between the two orders.*

In almoſt every inſtance where the preſbyterians conſiderably exceeded the papiſts in point of number, the latter were apparently loyal, or at leaſt did not enter into the union; and they frequently, when thus circumſtanced, were the only perſons who gave information againſt the conſpirators, but more from motives of fear, hatred, or envy, than a pure and genuine ſpirit of loyalty. Mc. Fillin's evidence is to be accounted for on no other principle.

In the ſame manner, where the Roman catholicks very much predominated in point of numbers, the preſbyterians were faithful. For this reaſon, ſmall colonies of the latter in Meath, Cavan, Longford, Mayo and Sligo, were not only loyal, but very active againſt the defenders.

In ſuch parts of the counties of Down and Armagh, where there were many of both orders blended together, the antipathy which always exiſted between them, produced ſtrife and bloodſhed, in the ſhape of defenderiſm and peep-of-day boys: But it is obſervable, that while the county of Armagh was dreadfully diſturbed by them, the town of Lurgan and its vicinity were perfectly tranquil, becauſe it abounds with proteſtants of the church of Ireland, the only ſect who have been ſteadily and uniformly attached to the king and conſtitution.

Both the defenders and united Iriſhmen in their turn attempted to organize the county of Fermanagh, and they made ſome progreſs, and formed ſome plots there; but perceiving the futility of their ſchemes, they deſiſted, becauſe they knew that the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church are ſo numerous, ſo loyal, and courageous, that they would have been cut to pieces, had they attempted to riſe in rebellion, which was the ultimate object of their machinations.‡

In

* Secret report of the houſe of commons, Appendix, No. VI. p. 77.

‡ They knew what achievements were performed in the year 1641, by the bravery and loyalty of the Enniſkilleners.

In ſome pariſhes in the dioceſe of Dromore, where the majority of the inhabitants are of the eſtabliſhed church, and in others where they form a large portion of them, the people are moral, ſober, and induſtrious; becauſe thoſe who are inclined to be diſaffected, knew that the proteſtants would riſk their lives and fortunes in ſupport of the conſtitution, and in the preſervation of peace and good order.

When the French were at Colooney, and ſhewed an intention of marching towards the metropolis, the Roman catholicks in the vicinity of Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, ſhewed a diſpoſition to riſe, in order to join them; but as the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church in that county are numerous, loyal, and well armed, and as they were moſtly united in Orange lodges, they would have cut the inſurgents to pieces, had they riſen there; they retired then to the Ballinamore mountains, about ſeven miles diſtant, and aſſembled there. Though the county of Cavan was in general very much diſturbed by the defenders, they, for the above reaſon, never dared to appear in the neighbourhood of Belturbet.

I mentioned before, the zeal of the preſbyterian miniſters and the popiſh prieſts, to unite both their orders in the conſpiracy.

This appeared in a very ſtriking manner in the year 1797, particularly in the diſturbed parts of Armagh and Down, whoſe inhabitants were ſo hoſtile to each other, as peep-of-day boys and defenders, and to reconcile whom the united Iriſhmen and Catholick committee ſhewed ſo much earneſtneſs.

In the ſummer of 1797, an itinerant friar continued to preach in theſe counties, at Portaferry, in the barony of Lecale, and thence to Newtownards, to the populace of both perſuaſions, both in popiſh chapels, and in the fields; and to recommend to them union and fraternity, on grounds of chriſtian benevolence.

His audience was always very numerous; but Mr. Savage of Portaferry, having been informed that he preached ſeditious doctrines, threatened to commit him to priſon, unleſs he quitted the country immediately.

I mentioned before that doctor Dickſon, a preſbyterian miniſter, at Portaferry, gave evening lectures to his flock, in the year 1797, as he ſaid, to enlighten them; but they were in fact political diſcourſes, ſimilar

ſimilar to thoſe delivered by Thelwal, and were calculated for no other purpoſe, but to diſſeminate republican principles. It turned out afterwards, that he was an adjutant-general in the rebel army, for which he has been tranſported.

Many Northern gentlemen of ſagacity have aſſured me, that they conſidered the preſbyterians as ſincere in fraternizing with the Roman catholicks, for the purpoſe of forming a republick; and for this reaſon, that if the government were ſubverted by their united ſtrength, they could not hope to ſubjugate, and make them ſubſervient to any ſiniſter deſigns which they might have entertained from the great ſuperiority of their numbers.

When Dickey, a rebel leader, and a diſſenter, was on the point of being hanged at Belfaſt, he declared, that the eyes of the preſbyterians had been opened too late; and that they were convinced by the maſſacres perpetrated by the Romaniſts in the province of Leinſter, that they muſt have had to contend with them, if they had ſucceeded in overturning the conſtitution.

A gentleman of great ſagacity and judgment, who took a very active part in checking the progreſs of the conſpiracy in the North, gave me this as his decided opinion: "That the Catholick committee hoped to ſucceed in their ambitious ſchemes, by alarming the government through the defenders; but finding that the preſbyterians would oppoſe them with ſucceſs, they endeavoured to gain them over to aſſiſt them in ſubverting the conſtitution, though in fact they only meant to lull them, till their object was accompliſhed, and then to have extirpated proteſtants of every denomination."

The clerk of the crown informed me, that he aſked the reverend doctor Porter, a preſbyterian miniſter, at Newtownards, a ſhort time before he was put upon his trial, how a perſon of his education and connections came to be embarked in ſo dreadful a rebellion? and he candidly acknowledged, that republican liberty was his object; and that when he ſaw that the French were actuated by nothing but a deſire of conqueſt and plunder, and not by the generous deſign of promoting univerſal liberty, which they evinced by their treatment of the American deputies, he reſolved to renounce his connection with the conſpirators; but he found it too late, as his life would have fallen a ſacrifice to any attempt to do ſo.

He

He at the ſame time attempted to defend his conduct, on the ground that every perſon had a right to form his own opinion on the eligibility of what kind of government he would wiſh to live under. This doctrine has been inculcated by Price and Prieſtley. This man was hanged in the rear of his conventicle at Gray Abbey.

I ſtated before, that the ſlow progreſs of the organization of the North aroſe from the great difficulty of uniting the preſbyterians and papiſts. The following anecdote will illuſtrate it:

A Romaniſt, who had been an active leader of the defenders, being in converſation, in the year 1794, with a preſbyterian, who was much addicted to French republican principles, in a mountainous pariſh of the county of Tyrone, informed him, that the Romaniſts had received orders from their committee, to conſider the preſbyterians in future as brethren, and that they were both to fraternize. On which the latter, who had a gun in his hand, aſked him to aſſiſt him in driving ſome cattle from the mountains: To which the Romaniſt replied, "What! truſt myſelf alone with a preſbyterian with a gun!" So rooted was the antipathy of the Romaniſts to the diſſenters!

Samuel Neilſon ſtated in his evidence before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, that the military organization began in Ulſter in the autumn of 1796, and that the object of it was to carry meaſures by force; and they muſt have collected arms with great celerity, for it appears, that before the cloſe of that year, the conſpirators had, in Belfaſt alone, five hundred and twenty-ſix guns, three hundred and ninety-nine bayonets, eighty-eight piſtols, five hundred and ſixty-ſeven pikes, twelve thouſand one hundred and thirty ball-cartridges, fifteen thouſand nine hundred and fifty-three balls, five hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds of powder, ſix cannon and one mortar; and in the county of Antrim, twenty-three thouſand and fifty-nine men, two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-nine guns, nine hundred and eighty-two bayonets, two hundred and four piſtols, two thouſand three hundred and forty-eight pikes, eighty-five ſwords, eighteen thouſand two hundred and fifty-three ball-cartridges, two thouſand three hundred and fifty-eight balls, ſix hundred and twenty-eight pounds and an half of powder, eight cannon and one mortar.*

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. II. p. 23, 24.

The reader may conceive, to what extent the people were armed, when, in the county of Kildare alone, fourteen thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-three pikes were ſurrendered in the year 1797, in conſequence of the pardon offered by government to the repentant, and of the ſalutary rigour and coercion exerciſed againſt thoſe who were obſtinate in guilt; and it was not doubted but that a much greater proportion was retained.

In other counties it was not doubted, but that the preparation for arms was as extenſive as the organization itſelf, from the number ſeized in different parts of the kingdom, which amounted to no leſs than one hundred and twenty-nine thouſand.*

The adoption of the military organization produced ſuch an encreaſe of robbery and aſſaſſination in the Northern counties, as to induce a neceſſity of enforcing the inſurrection law in them; and accordingly Down and Armagh were proclaimed in November, 1796, Derry and Donegal in February, 1797.

Regular returns were made by the baronial to the county, and by the county to the provincial committee, and by them to the executive, of the quantity of arms and ammunition in their poſſeſſion; and of the ſums of money in their treaſurers' hands.

For this, and the manner of making the returns, I ſhall refer the reader to the report of the ſecret committee, beginning at Appendix, No. II. p. 21.

They had a regular chain or gradation of officers, from a general down to a ſerjeant; and about the latter end of the year 1797, or beginning of 1798, they inſtituted the office of adjutant-general, whoſe duty may be ſeen in the report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XVII. p. 142.

They uſed unremitted endeavours, and ſpared no expence in defending the conſpirators who were to be tried; for which purpoſe, a ſub-committee attended regularly at every aſſizes to ſuperintend the appropriation of the money collected for that purpoſe.

John Hughes was ſent by Mr. James Mc. Guchin, an attorney, to Dublin, in order to get a licenſe for counſellor Curran to be concerned for the priſoners, then in the ſeveral gaols, on the North-Eaſt circuit, in the Lent aſſizes of 1797, charged as united Iriſhmen; and he paid him 50 l. as a retaining fee, and 200 l. for different licenſes to plead.‖

The

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XXXIX.

‖ Ibid. Appendix, No. XV. p. 126.

The following report was made to a county of Down committee, of law expences on the trials of conſpirators, June 8th, 1797:

Counſellors,	Curran, -	100 guineas.
	Sampſon, -	50 do.
	Ball, -	40 do.
	Dobbs, -	40 do.
Attornies,	Caddel, -	100 do.
	Glenny, -	20 pounds.
	Wallace, -	100 guineas.
	Frazer, -	50 pounds.
Gaoler,	- -	10 guineas.
Two aſſiſtants,	-	20 pounds each.
Sub-ſheriff,	-	20 guineas.
Witneſſes,	-	200 pounds.*

At a provincial meeting held at Randalſtown, December the fourteenth, 1797, it appeared, that the executive committee "had advanced 137l. 8s. for conveying thirteen priſoners from Belfaſt to Dublin, on the benefit of the habeas corpus act." They had alſo advanced 185l. 4s. for the priſoners' trials in Armagh and Carrickfergus; and as they could not get money to defray the expence, they had thoughts of forming a lottery, the benefit of which was to be applied to ſaid purpoſes;‡ but on the ſeventeenth of January, 1798, they rejected that plan, as it encouraged *immorality in the people*, and reſolved to raiſe money by ſubſcription.‖

I mentioned before that they endeavoured to baffle juſtice by ſtriking terror into all loyal ſubjects, and procuring ſuch of them as had taken an active and conſpicuous part in executing the laws, to be murdered. To render this ſyſtem more certain, they publiſhed, in the ſummer of 1797, a paper, entitled, The Union Star, which appeared at irregular periods; and of which the object was, to point out for aſſaſſination ſuch perſons as had been eminently uſeful in developing the ſecrets, or in checking the machinations of the conſpirators. Each number began with the following paragraphs:

"As The Union Star is an official paper, the managers promiſe the pub-
"lick, that no characters ſhall be hazarded, but ſuch as are denounced

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 100.
‡ Ibid. p. 108. ‖ Ibid. p. 109.

" by authority, as being the partners and creatures of Pitt, and his fan-
" guinary journeyman Luttrell, (meaning the earl of Carhampton.) The
" Star offers to publick juſtice the following deteſtable traitors, as ſpies and
" perjured informers. Perhaps ſome arm more lucky than the reſt, may
" reach his heart, and free the world from bondage."*

This paper was ſecretly, and in the night, diſperſed in the city of Dublin, and in different parts of the country, but without any printer's name annexed to it; and it pointed the dagger of the aſſaſſin to the breaſt of many a loyal ſubject.

They alſo ſet on foot, in the winter of 1797, a newſpaper, called The Preſs, for the purpoſe of vilifying the government, of reprobating its leading members, and of inciting perſons to murder them; of condemning, as founded in tyranny, every ſalutary meaſure adopted for checking the progreſs of rebellion, and of traducing every loyal man who had courage enough to aſſiſt in doing ſo.

So ſure were the leaders of the united Iriſhmen in Dublin that they had attained their grand object, that of uniting perſons of different religious orders, that the following paragraph appeared in The Preſs of the twenty-ſixth of December, 1797:

" The catholicks and preſbyterians are united in indiſſoluble ties, like dying martyrs, in a common cauſe, priding themſelves in mutual good offices, and for ever abjuring the barbarous fanaticiſm that made them hate each other. From the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhment, every man of worth, of talent, or of honour, has ranged himſelf by their ſide; and nothing now remains, againſt Iriſh union, but twenty-five thouſand, as near as may be, of bigots, hirelings, and dependents; juſt enough to furniſh the lord lieutenant with addreſſes."

One of the main deſigns of theſe infamous prints was, to paint England in the blackeſt colours; to vilify her conſtitution, as founded in deſpotiſm; and to repreſent her people as knaviſh, artful and tyrannical: An extraordinary return to that glorious nation, for having given to the ſavages of Ireland their conſtitution,‖ as far as a kingdom, in her ſubordinate ſtate, could participate of it; for having attempted to reclaim her people from downright

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XXVII. p. 217.

‖ The union has given it to them in the fulleſt extent: Without it, they were ſlaves, depending on the breath of a miniſter for the freedom they enjoyed.

downright ſavagery, and for having introduced among them every art that can adorn or improve civil life! Theſe invectives againſt England were uttered to encourage a ſeparation from her.

Much to the diſgrace of government, this infamous paper, called The Preſs, was ſuffered to diſſeminate treaſon and ſedition, from the beginning of October, 1797, till the ſixth of March, 1798; when, in conſequence of information received that Mr. Arthur O'Connor, the ſworn proprietor and owner of it, had been ſeized at Margate, in the actual attempt of taking his paſſage for France, with Quigley the prieſt of Dundalk, on whom treaſonable papers were found, alderman Alexander, on Tueſday the ſixth of March, ſeized the papers and printing materials of The Preſs.

Another ſeditious print inſtituted at Cork by the united Iriſhmen, and called The Harp of Erin, did infinite miſchief in Munſter.

To injure public credit, they publiſhed printed notices, not to uſe exciſeable commodities; not to take bank notes; and not to purchaſe quit-rents, as government had propoſed to ſell them. In theſe they ſaid, "In our opinion the iſſuer of theſe notes is a bankrupt, who in all likelihood muſt ſhortly ſhut up and run away. When the government goes down, theſe fine notes of theirs, with ſtamps of hundreds and thouſands upon them, will not fetch a penny a pound in a ſnuff-ſhop."

I think it right to inform the reader, that there is a more equal intermixture of proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, of preſbyterians and papiſts, in the counties of Donegal, Derry, Tyrone and Armagh, than in any other part of the kingdom; for this reaſon the diſaffected ſhewed more boldneſs of enterprize and vigour of exertion in them, than in moſt other parts of the kingdom, during the progreſs of the conſpiracy; for the preſbyterians engaged in it, were men of ſome education and improved intellect, and directed the operations; and the perſons who executed them were of the lower claſs of Roman catholicks, who were deſperate and ſanguinary;* but the rebellion, had it broken out in them, could not have been very deſtructive or of long continuance, as the yeomen and orangemen were numerous, and were vigilant and active in detecting and baffling the ſchemes of the traitors; beſides the maſſacres in the province of Leinſter made ſuch of the preſbyterians, as were diſaffected, unite with the loyaliſts.

A practice

* The reader will not be ſurpriſed at this from the maſſacres which took place in the province of Leinſter.

A practice, which I before mentioned, of aſſembling the people to dig the potatoes, or reap the corn of their leaders, took place often in thoſe counties. It anſwered two purpoſes, that of trying the ſincerity of the people, and of convincing them of their ſtrength, by the facility with which a number of them could be collected in a ſhort time. No leſs than ſix thouſand perſons aſſembled to dig an acre and a half of potatoes, the property of one Mc. Clury, near Newtownlimavady in the county of Derry.

This body was regularly divided into companies, which were ſubdivided into ten, with officers appropriated to each diviſion.

This Mc. Clury was tried for having, with a numerous gang of aſſaſſins, murdered one Mc. Cluſky, and burnt his houſe, in the county of Derry, becauſe he would not join in a combination againſt the rector of the pariſh.

The jury, from motives of fear or corruption, acquitted him, though his guilt was evident; on which the lord chief baron recommended to the next of kin to bring an appeal of murder. It often occurred that the witneſſes and jurors were afraid to do their duty.

The executive directory formed the higheſt expectations of ſucceſs in the beginning of the year 1797, from the number and zeal of their partizans, who were well armed and organized.

Robert Moore, of the city of Derry, ironmonger, who had been deputed from the county of Derry to the provincial meeting of Ulſter as their delegate, attended the next county meeting in November, 1796, at Garvagh, in order to impart to them the orders of the provincial. He informed them, that the French were expected immediately; that they muſt array themſelves in companies of one hundred men each, with a captain, two lieutenants and five ſerjeants; that they muſt exerciſe conſtantly, and procure arms by every means in their power; and he particularly recommended pikes.

They immediately began their nocturnal depredations in the counties of Tyrone, Derry, Donegal and Armagh, ſo that no night paſſed without ſome dreadful enormities committed by them. To compel people to join them by terror, they demoliſhed or burnt houſes and haggards, deſtroyed cattle, dragged people from their beds, cropped off their ears, ducked, maimed, or murdered them.

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In December, 1796, they deſtroyed the property and cut off the ears of one Lanaghan, in the barony of Loughinſholin, and county of Derry; at the ſpring aſſizes of 1797, he proſecuted three of them, but the jury acquitted them, it is ſuppoſed, from motives of terror.

In the month of December, 1796, a man unguardedly informed his family, that he ſaw a number of them exerciſing in the night; which being reported to them, the moſt moderate of them inſiſted on his leaving the country; but in attempting to do ſo, he was murdered at Magilligan, in the county of Derry.

In January, 1797, ſir George Hill, with a party of the military, ſurpriſed a body of rebels in the night, after they had plundered many houſes of arms near Derry, killed ſome of them, and took others priſoners. Of the latter, a young man of the name of Bordman became approver. At the aſſizes, ſir George introduced him into a room, where the crown lawyers were, that he might relate to them the ſubſtance of his evidence. Seeing his examinations in the hands of ſir George Hill, he ruſhed forward, ſnatched them from him, tore them in pieces, and afterwards denied every thing he had ſworn. He knew that he and all his family, who were numerous and reſpectable, would have been aſſaſſinated if he had proſecuted.

Whenever the military aſſembled in the night, at Derry, to patrole the country in detachments, ſignals were made by lights, through whatever diſtrict they paſſed. In the winter of 1796, and the beginning of 1797, before thoſe counties were proclaimed, thouſands were obliged to compromiſe with the rebels, to deliver up their arms, and to take the oath of ſecreſy, to ſave their lives; and gentlemen of good landed property were among thoſe who did ſo. At laſt the well-diſpoſed called out for protection, which the introduction of the inſurrection law, and the inſtitution of Orange ſocieties contributed materially to afford them. Anonymous letters were frequently written to loyal perſons, threatening them with deſtruction, unleſs they became members of the union.

In the beginning of the year 1797, whole corps of yeomen were diſarmed. At the ſpring aſſizes of that year, very few delinquents could be convicted, as the witneſſes and jurors, ſome from terror, others from attachment to the cauſe, acquitted them. At Omagh, Lifford, and Derry,* the

* The county towns of Tyrone, Donegal and Derry.

the acquittals were celebrated by bonfires in the night, for thirty miles round the country.

The day before the aſſizes at Derry, on the thirteenth of April, 1797, the county delegates held a meeting, and paid in large ſubſcriptions, which had been previouſly collected for the uſe and defence of the priſoners in gaol, and appointed a ſub-committee to manage and appropriate it.

In the winter of 1797, they became ſo numerous and daring, that they uſed to patrole the country by night, in immenſe numbers, plunder houſes of arms, and cut down great quantities of aſh trees to make pike handles.

In a diſtrict called Fanet, in the county of Donegal, two thouſand of them aſſembled, and laid a plan to murder the reverend Mr. Hamilton, of which he received information upon oath from one of the party. He could not get a meſſenger to convey a letter to Derry for a reinforcement of troops, and he had but a few ſoldiers in his houſe. He and a Mr. Smyth who commands a revenue cutter, diſguiſed themſelves in rags, as beggars, paſſed the picquet guard of the rebels, which they kept conſtantly, with the utmoſt regularity, arrived ſafe at Derry, and obtained an additional guard of one hundred men, which ſaved himſelf and his houſe for that time; but he was murdered in a fortnight after, within eight miles of Derry, by forty farmers who have ſince gone to America.

In ſuch counties where the perſons poſſeſſed of property were proteſtants of the church of Ireland, and of courſe were loyal, and the lower claſs of people were papiſts, the conſpiracy was not ſo terrifick; becauſe the latter, who were engaged in it, wanted leaders of improved intellects.

Large ſums of money were ſent from Belfaſt to Derry, to corrupt the military, and their ſchemes were attended with very great ſucceſs, particularly in the Tipperary regiment.

A plot of a very extenſive and dangerous nature for taking that town was diſcovered, and that ſome of the privates and non-commiſſioned officers of that regiment were deeply engaged in it. Three or four publicans were to have intoxicated ſuch of the ſoldiers as were not ſworn. A choſen band were to have murdered the earl of Cavan, colonel Bagwell, and ſir George Hill, and to have ſeized the magazine.

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The conſpiracy was to have been carried into execution on a market day, when ten thouſand of the country people were to have entered the town under the pretext of buſineſs. Different perſons, both ſoldiers and peaſants, concurred exactly in their relation of this plot.

The great linen bleachers were almoſt univerſally obliged to countenance the converſion of their overſeers and workmen to the united cauſe, that they might continue their buſineſs; but ſome did ſo from pure attachment to it. Such of them as were ſtedfaſt in their loyalty, were under a neceſſity of diſcontinuing their bleaching for the ſeaſon.

As the reverend John Hill, brother of ſir George Hill, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by great activity and courage in checking the progreſs of rebellion in the county of Tyrone, all the loyaliſts in his neighbourhood lodged their arms in his houſe, which was guarded by four of the Queen's county militia, and in which he had maintained his poſt for many months.

One night in the month of June, 1797, when he happened to be abſent at Derry, five hundred rebels attacked his houſe, overpowered the guard, and carried off a large quantity of arms and ammunition, a conſiderable portion of which had belonged to the military and yeomen; but Mr. Hill, at his return, partly by menaces, and partly by ſevere and vigorous meaſures, againſt the rebellious inhabitants of the diſtrict, compelled them to reſtore the whole of what they had plundered.

In the barony of Enniſhowen, in the county of Donegal, (noted for defenders in the year 1793) the rebels cut down, and carried off, forty full grown aſh trees for pike handles, and ſoon after diſarmed half a yeomanry corps and many ſmall parties of ſoldiers, as they went to their out-quarters in the country; but the burning of three houſes in that rebellious diſtrict ſtruck ſuch terror into its inhabitants, that they returned all the arms they had taken, and ſurrendered many pikes.

The proclamation which iſſued the ſeventeenth of May produced the beſt effects in theſe counties; as it induced thouſands to repair to magiſtrates to renounce their error, and to ſeek for protection.

In the month of January, 1797, the Ulſter provincial meeting was held at Stewartſtown in the county of Tyrone, and they were very much offended becauſe a member of the executive did not attend. The famous father Quigley, afterwards hanged at Maidſtone, being a member

of the provincial, ſaid he knew where they ſat at that time, and he conducted them to Dundalk, where they were then ſitting. The provincial inſiſted on ſeeing them, which they refuſed, but ſent one of their members to confer with them. One of the directory commonly attended each provincial meeting, to receive money, to iſſue out orders to the inferior ſocieties, and to obtain reports from them; but the whole of them were never known to any of the inferior ſocieties. Quigley muſt have been very deep in their confidence, when he was entruſted with the time and place of their aſſembling.

Bartholomew Teeling was at that time a member of the directory.

In the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry and Armagh, there were fourteen thouſand yeomen, and moſt of them orangemen; and they were ſo loyal, and ſo well diſciplined, that general Knox who commanded at Dungannon reported in the ſummer of 1798, that he would reſt the ſafety of theſe counties on their fidelity and bravery; and, much to the honour of the preſbyterians, three-fourths of them were of that order.

In Tyrone, there were about five thouſand yeomen, the majority of whom were preſbyterians; and there were about four thouſand two hundred orangemen among them. In ſo large a body there were not more than from two hundred to three hundred papiſts.

Though the preſbyterians lay under a general imputation of being diſloyal, it appears that a great portion of them were ſteadily attached to the conſtitution, and were ready to draw their ſwords in its defence againſt foreign and domeſtick foes. After many minute enquiries, I could not diſcover an inſtance of a preſbyterian yeoman having violated his oath of allegiance; but it will appear that many ſhameful inſtances of the kind occurred among the Romiſh yeomen in Leinſter, Connaught and Munſter. Though many diſſenting miniſters of the counties of Down and Antrim were diſaffected, great numbers of them are diſtinguiſhed for exalted piety and unimpeached loyalty.

I have been aſſured by many gentlemen of ſagacity and ſound judgment, who are well acquainted with the North, that moſt of the preſbyterians ſeparated from the papiſts in the year 1797, ſome from principle, ſome becauſe they doubted the ſincerity of perſons of that order; and others, foreſeeing that the plot muſt fail and end in their deſtruction,

took

took advantage of the proclamation of the ſeventeenth of May, and renounced their aſſociates. Numbers withdrew, becauſe they doubted of ſucceſs without foreign aſſiſtance.

The preſbyterians of the counties of Down and Antrim, where they are very numerous, and where they were warmly attached to the union from pure republican principles, thought they could ſucceed without the papiſts.

Many perſons, deſirous of palliating the treaſonable deſigns of the union, have ſaid, that the reaſon of their eſtabliſhing a reſident agent at Paris was, the rejection of a plan of reform which was propoſed in the houſe of commons in 1797, which would have ſatisfied the people; but the palpable falſhood of this aſſertion, is evident from the journals of the houſe of commons; for the leaders of the conſpiracy have all agreed, that their agent was diſpatched to Paris in April, 1797, with directions to negotiate a treaty with the directory of France; and the motion for parliamentary reform, to the rejection of which they aſcribe the miſſion of Lewins, was not made till the fifteenth of May.* They have alſo attempted to palliate the treaſonable deſigns of the conſpirators, and the enormities committed by them, by aſcribing them to the ſeverity of the inſurrection law; but it did not paſs into a law till the twenty-fourth of March, 1796, and was not enforced till the fourteenth of November following; and it was enacted, in conſequence of a ſyſtem of midnight murder, robbery and outrage, begun in the year 1792, and brought to maturity in the year 1796, under the influence of the Iriſh union, the leaders of which began a correſpondence with the French directory, between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796;† which was long before either of the above events took place.

It ſhould be recollected alſo, that ſome of the leading members of the union were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy with the reverend Mr. Jackſon, who came here from Paris in the year 1794, to lay a plan for invading the kingdom.

The leading principle of the conſpirators in the provinces of Munſter, Leinſter and Connaught, was to join the French and extirpate proteſtants,

* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords of 1798, p. 13 and 14

† Ibidem.

which the events that occurred in the courſe of the rebellion will prove in the two laſt; and for a proof of this in the former, where the active and ſeaſonable exertions of the magiſtrates and the military prevented it from exploding, I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XI. where he will find the ſtate of the counties of Clare, Tipperary, the county and city of Waterford, and the county and city of Cork.*

In the year 1798, the moſt unqualified treaſon and ſedition continued to be diſſeminated in all the jacobin prints, and had a very great effect in inciting the people to commit crimes of very great enormity. In the metropolis, and in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare and Wicklow, and in many parts of Munſter, aſſaſſination and the robbery of arms were conſtantly perpetrated, and the diſaffected continued to form traitorous combinations.

The ſpeech of the viceroy ſet forth the woeful and alarming ſtate of the kingdom; and both houſes of parliament, in their addreſſes, aſſured his excellency of their attachment to the king and conſtitution, and their determination to riſk their lives and fortunes in ſupport of them, and in maintaining the connection between the two kingdoms.

In the month of January, the King's county was ſo much diſturbed, that the gentlemen and freeholders, aſſembled by the ſheriff on the fifth of February, entered into ſtrong reſolutions, and ſubſcribed large ſums of money for ſuppreſſing inſurrections and maintaining ſocial order.

On the ninth of February, colonel St. George and a Mr. Jaſper Uniacke were murdered by a popiſh banditti at Arraglyn, in the county of Cork, in the houſe of the latter.

This month, Mr. Doolin, a proteſtant, was barbarouſly murdered in his own houſe, in the King's county, while ſitting in the evening with his family; and it was diſcovered that ſome of his own domeſticks were concerned in the horrid deed.

As the maſs of the people in Dublin was at this time infected with treaſon, and as popiſh fanaticiſm ſeemed to be chiefly inſtrumental in forwarding the progreſs of it, the proteſtants formed Orange lodges, and united for their preſervation in the month of January, 1798; and as the diſaffected propagated malicious reports, that they had ſecretly entered into

* Doctor Mc. Nevin, a member of the directory and a Romaniſt, accounts for that in his evidence before the houſe of lords, by ſaying, that the Catholick prieſts were well affected to the cauſe. Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords of 1798, Appendix, No. III.

into combinations hoſtile to the Romaniſts, both the orangemen of Dublin and thoſe of the province of Ulſter, to vindicate themſelves from ſuch aſperſions, publiſhed a declaration of their principles in the publick prints.*

In the month of January, a ſoldier of the Tyrone militia, while ſtanding as a centinel at Tralee, in the county of Kerry, was aſſaſſinated by a man diſguiſed in woman's clothes.

On Thurſday the twenty-fourth of January, a young man of the revenue corps of yeomanry was fired at near Blackrock, from behind a hedge, and was very badly wounded.

In the beginning of February, two ruffians of the names of Come and Carbery, were committed to Mullingar gaol for having conſpired to murder George Clibborne, eſquire, captain of the Moate cavalry; and four more to Philipſtown gaol, for having combined to aſſaſſinate Richard Holmes, eſquire, of Proſpect; two gentlemen diſtinguiſhed for their ſpirited exertions in enforcing the execution of the laws. Theſe aſſaſſins were ſent from Dublin by the united Iriſhmen, to commit theſe horrid crimes.

An attempt was made on the life of Mr. Darragh, of Eagle-hill, in the county of Kildare, an active magiſtrate, who was ſo obnoxious to the rebels on account of his zealous loyalty, and many plots were formed againſt his life; but in order to provoke the vengeance of the diſaffected, a report was circulated that he had taken an oath not to deſiſt in his exertions, till he had waded up to his ankles in the blood of Roman catholicks. This report was propagated while he was abſent in England. At his return he made publickly an affidavit, that he had never harboured ſuch a ſentiment. But this would not do; for he was condemned to die by a committee of aſſaſſination that ſat in the neighbourhood.

When walking in his lawn, in the month of March, a man in the guiſe of a ſuppliant, preſented him a paper, under a pretext of ſeeking for juſtice; and when he was engaged in peruſing it, he drew a piſtol, and having fired it at him, the ball entered his groin; and while in a diſabled ſtate, and writhing with pain, he drew another piſtol, and fired it into his back, with the muzzle ſo cloſe, that both the ball and the wadding entered his body, and has never been extracted. Ever ſince this misfortune he has dragged on a miſerable exiſtence, having ſuffered a great diſtortion

* See it in Appendix, No. V.

diſtortion of his limbs, and being ſubject to dreadful ſpaſms, attended with excruciating pain.

At a provincial committee, held at Shanes-caſtle, the firſt of February, 1798, it was announced, "That three delegates had arrived from France; that the French expedition was going forward, and was ſoon expected; that three delegates had been ſent from the united Britons to the national committee; and that from that moment they were to conſider England, Scotland and Ireland, all as one people, acting for one common cauſe; that there were legiſlators now choſen from the three kingdoms to act as an executive for the whole; that they were now ſure of obtaining liberty, though the French ſhould never come; that the delegates ſhould cauſe the men to hold themſelves in readineſs, as the hour of action could not be far diſtant; and that they ſhould collect the names of all their enemies, and their places of reſidence."* This was done moſt effectually; and the loyal perſons were pointed out for aſſaſſination in The Preſs and The Union Star.

On Saturday the ſeventeenth of February, the following advertiſement was found by a gentleman ſtuck againſt the wall of St. Mary's church, in Dublin:

"Liberty!———Erin go braugh!"§

"You proteſtant hereticks! Take notice, that maſs will commence in this church by the firſt of May next; your blood ſhall flow, and your ſouls ſhall be ſent to the devil your grandfather."

In the month of February, the earl of Moira came to Ireland, with a profeſſed deſign of appeaſing the diſturbances which diſgraced his native country, by recommending to government to diſcontinue the ſyſtem of rigorous coercion which they had for ſome time adopted, and to which he attributed thoſe evils; and by adviſing them to relax the penal laws recently enacted, and to uſe mild and conciliatory meaſures, as the only means of reſtoring peace and ſocial order; and on the nineteenth of February, after having expatiated on, and enforced theſe ſubjects in the houſe of lords, and recommended catholick emancipation and parliamentary reform, which he repreſented as neceſſary to allay the diſcontents of the people, he moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his excellency

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 111.

† This is Iriſh, and ſignifies, Ireland for ever!

excellency the lord lieutenant, to ſtate, that, as parliament had confided to his excellency extraordinary powers, in order to ſupport the laws, and defeat traitorous combinations in this country, we feel it our duty, as theſe powers have not produced the deſired effect, to recommend the adoption of ſuch conciliatory meaſures as may allay apprehenſion and diſcontent." He was oppoſed by the earl of Clare, who, in a moſt eloquent ſpeech* refuted his lordſhip's aſſertions, and traced the origin of the riots and inſurrections of Ireland to their real ſource. His lordſhip's motion was negatived on a diviſion of thirty-five to ten.

Experience has ſince evinced how much his lordſhip was miſtaken; and the following incident proves how vain, how futile, and abſurd it is, for any perſon of high birth and large fortune to expect to gain the affections of the populace by ſtooping to flatter their prejudices. His lordſhip had courted popularity in the county of Down, where he had reſided and his eſtate lay; and nobody can doubt but that he really merited it, from his humane and beneficent diſpoſition: And yet, at a county meeting of united Iriſhmen held at Saintfield on the fourth of February, 1798, the following paragraph appeared in the courſe of their proceedings on that day:

"Nothing particular was done, except that earl Moira's character was diſcuſſed at full length, to know, whether he was a man that could be depended on, or not, by the people? It was agreed, that he was as great a tyrant as the lord lieutenant, and a deeper deſigning one!"†

On the fifth of March, ſir Laurence Parſons, in a long ſpeech in the houſe of commons, recommended an enquiry to be made into the cauſes of diſturbance, and into the demands of the people, that they may conciliate them by conceding thoſe demands, if they were reaſonable, or by convincing them of the contrary, if they were inadmiſſible. He recommended parliamentary reform and catholick emancipation as the moſt likely means to allay the diſtractions which then exiſted; and he imputed them to the ſevere and unneceſſary ſyſtem of coercive rigour which the government of Ireland had exerciſed for many years paſt. He ended his ſpeech with the following motion: "That this houſe do forthwith reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider whence the diſcontents

* It is ſo full of information, that I would recommend it to the peruſal of every friend of Ireland, and of the empire.

† Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 114.

contents in this country ariſe, and what are the moſt effectual means of allaying the ſame." Lord Caſtlereagh, in a long, an able, and an animated ſpeech, contradicted his aſſertions, and refuted his arguments, by taking a retroſpect of the ſtate of Ireland for many years preceding; and by deducing, from incontrovertible facts, that the only object of the traitorous combinations, unremittingly attended by nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, was the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the ſeparation of the two kingdoms. On a diviſion there appeared but nineteen members in ſupport of the motion, and one hundred and fifty-ſix againſt it.

We cannot ſufficiently applaud the wiſdom and firmneſs of parliament, in refuſing their aſſent to ſuch wild and fatal conceſſions, propounded by the earl of Moira and ſir Laurence Parſons; and if any proof of this were neceſſary, it would be ſupplied by a reſolution entered into by the rebel provincial committees of Ulſter and Leinſter on the ſame day, the nineteenth of February, 1798, and both in the ſame words, one at Armagh, the other at Dublin: "That we will give no attention whatever to any attempt made by either houſe of parliament, to divert the publick mind from the grand object we have in view; as nothing ſhort of complete emancipation of our country will ſatisfy us."

This dreadful conſpiracy, which aimed at the deſtruction of Ireland, its ſeparation from England, and conſequently the ſubverſion of the Britiſh empire, was diſcovered and defeated in the following manner by the wiſdom and mercy of Providence:

Mr. Thomas Reynolds, of the county of Kildare, where he had numerous and reſpectable connections, was bred to the buſineſs of a ſilk manufacturer, which he followed very extenſively for many years in the city of Dublin; but having acquired a landed property at Kilkea caſtle, in his native county, he retired and reſided there, ſome years previous to the rebellion, and had conſiderable influence among the Romaniſts.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conſpiracy, having, for theſe reaſons, conſidered him a proper perſon to aſſiſt in forwarding their treaſonable deſigns, practiſed every art of ſeduction to attach him to their cauſe; and having at laſt ſucceeded, he was ſworn an united Iriſhman at the houſe of Oliver Bond in Dublin, in the beginning of the year 1797, was induced to accept the commiſſion of colonel,

the

the offices of treaſurer and repreſentative of the county of Kildare, and at laſt that of delegate for the province of Leinſter.

Soon after he was raiſed to this elevated ſituation in the union, having diſcovered that the conſpirators, inſtead of intending to reform the abuſes of the ſtate, and to aboliſh all religious diſtinctions, which was their profeſſed object at firſt, meditated the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, the maſſacre of the leading members of government, and of ſuch perſons as ſhould oppoſe their deſigns, he reſolved to defeat them, by embracing the firſt opportunity of communicating them to ſome perſon in whom he could confide.

He had very great friendſhip and reſpect for Mr. Cope, an eminent merchant of the city of Dublin, who, having lamented to him in the courſe of converſation, the crimes and atrocities which were conſtantly committed, and which were undoubted ſymptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds, upon whom his converſation made a very deep impreſſion, ſaid, that he knew a perſon connected with the united Iriſhmen, who, he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed in joining them. Mr. Cope aſſured him, that ſuch a perſon would obtain the higheſt honours and pecuniary rewards that the adminiſtration could confer; and that he would be admired and applauded by the moſt virtuous and valuable portion of ſociety. But Mr. Reynolds ſaid, that nothing could tempt him to come forward and avow himſelf. However, after the moſt earneſt and preſſing ſolicitations repeatedly made on the part of Mr. Cope, for whom he had filial reverence, he ſaid, that his friend would appear in perſon, and diſcloſe the particulars of the plot, on the following conditions: That he ſhould not proſecute any united Iriſhmen; that the channel through which the information came ſhould be kept a ſecret, at leaſt for a time; that as his life would be in danger upon its being known, and he muſt leave the country and go to England till matters were ſettled, which would derange his affairs, and put him to conſiderable expence, he expected to receive ſome compenſation. Mr. Cope then told him, that he might draw on him for any ſum not exceeding five hundred guineas. On that, he told Mr. Cope, that the Leinſter delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's, on the twelfth of March, to concert meaſures for an inſurrection, which

was ſhortly to take place; but did not at that time acknowledge that the information came directly from him; but inſinuated that it was imparted by a third perſon.

In conſequence of this, juſtice Swan, attended by twelve ſerjeants in coloured clothes, arreſted the Leinſter delegates, thirteen in number, while ſitting in council in the houſe of Oliver Bond in Bridge-ſtreet, on the twelfth of March, 1798; and ſeized at the ſame time the papers in Appendix, No. XII.* which led to the diſcovery of the plot, and the intended inſurrection; and on the ſame day, Thomas A. Emmett, a barriſter, William James Mc. Nevin, Meſſrs. Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackſon and Hugh Jackſon: And warrants were granted againſt lord Edward Fitzgerald, Richard Mc. Cormick and counſellor Sampſon, who were all leaders in the conſpiracy; but the three laſt made their eſcape.

It is certain that the leaders of the conſpiracy did not intend to bring forward an inſurrection till the French came to their aſſiſtance; and they meant in the mean time to continue to encreaſe their numbers, and to add to their ſtock of arms; but in the ſpring of 1798, the deluſion of the people was ſo rapidly and ſo extenſively yielding to the wiſe meaſures of government, who, while they treated with ſeverity the obſtinately guilty, in every inſtance held forth mercy to the repentant; that the chief conſpirators both in Dublin and in the provinces began to perceive that their cauſe was loſing ground, and that they had no alternative but to hazard a general riſing, or to relinquiſh their hopes.

The arreſt of the Leinſter committee, and of many other leaders on the twelfth of March, tended ſo much to the diſcloſure of their fatal deſigns, and to break the links of their organization, that the conſpirators found themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of making a deſperate effort. A plan was therefore digeſted by the military committee for a general riſing, in which it was propoſed to ſeize Dublin,† the camp at Laughlinſtown, and Chapelizod, the ſtation of the artillery, on the ſame night; and the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, were to co-operate in this attack.‡ The inſurrection being commenced in the metropolis and its vicinity, the ſignal for announcing it to the North

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIX.
† Ibid. Appendix, No. XIV. ‡ Ibid.

North and South, which would alſo riſe, was to be the detention of the mail coaches.*

During the months of February, March and April, robbery and aſſaſſination continued to be perpetrated in different parts of the kingdom, and ſhocking outrages were committed in the metropolis, particularly in Francis, Thomas, and James's-ſtreet; where the centinels on guard were frequently fired at.†

On the twenty-eighth of February, Arthur O'Connor and father Quigley, and three more traitors, were arreſted at Margate, when they were on the point of embarking for France, whither they were going to accelerate an invaſion of Ireland, which the French republick at that time meditated, at the inſtance of the Iriſh executive directory.

On the ſeventh of March, ſir Henry Mannix, who had made himſelf obnoxious to the rebels by his activity as a magiſtrate, was fired at and wounded near the city of Cork; where the conſpiracy was more extenſive and terrifick than in Dublin.

Major Allen was ſerved in the ſame manner in the county of Kildare.

On the thirteenth of March, Mr. Buckley, a proteſtant, and noted for his loyalty, was murdered near Rathcoole, in the county of Kildare, and butchered with ferocious barbarity; and it has been diſcovered, that ſome of the popiſh yeomen of that place were concerned in the perpetration of this horrid act. One of their bayonets was found ſticking in his body. About the ſame time Mr. Burchell of Kilteele in the ſame county was aſſaſſinated. This month a centinel was murdered on his poſt at Armagh.

It would exceed the extent of my deſign, and fill the reader with horror and diſguſt, if I were to enumerate the aſſaſſinations which took place at this time.

Every night great quantities of pikes were diſcovered in the metropolis by the magiſtrates; and ſo eager were the leaders of the conſpiracy to encourage the fabrication of them, that blackſmiths were detected in the act of making them even in the day.

So prone to inſurrection were the lower claſs of people in Dublin, that in the month of April, a numerous mob of rebels roſe in the

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV.

† The reader may form ſome idea of the ſtate of Dublin, from an affidavit in Appendix, No. XIII.

liberty, and attempted to pull down the houſes of ſome loyal perſons there, but were prevented by the yeomen.

An active and intelligent magiſtrate of the city of Dublin informed me, that when he was granting licenſes to ſome publicans in March, 1797, they boaſted, with a ſtern and inſolent air, that that was the laſt time they would apply for them; and that they made the ſame declaration in March, 1798. So ſure was the maſs of the people, that a complete ſubverſion of the government would take place!

On the thirtieth of March, the lord lieutenant iſſued a proclamation, giving the moſt poſitive and direct orders to the officers commanding his Majeſty's forces, to employ them with the utmoſt vigour and deciſion for ſuppreſſing the traitorous conſpiracy, for the deſtruction of the conſtitution, and the eſtabliſhed government, which broke out into acts of open violence and rebellion.

On the ſixth of May, Mr. Reynolds was arreſted at Caſtledermot by a party of the military, and conveyed a priſoner to Dublin.

On the eighth of the ſame month, the united Iriſhmen, by ſome means or other, having diſcovered that he had revealed, and in a great meaſure defeated their machinations, formed many plots againſt his life. He therefore found it neceſſary to put himſelf under the protection of government, who provided him with apartments in the caſtle.

As the members of the union, during his reſidence there, circulated the moſt infamous calumnies againſt his character, he reſolved, in its vindication, and to bring thoſe miſcreants to condign puniſhment, to diſcloſe the whole of their plots, and to proſecute them.

Some time in the month of April, 1798, Matthew Dowling, Meſſrs. Bird, Stoyte, O'Neil, Bacon the tailor, and others, held a conference at Harold's Croſs, about carrying off the children of lord Camden, or lord Clare, as hoſtages; but they preferred thoſe of the latter. One of the parties made a full confeſſion of this to alderman James.

About the ſame time, major Sirr received a poſitive information, which I drew, of a conſpiracy to ſhoot the lord chancellor, as he went to the courts.*

On the twenty-ſecond of April, alderman Jenkin arreſted thirteen united Iriſhmen ſitting in deliberation in a wherry in the port of Dublin; for they found it unſafe to hold their committee in the city, from the great

* It was planned by one of the traitors ſent to Scotland.

great vigilance and activity of the magiſtrates, who purſued and diſcovered them in their lurking holes, and moſt ſecret receſſes.

As it was diſcovered through various channels of information, that lord Edward Fitzgerald was the principal leader of the conſpiracy; and as it appeared by papers found in his writing deſk, that his deſigns were of a moſt dangerous and malignant nature, a proclamation iſſued on the eleventh of May, offering a reward of 1000l. for apprehending him.

As great numbers of people, charged with ſeditious and treaſonable practices, had fled from different parts of the kingdom to Dublin, for the purpoſe of ſecreting themſelves, and eluding juſtice, the lord mayor, on the ſame day, iſſued a proclamation, requiring all houſekeepers in the city or liberties thereof, to return a liſt of ſuch ſtrangers as ſhould be lodged or entertained by them.

On Wedneſday the ninth of May, ſheriff Hone ſeized ſome pike heads in the houſe of Mr. Sweetman, who had been ſo long the ſecretary of the Catholick committee.

On the night of May the eleventh, juſtice Swan, major Sirr, and captain Ryan diſcovered and ſeized five pieces of cannon, two ſix-pounders, and three four-pounders, in a brewer's yard in North King-ſtreet; and on Thurſday preceding, major Sirr ſeized in Bridgefoot-ſtreet, five hundred pike handles, from nine to fourteen feet long.

It was obſerved that the conſpirators kept the pike heads and the handles ſeparate, at leaſt in the metropolis, as they could mount them with the utmoſt celerity; and the loſs of one did not involve that of the other.

On the twelfth of May, ſeven delegates were ſent by the united Iriſhmen from the metropolis to Chapelizod, to ſeduce the corps of artillery, and attempted to ſwear them to ſpike the guns; but much to their honour, they diſcloſed the infernal ſcheme of theſe traitors, who were arreſted and committed. On the ſame day a large quantity of arms was ſeized in a houſe on the Cuſtom-houſe quay by juſtice Swan, an active and intrepid magiſtrate, by whoſe zealous exertions the moſt eſſential ſervice was rendered at this alarming and critical juncture.

On the night of that day, a man of the name of Lynch was found murdered in Watling-ſtreet.

On

On the night of the thirteenth of May, Mr. Sirr, the town major, and captain Ryan, two magiſtrates diſtinguiſhed for their unabated zeal and undaunted courage, ſeized four pieces of cannon in a houſe in Townſend-ſtreet, and next day a ſwivel concealed at Ring's-end.

On the eighteenth of May, juſtice Drury ſeized a blackſmith in Thomas-ſtreet, at noon day, in the act of forging pikes; and he led him through the ſtreets to the Caſtle, with his head and ſhoulders garniſhed with a number of them, and thence with two of his aſſiſtants to priſon.

As lord Edward Fitzgerald had abſconded ever ſince the twelfth of March; as government had the ſtrongeſt reaſons for thinking that he was unremittingly attentive in forwarding the conſpiracy in which he was ſo deeply engaged; and as he had always diſplayed great courage, and conſiderable abilities as an officer, they were under apprehenſions that he was doing very great miſchief wherever he happened to be.

On the eighteenth of May, major Sirr having received poſitive information that he would paſs through Watling-ſtreet that night; that he would be preceded by a choſen band of traitors, as an advanced guard; and that he would be accompanied by another, repaired thither, attended by captain Ryan, Mr. Emerſon of the attorney's corps, and a few ſoldiers in coloured cloaths. They met the party which preceded him, and had a ſkirmiſh with them on the quay at the end of Watling-ſtreet, in which ſome ſhots were exchanged; and they took priſoner, one of them who called himſelf at one time Jameſon, at another time Brand.

The arreſt of lord Edward Fitzgerald, which was effected next day, the nineteenth of May, in the following manner, tended very much to defeat the malignant deſigns of the conſpirators, as he was the chief projector of the intended inſurrection, and they entertained the higheſt opinion of his courage and military abilities:

Government, having received poſitive information that he had arrived in Dublin, and was lodged at the houſe of one Murphy, a featherman in Thomas-ſtreet, ſent major Sirr to arreſt him. He, attended by captain Swan of the Revenue corps, and captain Ryan of the Sepulchre's, and eight ſoldiers diſguiſed, about five o'clock in the evening repaired in coaches to Murphy's houſe. While they were poſting the ſoldiers in ſuch a manner as to prevent the poſſibility of an eſcape, captain Swan, perceiving

ing a woman run haſtily up ſtairs, for the purpoſe, as he ſuppoſed, of alarming lord Edward, followed her with the utmoſt ſpeed; and, on entering an apartment, found lord Edward lying on a bed, in his dreſſing jacket. He approached the bed, and informed his lordſhip that he had a warrant againſt him, and that reſiſtance would be vain; and he aſſured him, at the ſame time, that he would treat him with the utmoſt reſpect.

On that, lord Edward ſprang from the bed, and ſnapped a piſtol, which miſſed fire, at captain Swan. He then cloſed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in the body; one of them under the ribs was deep and dangerous, and bled moſt copiouſly.

At that moment captain Ryan entered, and miſſed fire at lord Edward with a pocket piſtol; on which he made a lunge at him with a ſword cane, which bent on his ribs; but affected him ſo much, that he threw himſelf on the bed, and captain Ryan having thrown himſelf on him, a violent ſcuffle enſued, during which lord Edward drew a dagger, and plunged it into his ſide. They then fell on the ground, where captain Ryan received many deſperate wounds; one of which in the lower part of his belly was ſo large, that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr, having entered the room, ſaw captain Swan bleeding very much, and lord Edward advancing towards the door, while captain Ryan on the floor, and in the woeful ſtate which I deſcribed, was holding him by one leg, and captain Swan by the other, he therefore fired at lord Edward with a piſtol, and wounded him in the ſhoulder, on which he cried out for mercy, and ſurrendered himſelf. His lordſhip was then conveyed to the caſtle, but was on the point of being reſcued before he left Thomas-ſtreet; for Edward Ratigan, a major of the rebels, aſſembled a great number of them, and gave them a conſiderable quantity of carbines and pikes out of St. Catherine's watchhouſe, of which he was a director, and called on them to reſcue lord Edward; and which they would have effected, but that major Sirr received the aſſiſtance of the Rainsford-ſtreet guard, and the picquet guard of the caſtle, conſiſting moſtly of cavalry, for which he had ſeaſonably ſent a meſſenger.

Samuel Neilſon confeſſed afterwards, that he was in another quarter with five hundred pikemen, and that he would have attempted a reſcue, had not the guards arrived in due time.

Edward

Edward Ratigan, and Patrick Gallagher a rebel colonel, ſeized Mr. Cuſack, a loyal ſubject of the Revenue corps, that evening, kept him a priſoner ſome time, and threatened his life if he gave information of what he had ſeen of their conduct.

In conſequence of this, major Sirr, who was ſometime convinced of the diſaffection of Ratigan, ſearched his houſe on the Monday following, and having found there many ſtand of arms, a large quantity of ammunition, and ſome thouſand printed oaths of the united Iriſhmen, demoliſhed his houſe, and burnt a large quantity of timber which he found in his yard.

Captain Ryan received no leſs than fourteen wounds, of which he died a few days after, univerſally and deſervedly lamented; as he was a man of great probity and firmneſs of mind, and a zealous loyaliſt.

The arreſt of lord Edward viſibly occaſioned a ſtrong ſenſation among the maſs of the people in Dublin, as their hopes of getting poſſeſſion of the metropolis on the approaching inſurrection which they meditated, reſted much on his valour and ſkill as an officer. Numbers of them were ſeen going from one part of the town to the other, with a quick pace and a ſerious countenance. Others were perceived in ſmall parties, converſing with that ſerioufneſs of countenance and energy of geſticulation, which ſtrongly indicated the agitation of their minds. A riſing to effect a reſcue was expected that night; the yeomen therefore, and the garriſon, which it was to be lamented was very thin, remained on their arms all night, and were ſo judiciouſly diſpoſed as to prevent the poſſibility of an inſurrection.

By the papers found in lord Edward's writing-box, and on his perſon, the extent of the plot, and the malignant deſigns of the perſons engaged in it, were diſcoverable.*

Major Sirr found in his lodgings at Murphy's a green uniform, turned up with black, and a curious cap of the ſame colour, which he was to have worn when he headed the inſurrection; and at the ſame time the official ſeal of the Iriſh union.

The plan for taking a city, found among lord Edward's papers, alludes to Dublin, ſhews the bold deſigns of the rebels, and how terrifick the inſurrection

* See them in Appendix, No. XIV.

inſurrection would have been, but that it was defeated by the vigilance of government.

Meſſrs. Henry and John Sheares, brothers, both barriſters, and natives of Cork, and Patrick Byrne, a bookſeller of Grafton-ſtreet, were arreſted and committed on charges of high treaſon, on Monday the twenty-firſt of May. In the houſe of the former a magiſtrate found a proclamation,* which ſhewed the ſanguinary deſigns of the rebels. It was to have been publiſhed and circulated the morning after the intended inſurrection and maſſacre had taken place.

On the morning of the twenty-firſt of May, lord Caſtlereagh, by the deſire of the lord lieutenant, wrote to the lord mayor, to acquaint him, "That his excellency had diſcovered that the diſaffected in the city and "neighbourhood of Dublin, had formed a plan of poſſeſſing themſelves, "in the courſe of the preſent week, of the metropolis, and of ſeizing the "executive government, and thoſe in authority within the city."

The government and the loyal ſubjects ſtill continued in an awful ſtate of ſuſpenſe, as the frequent diſcovery of the fabrication of pikes, even at noon-day, and of treaſonable committees forming plans of inſurrection, unqueſtionably evinced that the volcano was on the point of burſting.

On the twenty-ſecond of May, 1798, lord Caſtlereagh preſented a meſſage to the houſe of commons, from his excellency the lord lieutenant, "That his excellency had received information that the diſaffected had been daring enough to form a plan, for the purpoſe of poſſeſſing themſelves, in the courſe of the preſent week, of the metropolis, of ſeizing the ſeat of government, and thoſe in authority within the city; that, in conſequence of that information, he had directed every military precaution to be taken, which ſeemed expedient; that he had made full communication to the magiſtrates, for the direction of their efforts; and that he had not a doubt, by the meaſures which would be purſued, the deſigns of the rebellious would be effectually and entirely cruſhed."

To this meſſage, the houſe of commons voted an addreſs, "To aſſure his excellency that the intelligence which it communicated, filled them

* Appendix, No. XIII.

with horror and indignation, whilſt it raiſed in them a ſpirit of determined reſolution and energy; that they relied on the vigilance and vigour of his excellency's government which they truſted would continue unabated, until the conſpiracy, which ſo fatally exiſted, would be utterly diſſolved."

The ſpeaker and all the members immediately waited on his excellency with the addreſs; and to ſhew their zeal, and to encreaſe the ſolemnity of the proceeding, they walked through the ſtreets on foot, two and two, preceded by the ſpeaker, the ſerjeant at arms, and all the officers of the houſe.

The government and the loyal ſubjects ſtill continued in a woeful ſtate of ſuſpenſe and tribulation, not knowing on what night the inſurrection would take place; and it is probable that they would have been ſurpriſed and murdered in their beds, but that it was fortuitouſly diſcovered a few hours before the rebels were to have riſen.

THE

THE BREAKING-OUT OF THE REBELLION.

THE earl of Ely commanded a corps of yeomen cavalry at Rathfarnham, a village about three miles diſtant from Dublin, of which a ſerjeant and twelve men mounted guard every night, and patroled through the adjacent country.

Lord Camden, having received information that the rebels meant to attack and cut off that ſmall party, on the night of the twenty-third of May, 1798, recommended to the commanding officer that the whole troop ſhould mount guard, which, eventually, was very fortunate; for ſoon after they were aſſembled, a man, about nine o'clock, went to lieutenant Latouche, who commanded on that night, and offered to conduct him to a place where two hundred rebels were aſſembled; but on arriving there, there was no appearance of them. It proved afterwards, that the deſign of this traitor was to have led the patrole, conſiſting of a ſerjeant and twelve men, into an ambuſh, by which they would have been cut off; but a numerous body of rebels, who meditated their deſtruction, intimidated by the unexpected arrival of the whole troop, concealed themſelves in the adjacent hedges.

At their return to Rathfarnham, they were informed by a perſon, ſuppoſed to be connected with the rebels, that the village would be attacked, and that they would be diſarmed by a numerous body of them, who were aſſembling on the mountains. Lieutenant Latouche having urged the neceſſity of communicating this intelligence to the viceroy, Samuel Bennet, a private in the corps, and ſon of Samuel Bennet, a coachmaker in Aungier-ſtreet, with laudable ardour, offered his ſervice on the occaſion, and carried a letter to the viceroy; who returned for anſwer, that no troops could be ſent to them, as an inſurrection in the metropolis was apprehended; and his excellency deſired that an expreſs ſhould be ſent to him, if the rebels ſhould appear to move towards the city.

The corps, having heard two ſhots fired, proceeded to Harold's-croſs, and were informed there, that the rebels, about five hundred in number,

and variouſly armed, had paſſed through Rathfarnham in their abſence, and had proceeded towards Crumlin, headed by David Keely, a deſerter from their troop.

Mr. Bennet returned to Rathfarnham in the abſence of his troop, and having heard a great ſhouting at a place called the Ponds, he repaired there, and ſaw a great concourſe of rebels armed with muſkets, pikes and piſtols, and was on the point of being ſurrounded by them. They had two carts laden with pikes and ammunition, which they were to have diſtributed among ſuch rebels as ſhould join them in their progreſs. He therefore, with great fortitude, and with that zealous loyalty which would have procured wealth and fame for a perſon in a leſs humble ſituation, undertook the perilous ſervice of communicating to the viceroy what he had ſeen; and it was really perilous, for the rebels in great numbers were riſen, and were in the road and in the adjacent fields as he went to Dublin. In the city, particularly in the ſuburbs, he ſaw a great number of rebels with pikes, in gate-ways, alleys and ſtable-lanes, waiting the beat of their drums, and the approach of rebel columns from the country, which they expected; and as he paſſed, they frequently cried out, animating each other, "Come, on boys! who's afraid?"

A lady, reſident at Rathfarnham, informed me, that they paſſed cloſe by her houſe, with two carts filled with pikes, which made a dreadful rumbling noiſe, and which, joined to their yells, filled her with horror. As they proceeded they cried out frequently, "Liberty, and no king!"

Beſides the above Keely, they had as leaders two men of the names of Ledwich and Wade, Roman catholicks, and deſerters from lord Ely's corps, Edward Keogh and James Byrne, all of the ſame perſuaſion, and in very good circumſtances. They proceeded to the Fox and Geeſe common near Clondalkin, where a numerous body of rebels were to have aſſembled, and to have proceeded thence to Dublin, for the purpoſe of co-operating with its diſaffected inhabitants, in a general inſurrection.

The corps of yeomanry, at their return to Rathfarnham, having diſcovered that the rebels had riſen, immediately ſent intelligence of it to the viceroy, who communicated it to the lord mayor, and to the principal civil and military officers in the metropolis, and ordered them to take the moſt deciſive and vigorous meaſures to defeat the malignant deſigns of the inſurgents.

The

The yeomen, in number about three thouſand five hundred, and the few military who were in garriſon, repaired to their reſpective alarm-poſts, with uncommon celerity; and as it was known, that a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection had exiſted among the troops quartered at Lehaunſtown camp, ſeven miles from Dublin; and as it was ſuſpected that they would come to the aſſiſtance of the inſurgents in the metropolis, the lord mayor, alderman Thomas Fleming,* poſted the city of Cork regiment, noted for its loyalty, with their two battalion guns, at the North ſide of Stephen's-green, and remained all night at their head.

It very fortunately happened, that the two canals formed a complete fortification on the North and South ſides of the city, being fifty feet broad, and twelve deep. The Royal canal, extending from the river Liffey to the Broad-ſtone on the North, and the Grand canal completely environed the South, from the river on the Eaſt ſide, to the Royal hoſpital. The bridges on it, which the troops occupied, were at ſuch diſtances, that they could have flanked the intermediate ſpace, and prevented an enemy from paſſing over the canal; and in a day or two after the rebellion broke out, palliſades and gates were erected on the bridges; however it was afterwards diſcovered that many rebels had paſſed over the bridges before the troops took poſt on them. The bridges on the river which biſected the city, were alſo occupied, and diſconcerted the rebels by cutting off all communication between them on either ſide.

It has been ſince diſcovered and proved, that the rebel drums were to have beaten to arms, an hour after ours; and it is well known, that if they had preceded us by ever ſo ſmall a ſpace of time, the fate of the city and its loyal inhabitants would have been decided; for the maſs of the people, armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurking in lanes, alleys and bye-places, ready to ſtart forth on the firſt beat of their drums, and would have occupied all the ſtreets, and aſſaſſinated the yeomen before they could have reached their reſpective ſtations; and the ſafety of the metropolis depended chiefly on them, as there were but few regular troops in it.

There

* I think it is a tribute due to this gentleman to ſay, that he diſplayed ſingular ſagacity, good ſenſe and firmneſs at this alarming period; and his attention and humanity to the ſuffering proteſtants, who fled to Dublin from the daggers of the aſſaſſins, after the loſs of their property, ſhould never be forgotten.

There were many alarming indications of the deſperate deſigns of the rebels, even before the alarm was given by the viceroy. The doors of the loyal ſubjects, particularly the yeomen, were marked with chalk, to point the rebel vengeance againſt them; and knowing that darkneſs would be favourable to the accompliſhment of their traitorous purpoſes, they prevailed on the lamp-lighters not to do their duty.

The lord mayor, being very much alarmed at perceiving that the lamps were not lighted, ſent to the board that ſuperintends that buſineſs, to know the reaſon of it; and they returned in anſwer, that the lamp-lighters were deeply concerned in the plot: the yeomen therefore compelled theſe traitors, at the point of the bayonet, to light the lamps.

The gate-ways and lanes in Church-ſtreet, and Mary's-lane, were crowded with pike-men. Numbers were ſeen in the way leading to the burial ground of St. Michan's, and pikes were found concealed there next morning.

As the rebels expected that the Rathfarnham corps of cavalry would come to the relief of the city, they planted a number of men with muſkets behind a wall in New-ſtreet, to fire on them as they entered.

It was proved that two ſmiths, employed in the ordnance, had been ſeduced and bribed to ſpike all the cannon there.

In the watch-houſes of St. Luke, St. Catharine, and Vicar-ſtreet, the carabines were left charged, that the rebels might ſeize them.

It is a poſitive fact, that near three thouſand men entered the city on the North ſide of it, through one turnpike, on the evening and the night of the twenty-third of May, for the purpoſe of joining the inſurgents.

Samuel Neilſon meditated an attack upon Newgate, for the purpoſe of reſcuing lord Edward Fitzgerald, and other ſtate priſoners who were confined there; and he was to have been aſſiſted by a numerous band of rebels, to whom he had aſſigned their different ſtations the preceding night.*

Southwell Mc. Clune, a rebel colonel, who had ſurrendered himſelf to government, and obtained his pardon, declared upon oath, that Neilſon had aſſembled at a houſe in Church-lane, a noted rendezvous for rebels, fifteen colonels; and having produced a map of Dublin, aſſigned to each the poſt which he and his regiment were to occupy that night.

A numerous

* John Sheares oppoſed his deſign. See his letter found in Neilſon's pocket, Appendix XIII.

A numerous party of his followers were about Clontarf, and in the demeſne of ſir William Newcomen; another party in the fields contiguous to Eccles-ſtreet.

When Neilſon went to reconnoitre Newgate, about ten o'clock at night, he formed a line of poſts at certain intervals, in order to have them called ſpeedily to his aſſiſtance.

It appeared afterwards by information upon oath, that the officers of the rebel corps, poſted near Eccles-ſtreet, were one Kearney of Abbey-ſtreet, a member of the Merchants corps, who held the rank of colonel in it; one Byrne of the hotel in Earl-ſtreet, was lieutenant colonel, and one Whelan was major, all Roman catholicks.

Captain Medlicote of the Rotunda corps of yeomanry ſeeing a large body of people aſſembled in Eccles-ſtreet, deſired them to diſperſe, on which one of them ſnapped a piſtol at him.

A party of the Merchants corps of cavalry, who were ordered to patrol at Clontarf, hearing the drums beat to arms in Dublin, returned rapidly to it, thinking that the inſurrection had begun. They fortunately went by the Strand road; for had they gone by the upper one, near ſir William Newcomen's, they would have been cut off by a numerous party of rebels, who were on each ſide of the road.

Neilſon, in his attack upon Newgate, was to have been ſeconded by a large body of rebels, headed by one Seagrave, who was to have taken poſſeſſion of Mr. Halpin's diſtillery, at the corner of Pettycoat-lane, the windows of which flanked it, and were to have kept up a conſtant fire on the front of the priſon; while another party ſcaled its walls in a different quarter.

Mr. Gregg, the gaoler of Newgate, perceiving a perſon reconnoitreing it between nine and ten o'clock, approached him; but on doing ſo, he turned away, and endeavoured to conceal his face. Gregg, on cloſing him, recogniſed Neilſon; and having ſeized him, a ſcuffle enſued, in the courſe of which he proſtrated him on the ground, and threw himſelf on him. After ſtruggling ſome time, Neilſon drew a piſtol from his boſom, and endeavoured to fire it; but Mr. Gregg was ſo fortunate as to let the powder out of the pan.

While this conflict laſted, he expected to be perforated by the daggers of the aſſaſſins, which probably would have been the caſe, but that

that two yeomen came up, drew their ſwords, and deſired Mr. Gregg to do his duty. At laſt, with their aſſiſtance, he overpowered and committed him. On this fortunate event, ſome thouſand rebels, who were to have co-operated with him, and were on the tip-toe of inſurrection, having loſt their leader, diſappeared.

The large body of rebels armed with pikes and muſkets, which had aſſembled in Eccles-ſtreet and its environs, were ſo terrifick to the inhabitants of that quarter, that a number of well-dreſſed women fled in the greateſt conſternation about ten o'clock to Mr. John Claudius Bereſford's riding ſchool, and claimed the protection of his corps.

Major Sirr ſtopped a man on Cork-hill, about ten o'clock at night, with ſix pike heads, which he was going to get mounted. Sir John Macartney, in proceeding to Smithfield, the alarm-poſt of the Attornies corps, which he commanded, and of the Lawyers and Barrack corps, having obtained intelligence that numbers of ſuſpicious perſons were aſſembled in Greek-ſtreet, near Pill-lane, went thither with ſix or ſeven of his corps, and perceiving a man paſſing by, he ſeized him by the breaſt, and hearing ſomething rattle under his coat, about a dozen pike heads of excellent workmanſhip, tied up in a piece of cloth, fell to the ground; and captain Furlong of the ſame corps who was of his party, caught as many more falling on his other ſide. He ſaid his name was Murphy, and that he had received thoſe pike heads from one Ryan a ſtone-cutter. Keeping Murphy a priſoner, they proceeded to Greek-ſtreet, where they heard ſome rebels were aſſembled; but they being alarmed, went through a back paſſage to Church-ſtreet, and croſſing the tops of ſome houſes, they were fired at by another party of the Attornies corps, who ſoon after apprehended a man concealing himſelf in St. Michan's church-yard, with ſeveral pikes lying by him.

On examining this man at the guard-houſe, he ſaid that his name was Ryan, and that he was a ſtone-cutter; but declared that he was perfectly ignorant of Murphy: that he knew nothing of pikes, or pike heads; and that he fled into the church yard merely to avoid the firing: and Murphy, on being confronted with Ryan, pretended that he was unacquainted with him; but on receiving a few laſhes with a cat-and-nine tails, their recollection being reſtored, they acknowledged that Murphy was ſerjeant in a company of united Iriſhmen, of which Ryan

was

was captain; and that they were waiting for the orders of Neilſon to riſe in arms that night, in concert with ſome thouſands of that body, to liberate the priſoners in Newgate and Kilmainham, and to ſurpriſe the caſtle and the city.

In conſequence of the intelligence received from Murphy and Ryan, they repaired to a yard in Dirty-lane near Thomas-ſtreet, and found a great quantity of ready-made pikes, ſome pike-heads and pike-handles, a paper of new nails, and a hammer cloſe to it, for the purpoſe of mounting thoſe weapons; and ſeveral newly-finiſhed pikes.

In the ſame yard, they found a travelling forge, which, from its conſtruction, appeared to have belonged to his Majeſty's board of ordnance; but the motto written on it at that time, in chalk, was, *God damn the king.*

On the information of Ryan and Murphy, they apprehended many united Iriſhmen, and ſeized arms of various deſcriptions; one parcel of pikes in particular, in an obſcure garden behind Eccles-ſtreet, buried about two feet and a half under ground, and cabbages planted over them. They were fifteen feet long and perfectly well finiſhed.

Great numbers of men having pike-heads concealed were thus diſcovered in going from one part of the city to the other.

The caſtle was to have been attacked in front and in rear, by two deſperate bands of ruffians, armed with piſtols and cutlaſſes. A ſelect band was to have aſcended with long ladders into the bed-chambers of the principal members of government, and to have murdered them, or carried them off as hoſtages.

The city was to have been ſet on fire in different places; and the baſon which ſupplied it with water, and the pipes through which it was conveyed were to have been deſtroyed.

As it was intended that the inſurrection ſhould be general all over the kingdom, and as ſoon as poſſible after it took place in Dublin, it was agreed that the rebels in remote parts ſhould riſe, if the mail-coaches which ſet out daily from the metropolis did not arrive at their reſpective deſtinations as uſual.

The Belfaſt coach therefore was deſtroyed and burnt near Santry, the Cork mail coach at Naas, and that going towards Athlone at Lucan. The perſons who performed that ſervice at Santry, deſired the inhabitants of

the neighbouring cottages to riſe and join them; having aſſured them that the caſtle and city of Dublin were at that time in poſſeſſion of their friends.

Near the Curragh of Kildare, the rebels murdered the guard, and the coachman of the mail-coach going to Limerick.

Numerous bodies of rebels were advancing towards Dublin, from Kilcock, Maynooth, Leixlip and Chapelizod;* another party from towards the Black Bull; but being informed by their ſpies and videts that the garriſon was under arms, they retreated. Holt, a rebel leader, was to have deſcended from the Wicklow mountains, as ſoon as he had received intelligence that the rebels had riſen in Dublin.

For ſome nights, previous to the twenty-third of May, fires were ſeen on the Wicklow mountains, whoſe luminous appearance by night, and whoſe ſmoke by day, ſerved as ſignals to the diſaffected in the metropolis, and in all the adjacent country. The ſame practice took place on all the mountains which extend from the Scalp in the county of Wicklow, to Mount Leinſter in the county of Wexford.

From a houſe in an elevated ſituation in Dublin, I could diſcern them at a great diſtance with a teleſcope; and it is aſtoniſhing with what celerity they encreaſed or diminiſhed the number of them, by which they anſwered in ſome degree the purpoſe of a telegraph.

From the circumſtances which appeared on the trials of Weldon, Brady, Hart, the conſpirators againſt Hanlon, and thoſe of Dunn and Carty, which I have already quoted, the reader muſt be convinced that the maſs of the Roman catholicks in Dublin harboured the moſt ſanguinary deſigns againſt their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, whom they meant ultimately to have extirpated, though they had inveigled a few of them.

The wanton barbarities indiſcriminately committed by them on all perſons of the eſtabliſhed religion, in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow and Kildare, muſt remove every doubt in our minds on that ſubject.

We may well conceive then how far the licentious and deſtructive rage of the popiſh multitude in the metropolis would have extended, but that the ſeaſonable diſcovery of the intended inſurrection, by the wiſdom and mercy

* It appeared by the papers found on the perſon of lord Edward Fitzgerald, that he planned this before hand.

mercy of Providence, enabled the yeomen to come forward with their united force, and to prevent it from taking place.

The ſun never roſe on ſuch a ſcene of carnage and conflagration as the metropolis would have exhibited on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May; for it appears from various ſources of information, preſented to the publick by the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, that the inhabitants of the counties of Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare, were to have ruſhed into the city as ſoon as the inſurgents had ſucceeded in getting poſſeſſion of it, or as ſoon as the conflict had begun; and it was expected, that the North and South would have riſen in conſequence of the detention of the mail-coaches, which was the ſignal for that purpoſe.

The proclamation found in the houſe of the Meſſrs. Sheares,* and which they intended to have circulated on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, will ſhew the reader the malignant deſigns of the leaders of the conſpiracy; and we cannot entertain a doubt, but that the inferior rebels would have exceeded and prevented their wiſhes and expectations.

All the loyaliſts would have been aſſaſſinated; their wives would have been violated by the ruthleſs pikemen, that murdered their huſbands; the accumulations of induſtry would have been pillaged; every monument of the elegant arts would have been defaced or deſtroyed; and whatever might have eſcaped the rapacious and deſtructive rage of the rebel plunderer, would probably have fallen a prey to the flames.

The dangers which impended over the metropolis, were very much encreaſed by the following circumſtance:

It was diſcovered that near nine-tenths of the Roman catholicks in the yeomanry corps were united Iriſhmen, and had taken an oath to be true to the rebels, in direct contradiction to their ſworn allegiance;† and that many of them, after having taken the united oath, had, by deliberate and predetermined perjury, joined the yeomanry corps for the purpoſe of getting arms in their hands, learning the uſe of them, and turning them againſt the loyaliſts, perhaps, in the very moment of danger.

The conſequences might have been horrible, had they not been prevented by a timely diſcovery; for if any of the projected nightly inſurrections had taken place, the loyal yeoman, rouſed from his bed, might have treacherouſly fallen by the bayonets of thoſe whom he haſtened to join as friends and fellow-ſoldiers.

* Appendix XIII. See alſo lord Edward Fitzgerald's plan of attacking a city, Appendix XIV.

† See pages 39 and 40. This ſanctioned by the Romiſh church.

It is remarkable, that in the city of Dublin, above two thouſand catholicks ſolicited admittance into the ſeveral yeomanry corps during the ſix weeks immediately preceding the inſurrection; and that moſt of them were propoſed by catholick yeomen, who afterwards either proved to be rebels, or were diſarmed on ſtrong ſuſpicion.

In one company of the Rotunda diviſion infantry, there were, at the breaking-out of the rebellion, twenty-two privates yeomen catholicks; and of theſe fourteen were proved to be ſworn united Iriſhmen, ſome of them deeply concerned in the plans of inſurrection and maſſacre; ſix others were diſarmed on ſuſpicion of the ſtrongeſt kind; ſo that two only remained faithful out of twenty-two. All theſe men had frequently and anxiouſly endeavoured to introduce ſeveral of their friends into the corps, inſomuch as to produce ſtrong diſſenſions in the company.

The popiſh yeomen of the St. Sepulchre's corps conſpired to aſſaſſinate their proteſtant officers and fellow-ſoldiers, who were the minority of that corps, and they were therefore diſarmed.

In the Coolock corps, there was ſo much diſſatisfaction from the ſame cauſe, that they were diſarmed; and its loyal members enrolled themſelves in another body of yeomanry.*

In the county of Wicklow it was diſcovered by an accident, which I ſhall more fully explain hereafter, that the Roman catholick yeomen did not conſider an oath of allegiance preſcribed by law to a proteſtant ſtate, as obligatory, and that they would refuſe to take a teſt oath framed by their officers. The captain of a corps in that county preſented ſuch a teſt to the members of it, and nineteen out of twenty of the Roman catholicks refuſed to take it, and were therefore diſmiſſed.

The ſame experiment having been made with many corps in Dublin, they refuſed to ſwear it, though they had taken the uſual oath of allegiance; and therefore were diſbanded, or voluntarily laid down their arms.

The dangers which hung over the city of Dublin were very much encreaſed by the following circumſtance: It was diſcovered that the popiſh ſervants, both male and female, with very few exceptions, had taken the united oath, and were to have aſſiſted in the inſurrection and maſſacre on the night of the twenty-third of May, by which domeſtick ſecurity was completely deſtroyed; for, while the loyaliſt truſted to the protection of his houſe, his domeſticks in the dead hour of the night would have admitted

* About one half of the Rathdown corps were in this predicament.

admitted the aſſaſſins, who would have butchered him in his bed. A friend of mine, who had his ſervant arreſted, aſſured me, that he acknowledged that he knew of twenty thouſand ſervants, ſworn and attached to the united cauſe, who were to have joined in the inſurrection.

A proteſtant houſekeeper of my acquaintance, who had a popiſh kitchen-maid, prone to ebriety, informed me, that ſhe, when intoxicated, ſaid to her, about a fortnight before the rebellion broke out, "Miſtreſs, you had better go to maſs; for the pikemen will ſoon come into the city, and pike all of you proteſtants."

The lord mayor was to have been murdered by his own ſervant, and a body of ruffians whom he was to have admitted into the mayoralty-houſe in the dead hour of the night; and as a reward for his treachery, he was to have ſucceeded his maſter. To prevent the lord mayor from defending himſelf, he drew the charge of the piſtols which he kept by his bed-ſide.

Information of his treachery having been given to the honourable captain Cavendiſh and captain Beresford, they arreſted him about midnight: The lord mayor aroſe, aſſured them that he had not a doubt of his fidelity; that there muſt be ſome miſtake as to the charge againſt him, and he requeſted that they would treat him with tenderneſs; but the information which they received turned out to be well founded, and even the delinquent acknowledged the truth of it.

Though the firſt effort of the rebels to riſe in the metropolis was defeated by the vigilance of government, and by the ſpirit and loyalty of the yeomen, as it was well known that they entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceeding in another attempt, general Lake, commander in chief, publiſhed the following notice on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May:

NOTICE.

"Lieutenant General Lake, commanding his Majeſty's forces in this kingdom, having received from his excellency the lord lieutenant full powers to PUT DOWN THE REBELLION, and to puniſh REBELS in the moſt ſummary manner, according to martial law, does hereby give notice to all his Majeſty's ſubjects, that he is determined to exert the powers entruſted to him in the moſt vigorous manner, for the immediate ſuppreſſion of the ſame; and that all perſons acting in the preſent rebellion, or in any

wiſe

wife aiding or aſſiſting therein, will be treated by him as rebels, and puniſhed accordingly.

" And lieutenant general Lake hereby requires all the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, (the great officers of ſtate, members of the houſes of parliament, privy counſellors, magiſtrates, and military perſons in uniform excepted) to remain within their reſpective dwellings from nine o'clock at night till five in the morning, under pain of puniſhment.

By order of lieutenant general LAKE,
Commanding his Majeſty's forces in this kingdom.
G. HEWETT, adjutant-general."

Dublin, adjutant-general's office,
24th May, 1798.

The better to ſecure the peace of the city, the lord mayor publiſhed the following proclamation:

By the right honourable the lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

A PROCLAMATION.

THOMAS FLEMING.

" Whereas the circumſtances of the preſent criſis demand every poſſible precaution: Theſe are therefore to deſire all perſons who have regiſtered arms forthwith to give in, in writing, an exact liſt or inventory of ſuch arms at the town clerk's office, who will file and enter the ſame in a book to be kept for that purpoſe; and all perſons who have not regiſtered their arms are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to me, or ſome other of the magiſtrates of this city, all arms and ammunition of every kind in their poſſeſſion: And if, after this proclamation, any perſon having regiſtered their arms ſhall be found not to have given in a true liſt or inventory of ſuch arms; or if any perſon who has not regiſtered, ſhall be found to have in their power or poſſeſſion any arms or ammunition whatever, ſuch perſon or perſons will, on ſuch arms being diſcovered, be forthwith ſent on board his Majeſty's navy, as by law directed.

" And I do hereby deſire that all houſekeepers do place upon the outſide of their doors a liſt of all perſons in their reſpective houſes, diſtinguiſhing ſuch as are ſtrangers from thoſe who actually make part of their family; but as there may happen to be perſons who, from pecuniary embarraſſments, are obliged to conceal themſelves, I do not require ſuch names to be placed on the outſide of the door, provided their names are

ſent

ſent to me. And I hereby call upon all his Majeſty's ſubjects within the county of the city of Dublin immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated for the publick ſecurity; as thoſe perſons who ſhall wilfully neglect a regulation ſo eaſy and ſalutary, as well as perſons giving falſe ſtatements of the inmates of their houſes, muſt, in the preſent criſis, abide the conſequences of ſuch neglect.

Given at the Manſion-houſe, the 24th day of May, 1798.

Signed by order,

JOHN LAMBERT, ſecretary."

In conſequence of the intelligence received by lord Camden, that the rebels had riſen at Rathfarnham, his excellency ſent lieutenant O'Reily, with a troop of the 5th dragoons, in purſuit of them, and he was joined by the earl of Roden and lieutenant-colonel Puleſton of the Ancient Britons, as volunteers; and having been informed at Rathfarnham, that they had gone towards Rathcool, they proceeded in queſt of them; and in their way they met a corps of yeomen, who were retreating after having attacked the rebels, and been repulſed by them.

Lieutenant O'Reily having halted the troop for the purpoſe of conſulting what was moſt adviſable to be done, it was agreed that lord Roden with one half of the troop ſhould take the road to the right, and that lieutenant O'Reily ſhould proceed to the left, in order to ſurround the rebels.

Lord Roden's party came up with them at the firſt turnpike gate on the Rathcool-road, and after a ſhort ſkirmiſh drove them to the place where lieutenant O'Reily was poſted; and he having fallen in with them, killed two, and wounded a good many of them, after which the main body made their eſcape; for the country was ſo much encloſed, as to prevent the poſſibility of a purſuit.

The bodies of James Byrne and James Keely, two of their leaders, whom they killed, were brought into the caſtle-yard, and exhibited to publick view; and Edward Keogh, another of their leaders, was brought in there deſperately wounded.

Ledwich and Wade, the two deſerters from lord Ely's corps, were hanged on the Queen's-bridge in Dublin, on Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, lieutenant colonel Finlay patroled with a party of ſoldiers near Clondalkin, four miles from Dublin, where

where he met a body of rebels, proceeding to join thoſe from Rathfarnham. After a ſlight ſkirmiſh, he killed three of them, whoſe bodies were ſuſpended next morning in Barrack-ſtreet, as an example to the diſaffected inhabitants of that quarter of the city.

So ſure were the rebel inhabitants of the country, adjacent to Dublin, that their fellow traitors would overpower the government and get poſſeſſion of it, that a number of them remained under arms till eleven o'clock in the morning near Artane, within two miles of the city, expecting a ſummons to co-operate with them; and they threatened the lives of ſome loyal ſubjects in the neighbourhood of that village.

On Saturday the ſecond of June, Thomas Bacon, a tailor, of the proteſtant religion, was hanged at Carliſle-bridge, purſuant to a ſentence of a court martial.

Though deeply concerned in the conſpiracy for ſome years, he declared in his laſt moments to major Sandys and other gentlemen, that he did not diſcover, till the rebellion broke out and the maſſacre of proteſtants took place, that religious bigotry had a prevailing influence in it; and that he meant for that reaſon to have withdrawn himſelf from it. He was bred a proteſtant and died in that profeſſion. He was reputed an honeſt man, and in extenſive buſineſs, till volunteering made him an idler and a ſpeculatiſt in politicks; and at laſt, a rage for political innovation led him from a peaceful induſtrious ſphere into the vortex of rebellion.

In the country, for many miles round Dublin, the rebellion broke forth in various places, made a formidable appearance, and produced the moſt fatal effects.

The right honourable David Latouche had between ſeventy and eighty labourers employed in his work, at Marlay, the twenty-third of May, and the whole, except about ten, attended the Rathfarnham rebels.

A party of rebels entered the houſe of Mr. Minchin at Grange, headed by Curran his gardener, and Mc. Donagh his gate-keeper, about ſeven o'clock in the evening, when he and his family were in Dublin. They plundered it of various articles of houſehold furniture, which they carried off in two of his carts. Curran declared that all Ireland was riſen that night, and that he would return in a day or two, and take poſſeſſion of the houſe and demeſne as his own.

Major

Major Sirr the elder, the father of Mrs. Minchin, who had paſſed a very long life in the ſervice of his Majeſty, and a female ſervant of the name of Middleton, were the only proteſtants in the houſe at that time; and the latter overheard the wife of Mc. Donough declare, that ſhe would cut their throats, which ſhe probably would have effected, but that ſome other women, who aſſiſted her in plundering the houſe, diſſuaded her from it.

It was proved afterwards, and acknowledged by ſome of the aſſociates of Curran and Mc. Donough, that ſome aſſaſſins had been poſted that evening with muſkets in the avenue leading to the houſe, who were to have ſhot Mr. Minchin as he approached it; but it fortunately happened that he remained in Dublin.

On the ſame evening, a large party of rebels ſhot at Tibbradden, about two miles beyond Rathfarnham, Mr. Philip Proſſor, a proteſtant, formerly an eminent ſilk-throwſter in Dublin, and who then reſided there, becauſe he refuſed to deliver up his fowling-piece.

All the farmers and peaſants in that large tract of country, between Dublin and the Wicklow mountains, were in a ſtate of inſurrection, waiting the ſignal which they expected, to enter the metropolis, and aſſiſt their fellow traitors there; and in the mean time, they continued to commit various acts of outrage. In every other part of the adjacent country the rebels were equally terrifick and deſtructive.

A numerous body of them, variouſly armed, entered the town of Dunboyne, ſeven miles from Dublin, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, murdered its proteſtant inhabitants, and rifled and plundered their houſes; but did not injure the perſon or property of any Roman catholick.

In the police-houſe there were ſix conſtables on guard, of whom they aſſaſſinated three, who were of the eſtabliſhed religion; but did not moleſt the remainder who were papiſts.

They then proceeded to the houſe of the reverend Mr. Duncan, vicar of Dunboyne, the only remaining proteſtant in that town; but he having made his eſcape, they plundered it of various valuable articles to the amount of 500l.

Mr. Wynne, of Clonſillagh, having been informed by two of the yeomanry corps, which he commanded, of the inſurrection and of theſe

atrocities, proceeded about ſix o'clock in the morning, with four of them, and eleven highlanders, commanded by lieutenant George Armſtrong of the artillery, to Ratoath,* where the rebels were in force, and had in their cuſtody captain Gorges, member for the county of Meath, Mr. Corbally the lieutenant of his corps, and ſome of his privates, whom they ſurpriſed, and were on the point of hanging.

Mr. Wynne, having been at this time ſeaſonably reinforced by Mr. Frederick Falkiner, with eighteen of the fifth dragoons, they charged and diſperſed the rebels, and killed thirty-five of them in the purſuit.

Soon after they ſet out to return home; and the dragoons having left them, the rebels, perceiving the diminution of their numbers, purſued them as far as Clonee-bridge, where the highlanders under lieutenant Armſtrong diſplayed prodigies of valour; ſix of them having been killed in attempting to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels.

On the ſame day, they murdered ſix of the Angusſhire fencibles, who were guarding the baggage of that regiment, and were on their route to Dublin.

A large party of rebels, headed by one Gilſhahan, a popiſh farmer, entered the town of Dunſhaughlin,† in the county of Meath, and ſearched for arms in a ſmall barrack in which they had been depoſited; but having been informed that they were removed to the oppoſite houſe, in which the reverend Mr. Neilſon lived, they, after firing a volley at the windows, ruſhed into it, killed Mr. Neilſon, his brother-in-law Mr. Pendleton, and a gardener, all of the proteſtant religion. They then plundered the houſe of arms, and of every valuable article of furniture which they could carry off. They did not injure the perſon or property of any popiſh inhabitant of that town; but did not ſpare one of thoſe of the proteſtant religion.

A party of ruffians, headed by Thomas Connor, and Thomas Atkinſon, entered and plundered the houſe of Mr. John Braſſington of Ballymacarney, in the county of Meath, of arms and other articles, and carried off four horſes.

On the trial of theſe men, by court martial, held the twelfth of July, 1798, at the barrack of Dublin, Meſſrs. John and James Braſſington proved upon oath, that Connor and Atkinſon declared, at their houſe,

* See plate I. 6. † Ibid.

houſe, that they were ordered to kill all hereticks,* and to wade in their blood; and they boaſted that they had killed the police-men at Dunboyne, and the Ray fencibles at Clonee-bridge.

On the ſame morning, they entered and plundered Woodpark, the ſeat of Mrs. Sheil, near the Black-Bull, of various valuable articles; and robbed miſs Bradſhaw, her gueſt, of a large ſum of money. One of their leaders declared, that his orders were to put all proteſtants to death.

Twenty of the Fermanagh regiment were quartered at Weſtfieldſtown, near Balbriggan, under the command of enſign Cleland. As he was returning to his quarters on the evening of the twenty-third of May, he was fired at from behind a bridge, by a ruffian with a blunderbuſs; but though ſeverely wounded in different parts of his head and body, he was able to ride to Swords,† where his wounds, which appeared to be mortal, were dreſſed.

On the ſame evening, his detachment at Weſtfieldſtown, was ſurpriſed by about two thouſand rebels, who diſarmed and carried them off as priſoners, after having wounded ſome of them.

As the inhabitants of Ballyboghill, noted for diſaffection, were principally concerned in this outrage, a company of the Fermanagh regiment joined the Swords yeomanry, and burned the houſes of the diſaffected in that village. While major King was engaged in doing ſo, an officer arrived, and informed him of the diſaſter which had befallen the detachment at Weſtfieldſtown; he therefore purſued the rebels, who carried them off, for about ſix miles, and found that they had plundered and deſtroyed in their progreſs the houſe of every proteſtant which had come in their way, and compelled great numbers of people to join them.

The major took priſoner a rebel leader, of the name of Carroll, a cotton manufacturer, in good circumſtances, and of the Romiſh perſuaſion, whom they found in arms, and he was hanged the twenty-ſixth of May, on one of the bridges in Dublin.

Mr. Sherwood, a revenue officer, ſeeing, on the night of the twenty-third of May, a number of rebels aſſembled near Dalkey, who were on the point of going to attack the camp at Lehaunſtown, in which they

* Theſe expreſſions are to be ſeen in the bloody oath found upon the rebels in different parts of the province of Leinſter.

† Plate I. 6.

expected the aſſiſtance of a number of ſoldiers attached to their cauſe; with laudable zeal, though at the riſk of his life, harangued them for the purpoſe of diſſuading them from ſo baſe and ſo dangerous an enterpriſe.

On the night of Friday the twenty-fifth of May, a party of rebels attacked and entered Mr. Blair's extenſive iron works at Lucan, carried off a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, and compelled ſome of his artificers to attend them to the hill of Tara. This party was headed by George Cummins, a popiſh yeoman, of the Clonſillagh corps, who became a traitor on the breaking-out of the rebellion, though he had taken the oath of allegiance; for which he was tried in Dublin the tenth of July, 1798, and hanged.

The following paragraph appeared in the Dublin Journal the twenty-fourth of May:

ROMAN CATHOLICKS.

"An addreſs to the lord lieutenant, intended to be immediately preſented, and containing a declaration of political principles applicable to the circumſtances of the preſent moment, lies, for ſignature, at Fitzpatrick's, bookſeller, Ormond-quay; at the earl of Fingall's, Great George's-ſtreet, Rutland-ſquare; lord viſcount Kenmare's, Great George's-ſtreet; Malachy Donelan's, eſquire, Mountjoy-ſquare; and counſellor Bellew's, No. 6, Upper Gardiner's-ſtreet, Mountjoy-ſquare.——All ſignatures muſt be given in, on or before Saturday next.——May 24th, 1798."

A yeoman officer, and a magiſtrate, who patroled the country for four miles round Rathcoole, in the county of Dublin, aſſured me, that he did not find a ſingle man but one in above a hundred cabins and farm houſes, which he ſearched for arms, the night before the rebellion broke out; their inmates having aſſembled, in order to concert meaſures for the general inſurrection.

Captain Charles Ormſby, who commanded the Rathcoole infantry, conſiſting of forty-three privates and three officers, was ordered to maintain that poſt at all riſks.

The rebels intended to attack Rathcoole on the night of the twenty-third of May, when all the garriſons in the county of Kildare were ſurpriſed; and captain Ormſby's corps, who were all, with a few exceptions,

tions, papiſts and traitors, intended to have murdered him, his brother who was his lieutenant, and one or two more proteſtants, who were privates in it, and to have joined the rebels on the firſt attack; but they were fortunately deterred from perpetrating their nefarious deſign by the following incidents:

Twenty of the Armagh regiment, brave, loyal, and well-diſciplined, were ſtationed with him, and twenty of the ſame corps at Newcaſtle, at the diſtance of about one mile and a half. The Rathcoole cavalry commanded by captain Kennedy, of whom many were proteſtants, compoſed alſo part of his little garriſon.

The rebels, whom they could diſcern, in great numbers, every evening exerciſing on the adjacent hills, had appointed many different nights to make the attack, in which captain Ormſby's traitorous yeomen, who kept up a conſtant correſpondence with them, were to have joined; but they were intimidated by the few brave men of the Armagh who were poſted there.

General Lake, conſidering the importance of the place, and the ſmall force deſtined for its defence, ſent there a reinforcement of eighty of the Angusſhire fencibles, commanded by colonel Hunter, an experienced officer, which completely put an end to the hopes of the rebels to ſurpriſe that poſt.

Captain Ormſby diſcovered the conſpiracy of his corps in the following manner: The garriſon being ſhort of proviſions, he went to a hill over Rathcoole with a party, to forage; and finding there a ſhepherd's boy, who was conſtantly watching his flock, he aſked him, whether he had ſeen any people aſſembled on that or the adjacent hills? and he anſwered in the negative. On which he ſeized him by the ſhoulder, gave him three or four ſtripes with the ſcabbard of his ſword, and ſaid, that he had told him a falſehood. The boy immediately exclaimed, "Oh! ſir, take me from this place, and I'll tell you the whole truth!"

Having led him to Rathcoole, he next day acknowledged that he had ſeen frequent meetings of the rebels on the hills, to the number of two or three thouſand, and among them ſeveral men with croſs belts; and he alſo pointed out John Shee and his brother, privates in the corps, to whoſe father he had been ſhepherd.

Captain

Captain Ormſby having taken up John Shee, and having given him a few ſtripes, he diſcloſed the whole of the treaſonable deſigns of the corps, whom he inſtantly ordered to parade, in preſence of a party of the Cavan regiment under arms, and he diſarmed them; and committed ſerjeant Walſh, corporal Dillon, corporal Byrne, John Shee and William Harvey, leaders among the rebels, and principals in the plot.

Walſh, ſoon after he was committed, confeſſed the whole of their treaſonable ſchemes; and that he and ſerjeant Rourke had been ſworn by Mr. Clinch, a Romaniſt, and the ſecond lieutenant of the corps.

Felix Rourke, the permanent ſerjeant, had been early appointed a colonel of the rebels, and had deſerted to them ſome days before the rebellion broke out. His brother had been a competitor with lieutenant Clinch for a captaincy in the rebel corps of Rathcoole; but the influence of Felix was ſuch, as to obtain ſucceſs for his brother; and the zeal of Clinch in the rebel cauſe was ſo great, that he continued to ſerve in it as a ſerjeant.

Lieutenant John Clinch was the ſon of a very wealthy man, had received ſome education, was naturally humane and benevolent, but was perſuaded by the malignant influence of father Harold, his pariſh prieſt, to violate his oath of allegiance, and to become a traitor; for which he was tried and executed in Dublin the ſecond of June.

He acknowledged the juſtice of his ſentence, and died loading with curſes father Harold, his pariſh prieſt; at whoſe inſtigation, he ſaid, the inhabitants of Rathcoole, and all the adjacent country, had ſwerved from their allegiance, and became traitors. He declared alſo, that the organization of rebellion had taken place at his houſe, which was conſtantly the rendezvous of the rebel leaders; and yet, that very prieſt frequently exhorted his flock to loyalty from the altar, for three months before the rebellion broke out; and on Sunday preceding that event, he preached two ſermons eminently loyal, at the chapels of Sagart* and Newcaſtle, in the preſence of captain Ormſby and lieutenant Chriſtopher Clinch† of the Rathcoole cavalry.

It was proved alſo, that Harold encouraged his rebellious ſectaries to ſurrender ſome bad pikes, and to keep their good ones, in order to deceive the magiſtracy.

As

* Plate I. 7.

† This is a proteſtant gentleman, conſpicuous for his loyalty, and no way connected with Clinch the traitor.

As ſoon as the conſpiracy at Rathcoole was diſcovered, he and many of its popiſh inhabitants fled; but having been afterwards taken, government offered him his choice, either to be tranſported, or to ſtand his trial for his life; and conſcious of his guilt, he preferred the former.

I mentioned before that Mr. Buckley, a reſpectable gentleman farmer, was murdered near Rathcoole, on the thirteenth day of March.

On the trial of the traitors of that town, the following circumſtances were brought to light: Being on his return from Dublin, through Rathcoole, he was prevailed upon by old Clinch, the father of the traitor, to continue drinking in his houſe till nine o'clock at night: After which he was murdered, and his body mangled with ſavage barbarity, a little beyond that village, and near the houſe of Felix Rourke, in conſequence of his noted loyalty.

Captain Ormſby having diſcovered that a bayonet belonging to one of his corps was found ſticking in Mr. Buckley's body, ordered them to parade, but did not find that any of them wanted a bayonet.

Felix Rourke, who abſented himſelf, was believed to have been concerned in the murder.

Lieutenant Clinch, a ſhort time before his execution, confeſſed to captain Ormſby, that four of the corps had been concerned in the murder; and that he roſe on the night of its perpetration, and gave a bayonet out of the ſtore, which was under his care, to one of the aſſaſſins, to replace that which he had left ſticking in Mr. Buckley's body.

The roads leading to the metropolis were ſo completely obſtructed by bands of rebels, who roamed through and pillaged all the adjacent country, that no mail coach arrived there from the twenty-fourth of May to the thirty-firſt of the ſame month.

On the firſt of June, the lord mayor, attended by Mr. Dawſon the high-conſtable, paſſed above two hours in ſearching the vaults and cellars under the parliament-houſe, leſt gunpowder or any other combuſtibles ſhould have been laid there by the rebels.

A minute recital of individual outrage committed in the neighbourhood of the metropolis would be tedious and diſguſting to the reader: I ſhall therefore proceed to deſcribe ſome of the achievements performed by the rebels in the county of Kildare, which gave ſtronger indications of their boldneſs and malignity.

In

In the year 1795, defenderiſm had ſpread ſuch deſtruction and diſmay in it, by the conſtant commiſſion of nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, that many of the loyal families were obliged to ſecure the lower windows of their houſes with bricks and mortar; and ſuch of them as had been active in checking its deſtructive progreſs, were obliged to introduce ſome of the military into them for their protection; and as defenderiſm had made the popiſh multitude peculiarly ſuſceptible of the doctrines of the united Iriſhmen, which were introduced into the county of Kildare in the year 1796; and as they were diffuſed and ſublimated by the reſidence and the active malignity of lord Edward Fitzgerald, the rebellion broke out with deſtructive rage in that county.

His lordſhip had laid a plan of ſurpriſing all the military poſts in it, which occaſioned much carnage, though it fortunately did not ſucceed in the extent which he expected.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the rebels robbed the houſes of proteſtants of arms from Athy to Monaſtereven, Kildare, Kilcullen, Dunlavin, Timolin, and Caſtledermot;* and were ſo ſucceſsful, that none eſcaped, but thoſe who fortified their habitations, and maintained a party of the military in them.†

An encampment of ſome regiments of cavalry on the Curragh of Kildare, in the ſummer of that year, furniſhed a plauſible pretext to the diſaffected of ſpreading a report that orangemen, aided by the military, were to murder all the Roman catholicks; in conſequence of which, numbers of the lower claſs of people, intimidated by ſuch tales, propagated for the worſt of purpoſes, lay in the open fields, where they were ſworn and organized.

The following ſymptoms of the approaching rebellion appeared in the county of Kildare, in the years 1797 and 1798: Conſtant nightly meetings which the utmoſt vigilance of the magiſtrates could not prevent: The abſtinence of the lower claſs of people from ſpirituous liquors, to a degree of ſobriety too unuſual and general not to be ſyſtematick: The infrequent application to magiſtrates in matters of diſpute: The declining to pay rent or any debts whatſoever, by thoſe who had means to do ſo, and who had been before very regular: The conſtant reſort of the popiſh multitude to the confeſſion boxes of their clergy: The refuſal to take bank notes, from

* See plate I. 7 and 8, for theſe places.

† This fulfilled the prophecy of ſir Laurence Parſons in the year 1795. See page 133.

from an idea that the approaching convulſion by ſubverting the government, would put an end to their currency.

I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the operations of the rebels in that county.

THE ATTACK UPON NAAS.*

In the month of May, the garriſon of Naas conſiſted of one hundred and fifty of the Armagh militia, commanded by colonel lord Gosford, with two field pieces, thirty-five of the ancient Britons, commanded by major Wardell, twenty-four of the fourth horſe, and ſixteen of the North Naas cavalry, commanded by captain Neville.

On the evening of the twenty-third of that month, two anonymous letters were received, one in the morning by the honourable lieutenant colonel Acheſon, the other in the evening, by lord Gosford; informing them that the town would be attacked that night by three thouſand men.

In conſequence of this information, the guards were doubled, and every meaſure neceſſary for their defence was adopted. As the garriſon continued unmoleſted till two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, many of the officers went to bed, thinking the information they received was groundleſs; but about half paſt two o'clock, a dragoon from an out-poſt came in, and informed major Wardell, that a very large body of rebels were moving towards the town; on which the drums beat to arms, and the guards repaired to the different poſts which they were deſtined to occupy.

Soon after, three thouſand rebels, who had been poſted at the quarries of Tipper, advanced rapidly and quietly to the town, and entered it at four different places, the greater part from the North, by the Johnſtown road, and penetrated almoſt to the gaol, where they made a moſt deſperate attack; but were repulſed by a party of the Armagh, with one piece of cannon, and a detachment of the ancient Britons.

Captain Davis having received ſome pike wounds in the beginning of the action, of which he died the next day, his men were ſo enraged, that they charged too ſoon, and prevented the cannon from playing on the enemy.

Large parties of the rebels, who ſtole unnoticed into the town, through the houſes and narrow lanes, fought ſometime in the ſtreets,

* Plate I. 7.

and ſtood three vollies from a party of the Armagh militia, poſted oppoſite to the barrack, before they gave way; at laſt they fled precipitately in every direction, when the cavalry charged, and killed a great number of them in the purſuit. Thirty of the rebels were killed in the ſtreets; and, from the numbers found dead in back houſes and in the adjacent fields, a few days after, it is imagined that not leſs than three hundred could have fallen.

They dropped in their flight a great quantity of pikes, and other arms, of which a great number were found in pits near the town, where they alſo ſeized three men with green cockades, whom they inſtantly hanged in the publick ſtreets. Another priſoner, whom they ſpared in conſequence of very uſeful information which he gave, told them, that the rebel party was above one thouſand ſtrong, and that they were commanded by Michael Reynolds, who was well mounted, and dreſſed in yeoman uniform. He made his eſcape, but his horſe fell into the hands of our troops.

One of the rebels concerned in the attack, who obtained the royal mercy by ſurrendering himſelf under the proclamation, informed me, that one of the gunners, who directed the cannon at the gaol, having been ſeduced by the rebels, elevated it ſo much as not to injure the aſſailants.

ATTACK ON THE TOWN OF PROSPEROUS.

The rebels were more ſucceſsful in this enterpriſe than in that at Naas, having contrived it with more ingenuity.

On Sunday the twentieth of May, captain Swayne arrived there, with a detachment of the city of Cork regiment, and immediately repaired to the chapel, where he, the reverend Mr. Higgins, pariſh prieſt, and doctor Eſmond, a phyſician, ſucceſſively exhorted the people to return to their allegiance, and to ſurrender their arms; but as their exhortations produced no effect, he, agreeably to the order for exerciſing free quarter, diſtrained the cattle, and did ſome injuries to the property of perſons well known to be diſaffected, and to have concealed arms in their poſſeſſion; but it produced no other effect than the ſurrender of two or three pikes and firelocks, on the morning of the twenty-third of May.

Father Higgins and doctor Eſmond informed captain Swayne, that the people were become repentant, would have brought in their arms, and have left

left them in the ſtreets during the night, but that they were afraid of the ſentinels. The captain therefore, at his deſire, ordered the ſentinels not to challenge them, which order proved fatal to the garriſon.

Beſides the city of Cork detachment in Proſperous, there was a party of the antient Britons, conſiſting of a lieutenant, a quarter-maſter, and twenty privates. Twelve of them were lodged in a houſe oppoſite the barrack of the city of Cork company, and the remainder were at ſingle billets, except a few who ſlept over the ſtable where their horſes were.

About two o'clock on Thurſday morning the twenty-fourth of May, the two ſentinels were ſurpriſed and killed; and both the barracks were aſſaulted, while the ſoldiers were faſt aſleep. The barrack of the Cork company conſiſted of a hall, an apartment on each ſide, the ſame in the next ſtory, and under ground offices. A party of the rebels ruſhed into captain Swayne's apartment, which was on the ground floor, and murdered him. Some ſoldiers, who ſlept in the oppoſite apartment, alarmed at the noiſe, came forth with their firelocks, and expelled thoſe ruffians from the barrack, after having killed two or three of them.

The houſe was at that time ſurrounded with a great number of rebels, variouſly armed. A fierce conflict enſued between the aſſailants and the beſieged; but it was ſoon put an end to by the following malignant device of the former: There was a great quantity of ſtraw in the underground office, to which the rebels ſet fire, and to increaſe the flame introduced ſome faggots into it. The ſoldiers were ſoon in a ſtate of ſuffocation; and the heat being ſo great, that they could not endure it, they retreated to their comrades in the upper ſtory; but the flame and the ſmoke ſoon reached them there, as the rebels continued to introduce lighted faggots into the apartments under them. Enveloped with thick ſmoke, and overcome with heat, ſome of them leaped out of the windows; but were immediately received on the pikes of the aſſailants, who gave a dreadful yell whenever that happened.

At laſt, the barrack being in a ſtate of conflagration, the ſoldiers reſolved to ruſh forward, and fight their way through their aſſailants; but they, who were very numerous, formed a half moon round the front of the barrack, and received them on their pikes, ſo that but few of them eſcaped.

Previous to this, the rebels were ſo much galled by the conſtant and well-directed fire of the ſoldiers, that, deſpairing of ſucceſs by force of arms, they ſent two of their men into the hall, who cried out, "We will deal honourably by you; we will ſpare ſuch of you as deſcend and deliver up your arms:" But thoſe who yielded to their deluſive promiſes, were inſtantly perforated with pikes.

Nicholas Eldon, the deputy barrack-maſter, his wife and children, and the families of ſome of the Cork ſoldiers, remained in one of the under-ground offices, during this ſcene of carnage; having retired there for ſafety. At laſt they, preceded by Mrs. Eldon, endeavoured to eſcape from the flames; when a ferocious ruffian, ready to diſpatch them with his pike, exclaimed, "Let the heretick remain to be burnt." They returned and continued to pray, till the flames forced them out again.

She ruſhed out, and dropped on her knees, ſurrounded by three young children, having one of them in her arms. Her tears and entreaties, and her piteous ſituation, altogether ſuſpended their fury for a moment. James Mc. Evoy, a young man of humanity, though a rebel, arrived, and conducted them to the houſe of Hugh Mc. Evoy, his father.

However, nothing could have ſaved them, if the following event had not taken place: A ſhort time before, expreſſes arrived from Naas and Clane, which the rebels had attacked the preceding night, to inform the people of Proſperous, that their friends had been repulſed at both; and to deſire that they would ſpare the lives of the proteſtants, and the ſoldiers wives and children, that they might be ſaved in their turn.

James Mc. Evoy confeſſed, that they intended to have burnt all the proteſtants in the barrack, but for that fortuitous circumſtance; and it was remarkable, that they had placed over their doors ſentinels, who were withdrawn as ſoon as the expreſſes had announced the above intelligence.

Mr. Brewer, an Engliſhman, noted for his humanity and benevolence, had embarked very extenſively in the cotton manufacture at Proſperous, where he maintained numbers of people, who had been ſteeped in poverty. Hugh Mc. Evoy was his foreman, and his ſon was employed under him. They conducted Eldon and his family to the houſe of Mr. Brewer, who, ſeeing them almoſt naked, inſtantly ſupplied them with ſome of his own cloaths. He had remained alone at his houſe,

vainly

vainly thinking that his active benevolence, and his charitable diſpoſition would be his beſt ſhield among the inhabitants of Proſperous, whom he had fed and cloathed, by employing them in uſeful induſtry. Hugh Mc. Evoy informed Mr. Brewer and Eldon, that they had been both condemned, and that he feared he could not ſave them; but that he would do his utmoſt for that purpoſe. He alſo ſaid, when he was leaving him, "Sir, if they aſk you to ſwear, by no means refuſe them;" and he promiſed to comply.

During Mc. Evoy's abſence, Mr. Brewer's houſe was ſurrounded by a large body of rebels, who broke in ſome of the windows, and were proceeding to break open the door, when Mr. Brewer ordered it to be opened, not ſuſpecting that he could have an enemy in the country, and deriving great fortitude from religious faith. When the mob entered his houſe, James Tobin, an inhabitant of the town, and a tailor by trade, ruſhed into his apartment, and made a lunge at him with a pike, ſo vehemently, that he perforated his body, and turned the edge of the weapon againſt the wall, ſo much, that he had ſome difficulty in extracting it. Having then drawn a ſcymitar, he cleft his ſkull from his ear to his forehead; then aided by one Patrick Farrell, a native of the town, he carried the body to the front door, when Andrew Farrell,* who was leader of the party, cried out aloud, "Behold the body of a heretick tyrant," which was repeated by the whole party, who gave three cheers.

Barnaby Dougall, a cotton weaver, employed by Mr. Brewer, attended there on the horſe of captain Swayne, fully accoutred, and ſaid, he was a much better man than the captain.

When Hugh Mc. Evoy returned, he exclaimed, "Oh! you villains, have you murdered the good man who kept us all from ſtarving? If I knew the man that did ſo, I would ſhoot him, though I were to loſe my own life by it." Mc. Evoy had great difficulty in ſaving the life of Eldon, as Andrew Farrell ſwore he would kill him, and made a ſtroke of a ſabre at him.

At that inſtant an alarm was ſpread among the rebels of Proſperous, by an expreſs from their friends at Clane, who called for a reinforcement, as they had been defeated there. They therefore marched towards Clane,

* He was a deſerter from the Clane corps, and had aſſiſted in attacking the town that morning with doctor Eſmond.

Clone, and put Eldon, five of the ancient Britons who were their priſoners, and ſome other proteſtants in their front rank; but when they had advanced a ſhort way, they found their friends retreating and diſperſed.

The attack on Downings, the houſe of Mrs. Bonynge, about half a mile from Proſperous, was attended with circumſtances of brutal ferocity. One Dunn, a deſerter from the Clane corps, galloped up to it in his uniform, at the head of a large party of rebels. This villain, a traitor to his king and country, called out for Mr. Johnſton, who was hateful to them, on account of his noted loyalty and zeal in the publick ſervice. He was a member of the Clane corps, and was then defending that town from three attacks which the rebels made on it. Dunn was ſoon convinced of his abſence, by ſigns made by the popiſh ſervants of the houſe, who were attached to the cauſe of the union.

As Mrs. Bonynge had fed ſome of the Cork ſoldiers the preceding night, Dunn, ſuppoſing them to be in her houſe, inſiſted on having them delivered up to him; but being diſappointed in this, he vowed deſtruction againſt the houſe, unleſs Mr. Stamers was ſurrendered to him. He was proprietor of the principal part of Proſperous, and went there occaſionally to receive his rents. Mrs. Bonynge, who preſerved the moſt unſhaken preſence of mind, had previouſly inſiſted on his concealing himſelf in the back yard; and on her declaring that he was not there, they diſmounted, and in a turbulent manner ſearched every part of the houſe. On being diſappointed, they were on the point of ſending for an additional party to demoliſh the houſe and furniture, when Mr. Stamers generouſly came forth and ſurrendered himſelf, to ſave the houſe in which he had been ſo hoſpitably entertained. Falling on his knees, he implored the ſanguinary wretches to ſhoot him there, as an act of mercy, rather than put him to a cruel death, which their menaces and their furious appearance gave him reaſon to dread; and he alſo beſought them to ſpare the houſe, and its inhabitants; all of whom conjured them, in the moſt pathetic manner, to ſpare the life of that worthy and unoffending gentleman. They promiſed compliance, but inſiſted on conducting him among his towns-people. One fellow, who had captain Swayne's horſe, required (as a matter of kindneſs) that he ſhould ride him; but he ſubmitting quietly to his fate, walked through the town, and was ſhot at the other end of it.

I ſhall

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XV.* for a deſcription of the horrors of Proſperous on that woeful morning. The rebels, on leaving Downings, vowed vengeance againſt captain Williams, a half-pay officer, and nephew to Mrs. Bonynge, for no other reaſon than that he was a loyal ſubject.

It is remarkable that lieutenant Power of the Cork regiment, and his wife, both of the popiſh perſuaſion, remained unmoleſted in Proſperous, during this dreadful ſcene of carnage.

The rebels murdered a man above ſeventy years old, who had ſerved the greateſt part of his life in the army as a ſerjeant, and had retired on a penſion to Proſperous; and merely becauſe he was a proteſtant.

Of the city of Cork detachment they killed one captain, two ſerjeants, one drummer, twenty-three privates, and wounded eight, of whom two died afterwards: The remainder of the company happened very fortunately to be ſent on a party a day or two before, a few miles off.

The loſs of the Ancient Britons was, nine killed, five taken priſoners, and the remaining eight leaped out of the windows, and made their eſcape over the bog of Allen.

A circumſtance attended the attack on Proſperous which evinces the force of fanaticiſm even on perſons of enlightened minds, and of its baneful influence in extinguiſhing all religious and moral rectitude. Doctor Eſmond, brother to ſir Thomas Eſmond, was of a very antient popiſh family in the county of Wexford. He ſettled as a phyſician in the county of Kildare, where he had conſiderable practice, till he married a lady with ſo large a fortune, that he became indifferent about the emolument ariſing from his profeſſion. Joined to a handſome countenance, and a very good figure, he had ſuch urbanity of manner, and ſuch attractive convivial qualities, that he was regarded as a very pleaſing companion. In conſequence of theſe mental and perſonal qualifications, Mrs. Eſmond became enamoured of him. In private life, he was conſidered as honourable and humane; but on this occaſion, he yielded to the deluſions of bigotry, which rendered him a traitor to his king, and inſpired him with a malignant deſire of ſubverting the beſt conſtitution in the univerſe, and of erecting, on its ruins, the pandemonium of France, with all its concomitant horrors. Aſſuming the ſemblance of loyalty, he applauded the exertions of captain Swayne, and even co-

operated

* Davis's affidavit.

operated with him in extinguiſhing that ſpirit of diſaffection, which prevailed among the inhabitants of Proſperous and its vicinity. He dined with him at an inn there on the twenty-third of May, and continued to enjoy the glow of ſocial mirth with him, till a few hours before the perpetration of that bloody ſcene, which he had for ſometime meditated.

" Talibus inſidiis, perjurique arte Sinonis,"
" Credita res."

He was lieutenant of the Clane cavalry, commanded by captain Griffifth, and he perſuaded many privates of the corps to deſert their colours, and to join him in the attack on Proſperous, which is about three miles from Clane.

ATTACK UPON CLANE BY THE REBELS.

The garriſon there, conſiſted of a company of the Armagh militia, commanded by captain Jephſon, and a few of the Clane yeomen cavalry. Early on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, the main body of the rebels ſtole into the town unperceived; but a drummer and the trumpeter having been alarmed, the former, after beating a few ſtrokes of his drum, was driven into the guard houſe; however the trumpeter alarmed the garriſon.

Captain Jephſon, on looking out of his window, ſaw the ſtreets crowded with rebels, armed with different weapons: The ſoldiers, who were at billets in the town, endeavoured to come forth; but as each houſe was beſet by a body of pikemen, they were obliged ſingly to fight their way through them; and in attempting to do ſo, two of them were killed on the ſpot, and five were badly wounded. However, the remainder, notwithſtanding the ſurpriſe, aſſembled, and gallantly repulſed the rebels. In the ſecond attempt which they made, ſix rebels, dreſſed in the cloaths and mounted on the horſes of the Ancient Britons, entered the town, with the view of impoſing themſelves as yeomen, an artifice which in ſome meaſure ſucceeded; for captain Jephſon approached them, laid his hand on the neck of one of the horſes, and aſked the rider, whence he came? on which he damned him, drew his ſabre, and made a cut at him; for which he was inſtantly ſhot by one of the ſoldiers, and the remainder were wounded in their retreat.

About

About three o'clock captain Griffith received an expreſs at Millicent, his ſeat, by a yeoman, that a large body of rebels had attacked the guard at Clane: The captain arrived there in fifteen minutes, and found that, by the ſteady conduct of part of his troop, who were armed with carbines, which they uſed with good effect, the inſurgents had received ſuch a check, as to afford time to about forty of the Armagh to turn out. The yeomen and militia had not fired more than three rounds, when the rebels diſperſed; and the captain, on his arrival, found the troops purſuing them, and burning the houſes on the common, in which they had taken refuge. They killed a good many of them, and took ſix priſoners of the popiſh perſuaſion, four of whom were captain Griffith's tenants. One of them was condemned and hanged at the drum-head in Clane; the other five were hanged the ſame day at Naas.

At his return to Clane, about five in the morning, he heard of the carnage at Proſperous. On muſtering the guard, he found his ſecond lieutenant, a ſerjeant and ſeventeen privates, one of whom was ſeverely wounded; the other three had deſerted with their own arms, and thoſe belonging to other yeomen of his troop. He had hardly time to draw up the yeomen and militia in the ſtreet, when a party of rebels, mounted on the horſes and furniſhed with the arms and accoutrements of the ancient Britons, made a charge into the town. By one volley they brought down ſix or ſeven of them; the remainder fled precipitately, and took ſhelter behind a ſtrong party of rebel infantry, which were approaching from Proſperous, and which made a formidable appearance, not ſo much from their numbers, though conſiderable, as from the brightneſs of their arms, and the ſcarlet coats and helmets of which they had plundered the ſoldiers at Proſperous.

As they were not ſtrong enough to attack ſo numerous a party, and thinking it diſhonourable to retreat, the captain, in concurrence with the militia officers, reſolved to take poſt on an elevated ſpot near the Commons, where they could not be ſurrounded or out-flanked; and there they waited for the enemy, who began a ſmart fire on them, but without effect, as the elevation was too great. Our troops, having returned the fire, killed and wounded a conſiderable number of them, on which they fled in great diſmay, and were charged by the captain and his ſixteen yeomen, who cut down many of thoſe whoſe heads were ornamented

with the helmets of the ancient Britons, or the hats of the Cork regiment. In their flight, they dropped a great quantity of pikes, pitchforks, muſkets and ſabres.

He returned to Clane, refreſhed his men, and ſet out for Naas, whither he had orders to march; but a ſhort time before he left Clane, he was joined by one of his yeomen, of the name of Philip Mite, who ſecretly delivered him a letter, in which he communicated to him the conduct of Eſmond, who, he ſaid, had commanded at the attack of Proſperous; and that he (Mite) had accompanied him to the entrance of that town, and then made his eſcape. He had ſcarce received this intelligence, when Eſmond appeared and joined the troop, with his hair dreſſed, his boots and breeches quite clean, and fully accoutred. The captain had fortunately ſufficient command over himſelf, to repreſs his indignation on ſeeing him, and to hold his peace till he arrived at Naas, where, having drawn up his troop in front of the gaol, he committed Eſmond in five minutes after they halted.

When Mite was awakened, and was compelled to join the rebels, who were proceeding to Proſperous, he objected againſt attending them; on which Eſmond, who headed the party, deſired him to baniſh his fears, as, he ſaid, the maſs of the people of Ireland would riſe that night.

He was afterwards conveyed to Dublin, was tried by a court martial, and convicted of high treaſon, on the cleareſt evidence, and was hanged on Carliſle-bridge the fourteenth of June.

INSURRECTION NEAR DUNLAVIN.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, the rebels having broke open the gaol of Ballymore-euſtace, one of the priſoners, who made his eſcape, arrived at Dunlavin, and informed captain Ryves, who commanded a corps of yeomany there, that the town would be attacked by a numerous body of rebels that night, or early in the morning.

At the dawn he perceived large columns of them moving round the adjacent country, and many proteſtant houſes on fire; and knowing, from the cruel and ſanguinary ſpirit which the rebels had diſplayed at Ballymore-euſtace, that they meditated the total extermination of all proteſtants and loyaliſts, he was driven to the neceſſity of adopting a meaſure, which nothing but motives of ſelf-preſervation and the emergency

gency of the occaſion could juſtify. The only troops in Dunlavin were his corps of yeomen, and the light company of the Wicklow militia, commanded by captain Richardſon; and the number of priſoners confined in the gaol there for treaſon far exceeded that of the garriſon.

The captain marched out of the town with a party of yeomen cavalry to encounter the rebels; but they were ſo numerous and deſperate, that he was obliged to return, after ſome of his men had been piked.

The officers, having conferred for ſome time, were of opinion, that ſome of the yeomen who had been diſarmed, and were at that time in priſon for being notorious traitors, ſhould be ſhot. Nineteen therefore of the Saunders-grove corps, and nine of the Narromore, were immediately led out and ſuffered death.

It may be ſaid, in excuſe for this act of ſevere and ſummary juſtice, that they would have joined the numerous bodies of rebels who were moving round, and at that time threatened the town. At the ſame time they diſcharged ſome of the above corps, in conſideration of their former good characters.

ATTACK ON BALLYMORE-EUSTACE.

As the united Iriſhmen in the neighbourhood of Ballymore-euſtace were known to have an immenſe quantity of arms, captain Beevor was ſent there on the tenth of May with detachments of the ninth dragoons, the Tyrone, Antrim and Armagh militia, to compel a ſurrender of them, by living at free quarters. He had every reaſon to believe, that he had completely ſucceeded in the object of his miſſion, as he received three thouſand ſtand of arms of different deſcriptions; and particularly, as, on the morning of the twenty-third of May, four ſerjeants of united Iriſhmen marched in their quota of men, eleven each, with their pikes on their ſhoulders, and received protections. As ſeveral committee-men had done the like on that and the preceding day, captain Beevor was ſo convinced that the people were ſincere in their profeſſions of renouncing their rebellious deſigns, and of returning to their habits of peaceful induſtry, that he ſent off one hundred and twenty men of his garriſon, and kept but about forty, to lighten the diſtreſs of the people, who were obliged to maintain them.

About the hour of one o'clock, he was awakened by the cry of a perſon, that the rebels would have his blood; and on riſing, two men ruſhed

into his bed-chamber, one armed with a piſtol, the other with a pike. The former, who fired at him, very fortunately miſſed him; on which he ſeized a piſtol, which lay at his bed-ſide, and ſhot him through the body. The other made a longe at him with his pike, which he ſtrove to avoid, and received but a ſlight wound in the ſhoulder. The ruffian, ſeeing that he was reaching for the ſecond piſtol, ſeized him in his arms, and carried him ſome way towards the head of the ſtairs, where he ſaw a number of pikemen ready to receive him; but, being ſuperior to him in ſtrength, he got his arms looſe, reſcued himſelf, and dragged the rebel into a room, where a yeoman was ſtanding with his ſword drawn, and whom he ſolicited to run him through the body, but he never offered to ſtir. It appears that he was a papiſt, and was afterwards diſmiſſed from his corps for noted diſaffection.

At that moment, lieutenant Patrickſon arrived, and ran him through the body. The pikemen, at the foot of the ſtairs, finding that their two comrades had been killed, were making off, but were met by ſome of the dragoons, who were rallying from all points round the captain's quarters, and who killed moſt of them. Twenty-eight dragoons joined the captain, and took poſt in his houſe, which was attacked for near two hours by a large body of rebels, whom they at length repulſed, after having killed a number of them.

In the mean time, the rebels ſet fire to ſeveral houſes in which the ſoldiers were quartered; and, aſſiſted by the owners, who treacherouſly ſecreted their arms, murdered ſeven dragoons and four of the Tyrone militia, and deſperately wounded three of the former, and two of the latter.

At length, captain Beevor ſallied out with twelve dragoons, and routed them in every direction. Lieutenant Mc. Farland, of the Tyrone militia, a moſt excellent officer, was ſhot through the body and died.

They entered the houſe of Mr. Henderſon, a revenue officer and a proteſtant, and ſhot him in his bed.

Next morning they took a rebel priſoner, who gave the following information, as to their number and their mode of attack: The ſoldiers were quartered in eight different houſes, each of which was to be attacked at the ſame moment, by the ſignal of a gun fired in the church-yard. The number of the aſſailants was eight hundred. They loſt three

three captains, and near one hundred men. Captain Beevor's ſervant was ſhot in his bed. He, lieutenant Patrickſon, cornet Maxwell, and all the privates of the dragoons and the militia, diſplayed ſingular ſpirit and intrepidity againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of numbers.

INSURRECTION AT KILDARE.*

For ſome days previous to the twenty-third of May, the inhabitants of Kildare and the adjacent country continued in great numbers to ſurrender arms, to take oaths of allegiance, and to obtain protections.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of that day, general Wilford ordered the troops under his command at Kildare to march to Kilcullen, for the purpoſe of reinforcing general Dundas, who had had an engagement with the rebels.

John Conſtable, a private of captain Neville's corps of yeomen cavalry, who conveyed the orders to him for that purpoſe from general Dundas, was ſhot outſide the town; yet he lived to deliver his diſpatch, but dropped dead ſoon after.

On leaving the town, general Wilford ordered Mr. Cooper, innholder, to collect his baggage, and that of the Suffolk fencibles, and to lodge them in the guard-houſe. He alſo ſent orders to captain Winter, commanding a detachment of the Suffolk, and a ſmall party of the 9th dragoons at Monaſtereven, to follow him.

When captain Winter arrived at Kildare, he received written orders from the general, to burn all the camp equipage lodged at Kildare; but Mr. O'Reilly, late major of the Kildare, having repreſented to him the danger of ſetting fire to the town, and having informed him that its inhabitants would protect the baggage, which they treacherouſly proniſed to do, he deſiſted from burning it.

In about an hour after the king's troops had left the town, the inhabitants rung the market bell, as a ſignal for a general inſurrection, which accordingly took place.

About two thouſand † rebels, headed by one Roger Mc. Garry, marched into the town, and ſeized all the officers' baggage and the camp equipage, which had been lodged in the guard houſe, and a conſiderable

* Plate I. 7. † Their pikes had croſſes painted on them.

ſiderable quantity of pikes and fire arms, which they had ſurrendered a few days before, as a proof of their ſincerity to renounce their treaſonable deſigns, which they promiſed by oath to do. The proteſtant inhabitants, fearing that they ſhould be maſſacred, immediately fled to Naas or Monaſtereven, for protection, and on their departure, their houſes and their property were plundered and deſtroyed. Mr. Cooper loſt to the amount of 2000l. in Kildare and the Curragh.

The following horrid circumſtances attended the murder of George Crawford, and his grandchild of the age of fourteen years. He had formerly ſerved ſo long in the fifth dragoons, as to be entitled to a penſion, and was at that time a permanent ſerjeant in captain Taylor's corps of yeomen cavalry. He, his wife, and granddaughter, were ſtopped by a party of the rebels as they were endeavouring to make their eſcape, and were reproached with the appellation of hereticks, becauſe they were of the proteſtant religion. One of them ſtruck his wife with a muſket, and another gave her a ſtab of a pike in the back, with an intent of murdering her. Her huſband, having endeavoured to ſave her, was knocked down, and received ſeveral blows of a firelock, which diſabled him from making his eſcape. While they were diſputing whether they ſhould kill them, ſhe ſtole behind a hedge, and concealed herſelf. They then maſſacred her huſband with pikes; and her granddaughter having thrown herſelf on his body to protect him, received ſo many wounds in the breaſts, the head, and thighs, that ſhe ſoon after expired. Theſe circumſtances of atrocity have been verified by affidavit ſworn by Crawford's widow the twentieth day of Auguſt, 1798, before alderman Jenkin. The fidelity of a large dog, belonging to this poor man, deſerves to be recorded, as he attacked theſe ſanguinary monſters, and fought bravely in defence of his maſter, till he fell by his ſide, perforated with pikes.

Mr. James Williams, a revenue officer, of the proteſtant religion, having made his eſcape, they plundered his houſe, and deſtroyed his property; and having hung up his favourite dog, they fired many ſhots at it, lamenting at the ſame time, that they had not an opportunity of treating his heretick maſter in the ſame manner.

About eleven o'clock that night, they ſtopped and plundered the Limerick mail coach, and maſſacred one of the paſſengers, lutenant William

William Giffard of the 82d regiment, and ſon to captain John Giffard of the royal Dublin regiment. The ſavages having ſhot one of the horſes ſo as effectually to prevent the coach from proceeding, demanded of lieutenant Giffard, who, and what he was? to which he anſwered without heſitation, that he was an officer, proceeding on his way to Chatham, in obedience to orders he had received. They demanded, whether he was a proteſtant? and being anſwered in the affirmative, they held a moment's conſultation, and then told him, that they wanted officers; that if he would take an oath to be true to them, and join them in an attack to be made next morning on Monaſtereven, they would give him a command, but otherwiſe he muſt die. To this the gallant youth replied, that he had already ſworn allegiance to his king; that he would never offend God Almighty by a breach of that oath; nor would he diſgrace himſelf by turning deſerter, and joining the king's enemies; that he could not ſuppoſe an army of men would be ſo cruel as to murder an individual who had never injured them, and who was merely paſſing through them to a country from whence poſſibly he never would return; but if they inſiſted on this propoſal he muſt die, for he never could conſent to it. This brave and yet pathetic anſwer, which would have kindled ſentiments of generous humanity in any breaſts but thoſe of Iriſh rebels, had directly the contrary effect upon them: With the utmoſt fury they aſſaulted him; he had a caſe of pocket piſtols, which his natural courage, and the love of life, though hopeleſs, prompted him to uſe with effect. Being uncommonly active, he burſt from them, and vaulting over a ſix-feet wall, he made towards an houſe where he ſaw light, and heard people talking. Alas! it afforded no refuge! it was the houſe of poor Crawford, whom, with his granddaughter, as before mentioned, they had juſt piked for being proteſtants. A band of the barbarians, returning from this exploit, met lieutenant Giffard; there he fell, covered with wounds and with glory; and his mangled body was thrown into the ſame ditch with honeſt Crawford and his innocent grandchild. Thus expired, at the age of ſeventeen, a martyr to religion and honour, whoſe memory will ever be reſpected by the virtuous and the brave!

While theſe blood-hounds continued their ſanguinary orgies in the night, they conſtantly exclaimed againſt hereticks and orangemen.

About

About one o'clock in the morning, they marched for Monaſtereven, from thirteen hundred to fifteen hundred in number, and commanded by captain Mc. Garry.

As by far the greater part of the popiſh members of the yeomen corps in the county of Kildare joined the rebels, or were known to be diſaffected, I think it right to mention that fourteen of that perſuaſion in the Monaſtereven corps, much to their honour, ſhewed on all occaſions the utmoſt fidelity to their king and country.*

In their march to Monaſtereven, they killed ſuch proteſtants as they could lay their hands on, and plundered their houſes. They gave many wounds with a pike to Thomas Birch, pariſh clerk of Kildangan, a man above eighty years old; and then drove him into his houſe, which they ſet fire to, with an intent to burn him; but he eſcaped out of the back door, and recovered afterwards.

They murdered dean Keatinge's pariſh clerk, a very old man; and they took a proteſtant boy of the name of Higginbotham to their camp at Knockallin, and ſhot him there. They piked one Miley, a carpenter, near Dunlavin, and major Ponſonby's ſervant, one of the fifth dragoon guards, as he was croſſing the Curragh.

ATTACK UPON MONASTEREVEN.†

In this town there was a corps of yeomen cavalry, another of infantry. Having received intelligence on the twenty-fourth of May, that one of their members was barbarouſly murdered, and that another was a priſoner with the rebels, they made circuits of ſeveral miles round the country, to give the loyal inhabitants an opportunity of retreating to the town. They met great numbers of rebels repairing to their reſpective leaders, with whom they had ſome ſkirmiſhes, and in one of which they were ſo fortunate as to reſcue three ſoldiers of the Ancient Britons, part of a detachment from Kildare, conſiſting of a warrant officer and four privates, one of whom they had barbarouſly murdered. One of the troop, who raſhly purſued ſome rebels too far into a bog, received many deſperate pike wounds. In their circuit they repaired to the houſe of

* Mr. John Caſſidy, a brewer of that town, and a Romaniſt, ſhewed ſingular zeal on all occaſions, as a loyaliſt, in that corps.

† See plate I. 7.

of Mr. Darragh, for the purpoſe of eſcorting him and his family to Monaſtereven; but he was in ſuch imminent danger, and ſuch excruciating pain, that he could not be removed.*

Between four and five o'clock in the morning, one of the videts galloped into the town, with intelligence that the rebels were advancing; one column approached by the canal, covering the road to a great extent, and was oppoſed by the infantry, commanded by lieutenant Bagot, who ordered his men to preſent; and the rebels having ſuddenly halted, the infantry recovered their arms and advanced, on which the rebels retreated, with an intention of attacking the town in another quarter.

The cavalry, commanded by captain Hayſtead, then came forward, turned down the road towards the turnpike, and fell in with another body, whom they routed, after killing many of them.

The third column advanced into the main ſtreet, where the action became very ſerious.

The infantry maintained a warm and well directed fire on the rebels, and at laſt broke them.

The cavalry, taking advantage of their confuſion, charged them, and purſuing the fugitives, killed and wounded a great number of them; no leſs than ſixty rebels lay dead in the ſtreets. On the part of the loyal yeomen, John Nicholſon, Chriſtopher Cox, John Pilſworth, Edward Simpſon, and Richard Hetherington, and nine horſes, were killed.

I think it is a tribute due to the memory of theſe brave men, that their names ſhould be recorded in the page of hiſtory. It redounds much to the honour of the Monaſtereven yeomanry, that they defended their town againſt thirteen hundred rebels, well appointed with arms, without the aſſiſtance of the militia or regular troops.

A prieſt of the name of Prendergaſt was hanged at Monaſtereven, having been convicted on the cleareſt evidence of being deeply concerned in the rebellion.

A day or two before it broke out, he called on a proteſtant gentleman in its vicinity, for whom he had a particular regard, and informed him, that he was very deſirous of ſaving him and his wife; but that he feared it would be impoſſible to do ſo, unleſs they would conſent to be chriſtened, to confeſs to him, and to embrace the Roman catholick religion;

* See the attempt on his life, page 197.

that on ſuch terms he would ſave alſo his brother; but that he could not ſave his wife, as ſhe was an orangewoman.*

When the rebels were entering the town of Monaſtereven, they attacked, and were on the point of breaking into the houſe of Mr. John Chriſtian, with a deſign of murdering him, his family, Charles Browne, eſquire, and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Chriſtian and their child, all proteſtants; but were driven from it by the fire of the yeomen.

On the twenty-fourth of May, while Mr. Darragh of Eagle-hill was lying on the bed of pain and ſickneſs, his houſe at Eagle-hill was attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who came from their camp at Knockalin-hill, about three miles off. It was defended by Mr. Dalton, his brother-in-law, two other gentlemen, two ſoldiers, and two ſervants; the whole under the direction of Mr. Bolton, his ſurgeon, who fought with great bravery, the reſt of his domeſticks having joined the rebels. They had juſt time to place the barricadoes to the windows, which Mr. Darragh had been obliged to make uſe of to defend his houſe for twelve months before, and to diſtribute the ammunition. As the rebels approached the houſe, they ſent forth a terrifick yell, like ſavages, and ſwore they would carry off, on their pikes, all the heads of the inmates. They had but two guns, three piſtols, and two ſwords, beſides the ſoldiers muſkets, for their defence. A furious aſſault was made immediately on the houſe, and many vollies were fired into the windows of the ground floor, and middle ſtory; and ſome balls found their way through the port holes, into the drawing-room, where Mr. Darragh lay, accompanied by Mrs. Darragh, her mother, ſiſter, the maid ſervant, two men ſervants, and two ſoldiers. They were ſo fortunate as to rout the whole party, after killing and wounding a great number of them. The rebels carried off all the killed, except one ruffian, who fell when he was endeavouring to break open, with his pike, a window near the hall. He had in his pocket captain Swayne's protection, in conſequence of having taken the oath of allegiance, and ſurrendered a pike, a few days before; and the following prayer:

"My God, I offer unto thee my ſleep, ſubmitting it with a pure intention to thy holy will; and that I may recover new vigour to ſerve thee.

* By this, he alluded to her being ſiſter to a gentleman of noted loyalty, who was very active in checking the progreſs of the conſpiracy.

thee.* I wiſh that every breath I am to take this night, may be an act of praiſe and love of the divine Majeſty, like the happy breathings of the ſaints and angels who never ſleep; and ſo I compoſe myſelf to ſleep in the arms of my Saviour."

This wretch lived about a mile and a half from Eagle-hill, and had a ſhort time before been brought through a malignant fever, and his life ſaved, by the benevolent aſſiſtance of Mrs. Darragh, who ſupplied him with medicines, wine, and other neceſſaries and comforts.

He kept a ſchool, and a nightly roſary, which was ſome ſuperſtitious inſtitution like the ſcapular, that ſerved as a vehicle for treaſon.

ATTACK ON RATHANGAN.

On Thurſday morning the twenty-fourth day of May, the inhabitants of the country for ſome miles round Rathangan were in a ſtate of inſurrection; and as they approached the town, towards evening, in great bodies, and with much vociferation, captain Langton, who was quartered there with a company of the South Cork militia, fearing that he ſhould be ſurpriſed and cut off, kept patroles all that night on the different avenues leading to it, which was very fortunate, as they had ſkirmiſhes with, and repulſed different parties of the rebels who were advancing towards the town. Purſuant to orders which he had received from general Wilford, he would have marched that day to Sallins; but he was perſuaded to remain there by Mr. Spenſer, who promiſed to excuſe him to the general, and who ſent a Mr. Gatchell to Kilcullen for that purpoſe.

On his arrival there, he found that it had been evacuated by the king's troops, and was in poſſeſſion of the rebels, who attacked and endeavoured to ſeize him; but he narrowly eſcaped, after having been ſeverely wounded. He received intelligence on the road, that the mail coach had been deſtroyed near Naas by the rebels; who, in large bodies, had been deſolating the preceding night all the country contiguous to thoſe towns with fire and ſword.

The loyal inhabitants of Rathangan were in the utmoſt conſternation all that night, as they could diſcern, from the tops of their houſes, a great number of habitations on fire in the adjacent country; and their owners,

* Every popiſh rebel imagined that he ſerved his God in oppoſing a proteſtant, or injuring his proteſtant fellow-ſubjects.

who were all proteſtants, came flocking into the town, after having narrowly eſcaped with their lives. They could alſo perceive multitudes of the rebels moving round the fires; and could hear them uttering the moſt dreadful ſhouts and yells.

Captain Langton, having received a peremptory order from general Dundas, marched from Rathangan on Friday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and endeavoured to perſuade Mr. Spenſer to accompany him, as he was very obnoxious, from his noted loyalty; but he reſiſted his earneſt entreaties.

The inhabitants remained under arms on Friday night, expecting to be attacked every moment. It was not until Saturday the twenty-ſixth, about three o'clock, that the rebels in great numbers, and variouſly armed, entered the town; of whom the principal part approached and ſurrounded Mr. Spenſer's houſe, which he had barricadoed, and introduced into it ſome of his labourers, in whom he thought he could confide, and three proteſtant farmers, two of them yeomen. They broke in the window-ſhutters with the butt ends of their muſkets, and thruſt into the rooms large quantities of burning ſtraw, on the end of their pikes. They alſo ſet fire to the back-door, and to the windows of the under-ground offices. Mr. Spenſer perceiving that reſiſtance would be fruitleſs, aſſured them, from a window in the firſt floor, that he would quietly ſurrender his arms. Having deſired him to deſcend, he complied with their wiſhes, and approached them in a moſt reſpectful conciliating manner; on which a fellow, of the name of Doorley, to whoſe family Mr. Spenſer had always been very kind, and whoſe brother was a yeoman in his corps, approached him with a menacing aſpect, and flouriſhed a ſcymitar over his head, uſing at the ſame time ſome inſolent and opprobrious language. Mr. Spenſer aſked him, "What he had ever done to offend him?" Doorley replied, "You would not give me a protection againſt the ſoldiers, when they came into this country upon free quarters." Mr. Spenſer aſſured him, "That he would have done ſo, if he had applied to him for that purpoſe."

Mr. Spenſer, perceiving that they began to grow turbulent and furious, retired into his houſe, and was purſued by a party of them, who murdered him on his ſtair-caſe, having ſhot him through the head, and mangled his body with pikes in a moſt ſavage manner. They then carried it out, and laid it on the ground, in the front of the houſe, as if to ſatisfy the rebel multitude,

multitude, that their wiſhes had been accompliſhed. Next day the ſervants obtained permiſſion to bury it; but without a coffin.

Thus this worthy gentleman, who was an active and intelligent magiſtrate, and as remarkable for the amiableneſs and affability of his manners, as the benevolence of his heart, fell a ſacrifice to the fanaticiſm of thoſe ſavages, to whom he had been unremittingly a kind and generous benefactor.

As his houſe was a ſhort diſtance from the town, Mrs. Spenſer, who was led to it in the midſt of theſe monſters, had the anguiſh to ſee the mangled corpſe of her huſband lying at his door.

When they killed him, they proceeded to maſſacre George Moore, James his ſon, and John Heaſlip his ſon-in-law, the three proteſtants who were in the houſe: The labourers joined the mob, and were not injured; for their religion preſerved them.

Mr. Spenſer was captain of a yeoman corps, which made him hateful to the rebels, who were joined by almoſt the whole of the popiſh members of his troop. Of theſe, Martin Hinds, to whom he had been ſingularly kind and generous, and Molloy, an opulent farmer, who was his ſecond lieutenant, became leaders among the inſurgents.

Mr. Moore, his firſt lieutenant, was an Engliſh gentleman, who had long ſerved with reputation in the king's ſervice, and had retired to Rathangan, a very pretty village, in which a few reſpectable families formed a pleaſant ſociety. On the approach of the rebels, he and about fifteen of the yeomen infantry, together with a few loyal inhabitants, retreated into the houſe of Mr. Neal, a quaker, as it was more defenſible than his own. They aſked him to ſurrender his arms, having aſſured him that his perſon ſhould not be injured.

For ſome time having refuſed to comply, Mrs. Spenſer, and ſome more reſpectable females, went to the front of the houſe, and on their knees beſought him to accept of the terms offered by the rebels; from a conviction that reſiſtance would be vain, and that it would terminate in the deſtruction of the beſieged. They at laſt acceded to the terms which had been deluſively offered; but theſe amiable females found, alas! that they had been deceived by theſe blood-hounds, whoſe cruelty could be equalled by nothing but their treachery; for they murdered every proteſtant in the houſe, by leading them into the ſtreet, and butchering them with ſavage exultation:

exultation: But it is remarkable, that they did not injure a ſingle papiſt whom they found there.

They led Mr. Moore about the ſtreets, mocking and inſulting him. His wife, who lay-in three days before, had been removed to the houſe of captain Grattan five or ſix hours previous to the maſſacre; and, having conducted him oppoſite to it, they reſolved to aſſaſſinate him there, to encreaſe the bitterneſs of death, and to wound the feelings of his innocent wife, whoſe ſenſibility was heightened by the delicacy of her ſituation; but ſome of the ſavages, more humane than the reſt, objected to that refinement in cruelty. They then led him to another part of the town, and ſhot him; and ſoon after they maſſacred ſix proteſtants who had been in Mr. Neal's houſe with him; of whom the youngeſt, of the name of Foſter, was but fourteen years old.

One of the Foſters eſcaped in the following manner: While they were torturing his brother, he reſcued himſelf by main force, darted from them into an adjoining houſe, cloſed the door, and got into a little cloſet under the ſtairs, where he remained above forty hours, almoſt double; and when the ſavage pikemen purſued him, the maid ſervant humanely ſaid, that he paſſed through the houſe, and made his eſcape; but I am ſorry to ſay, that her ſubſequent conduct abated her merit very much; for afterwards, in a moment of cool deliberation, ſhe expreſſed concern at having ſaved a heretick.

On the whole, they murdered nineteen proteſtants in that little village, and ſome of them with ſuch circumſtances of cruelty, as nothing but fanaticiſm, operating on the moſt barbarous ignorance, could dictate.

They cut off the arm of Robinſon, a carpenter of the proteſtant perſuaſion, before they put a period to his exiſtence.

On firing at one Whelan, a proteſtant, he fell to the ground, and then received many pike wounds; and yet he recovered and is ſtill alive. The ruffian who fired at him exclaimed, "There goes a proteſtant!"

They killed one Coyle a ſhoemaker, far advanced in years, becauſe he could not croſs himſelf; but on finding him to be a heretick, they compelled him to croſs himſelf as well as he could with his left hand, ſuperſtitiouſly believing, that the doing ſo would inevitably doom him to eternal damnation.

They

They were inclined to kill Mr. Dawſon, a proteſtant gentleman, who lived at Rathangan; but ſome of them objected to it, and ſaid, 'He is married to one of us,' meaning a papiſt.

A woman urged them to kill doctor Bagot, an aged and infirm gentleman, who never denied medical aſſiſtance to the poor. One of the rebels objected to it, and ſaid, he is a good man: She replied, 'You ſhould get rid of him; for his children ſing 'Croppies, lie down.' However, they led him out to execution, and compelled him to wear a green wreath in his hat; but his wife ſaved him, by ſaying, he would be uſeful in dreſſing their wounds. There is not a doubt but that he would have ſhared the fate of the other proteſtant inhabitants of Rathangan, if they had not hoped to avail themſelves of his ſkill as a ſurgeon; for, through the courſe of the rebellion, they were careful of the lives of ſuch perſons as were verſed in the medical art.

Theſe ſavages continued all night to expreſs the joy which they felt at their ſucceſs, by ſhouts and yells, uttered with barbarous diſſonance, and to boaſt of their achievements in the preſence of thoſe perſons whoſe relations they had maſſacred.

The following expreſſions were related to me by ſome ladies of undoubted veracity, who heard them uttered by theſe cannibals: "We have got rid of our friends, and have ſent their ſouls jumping to hell." "We have at laſt got what we had a right to, our own county to ourſelves,"* meaning the county of Kildare.

One of them, ſoon after the murder of Mr. Spenſer, aſked one of his ſervants, whether they were all Roman catholicks? and on her ſaying they were, the houſekeeper excepted, he replied, 'The bitch muſt be put an end to.'

Lieutenant-colonel Mahon of the 7th dragoon guards, marched to the relief of the town, on Monday the twenty-eighth of May, with a detachment of his regiment, and ſome yeomen cavalry from Tullamore, which is ſeventeen miles from Rathangan. Sometime before he arrived there, he divided the ſquadron into two parts, with a view of approaching the town by two different roads, in order to ſurround the rebels. One party arriving firſt, paſſed through it without any moleſtation, and having joined the

* The popiſh multitude are taught to believe, that the proteſtants have no right to reſide in Ireland, or to any property in it.

the other, they returned to ſee that every thing was right; but in paſſing through it, they received a moſt tremendous fire of muſketry from the windows, by which three men were killed, and eleven were wounded; and ſix horſes were killed, and twelve were wounded. It is ſurpriſing that they eſcaped ſo well, as the ſquadron, conſiſting of eighty, were cloſe together; but the great duſt which they raiſed prevented them in ſome meaſure from being ſeen. Lieutenant Malone, whoſe horſe was ſhot under him in the ſtreet, became their priſoner, and had a narrow eſcape, as he was ſhot through his cloaths, and received many ſhots in his ſaddle and holſters. One of the ſavages was ſeen to give many ſtabs of a bayonet to one of the dragoon horſes which lay dead in the ſtreets; and every time he repeated it, exclaimed, "Take that, proteſtant!"

On Monday morning one James Curry, a leader of them, and ſuppoſed to be muſter-maſter, cried out in the ſtreets, "What is become of the boys of Coolelan and Ballinure?* damn them, ſtick them to the heart, for not joining us." The ſavages ſwore vehemently that they would do ſo; and ſaid we are the boys that will do their buſineſs. That villain was between ſixty and ſeventy; he was hanged in two hours after.

They fired up into the ſteeple of the church, ſuppoſing that Wilſon the ſexton was there; but he lay concealed in a hay loft, and eluded their ſavage fury.

On Sunday, one of their leaders, mounted on Mr. Spenſer's horſe with all his accoutrements, arrived at Rathangan; and after haranguing them ſometime, ſaid, "Let there be no more bloodſhed, as we have got poſſeſſion of the caſtle and the barrack of Dublin."

They frequently boaſted of the murders they had committed. A young man having declared vauntingly, in the preſence of Mrs. Watſon, that he killed captain Moore, and committed other barbarities; ſhe, who is a quaker, and has much religious fortitude, exclaimed: "Oh! thou wretch! If thou art ſo great a monſter at thy age, what muſt thy father be?"

On Monday afternoon, the city of Cork militia under colonel Longford, with a detachment of dragoons, and two field pieces, approached Rathangan. The rebels ſhewed the utmoſt terror and conſternation; ſome were for giving battle, others for abandoning the town; one was heard to

* Two town-lands in the county of Kildare. The inhabitants of every town-land were regularly enrolled and regiſtered.

to ſay, " Thank God, I heard three maſſes yeſterday!" A large party of them called out for holy water; and having obtained it, retired to Mrs. Pym's yard, went on their knees, and were ſprinkled with it.

Lieutenant-colonel Longfield having appeared at ſome diſtance from the town, the rebels ſent a man on horſeback, with a flag of truce, towards him; and major Millar having advanced to meet him, received a letter from him for the commanding officer; importing that they would inſtantly put Mr. Malone their priſoner, to death, if the king's troops did not retire; but the colonel, diſregarding their menace, advanced precipitately, after having fired ſome diſcharges of round ſhot at the town, which diſlodged the rebels, and put them to flight; and ſuch was their confuſion, that they fled without injuring Mr. Malone.

Colonel Longfield obtained ample vengeance for the death of the loyaliſts, having killed in the attack and the purſuit between fifty and ſixty rebels, and hung ſome of their leaders, who fell into his hands; among whom was Molloy, Mr. Spenſer's renegado lieutenant.

They were on the point of hanging one Keogh, a glazier, who had been active among the rebels at Mr. Spenſer's houſe. Having pleaded that he was compelled by force to join them, they ſpared his life; but obliged him to execute thoſe whom they ſentenced to death.

When the military appeared, the rebels had begun to ſtrip the lead from the roof of the church, for the purpoſe of making bullets; and then they intended to have burned it.

Doorley owned afterwards, that in one day more they would have put all the proteſtant women and children to death, if the king's troops had not arrived; and there is every reaſon to think ſo, as their fanatical fury, inflamed by conſtant ebriety, had fermented to a very high pitch.

The barbarous treatment of Michael Shenſtone, a proteſtant, deſerves to be circumſtantially related. He was led into the ſtreet, with the other unfortunate proteſtants, and received eighteen ſtabs of pikes.

A woman of the name of Farrel, who was infamouſly active in this ſanguinary buſineſs, informed them, that they did not know how to kill orangemen; on which a ruffian ſtepped forward, and trampled on the dead and dying. He then put a piſtol cloſe to Shenſtone's head, and the ball entering near the ear, came out under the eye, having fractured the cheek-bone in a moſt ſhocking manner. In ſome hours after he was put

into a cart with the bodies of ſeventeen proteſtants who had been murdered, and was conveyed to the church-yard to be interred; but ſome alarm preventing it, he remained among the dead that night. Next morning, at the interceſſion of ſome of the rebels, his body was delivered to his wife, by whoſe care and proper medicinal aſſiſtance he recovered, and regained the uſe of his limbs. Theſe facts were related to me by a gentleman who ſaw Shenſtone ſoon after; and they have been verified by his affidavit, ſworn before Oliver Nelſon, a magiſtrate, and by Mr. Bayly, curate of Rathangan, and Mr. Pym, his landlord.

I ſhall mention here an incident, which throws great light on the ſpirit of the conſpiracy and rebellion, and the ſecret deſigns of the great body of the rebels. One Dennis, an apothecary and a proteſtant, was the county delegate, and the chief conductor of the plot in the King's county,* which was to have exploded in a few days; but the wanton maſſacre of proteſtants at Proſperous and Rathangan having convinced him that their extirpation was the main object of the Romaniſts, though they had with ſingular diſſimulation concealed it from him, who was their leader, he repaired to Tullamore to general Dunn, who commanded in that diſtrict, threw himſelf on the mercy of government, expoſed the whole plot, and the names of the captains, who were immediately arreſted. He ſaid to the general, "I ſee, ſir, that it will ſoon be my own fate."

ATTACK ON KILCULLEN.†

For a fortnight or three weeks previous to the twenty-third of May, the rebels continued to take oaths of allegiance, and to obtain protections, in conſequence of having ſurrendered pikes and muſkets, which they did to the number of between ten and fifteen thouſand, to general Dundas, who reſided at Caſtlemartin, within half a mile of Kilcullen-bridge. In conſequence of this, the civil magiſtrates, and the officers, were thoroughly convinced that the diſaffected had completely renounced their rebellious deſigns.

A perſon aſſured me, that he rode alone on the morning of the twenty-third of May, from Tallagh-hill to Kilcullen-bridge, without ſeeing any perſons on the roads or in the fields; and yet at four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Robert Douglaſs of Gormanſtown, came into Kilcullen, and informed the garriſon, that about three hundred rebels had aſſembled

* See Plate I. 7. † Ibid.

bled at the Rath of Gilltown the preceding night; and that he was very well informed, that they meant in a large body to attack the town, and to take general Dundas priſoner by ſurpriſe. In conſequence of this intelligence, patroles were ſent to all the avenues leading to the town, and the army and the yeomanry were ordered to be in readineſs.

At half paſt eight, two of captain Latouche's corps, John Farange and Hugh Gribbin, were ſent expreſs to Ballymore-euſtace, to appriſe the garriſon there of the riſing. About midway, they fell in with five hundred pikemen, at a ſudden turn of the road. They knocked Gribbin off his horſe, and gave him ſeveral ſtabs of pikes; however he is ſince recovered. Farange returned, and entered the town, crying aloud, "To arms!"

About twelve o'clock, a priſoner was brought in, who, on being whipped, confeſſed, that the rebels were at that time on the point of attacking Naas.

The town remained quiet till ſeven next morning, when general Dundas ordered forty cavalry of the 9th dragoons, and the Romneys, and twenty-two of the Suffolk fencibles, commanded by captain Beale, whoſe conduct merited the higheſt praiſe, to proceed to Old Kilcullen, where the rebels were aſſembled. Three hundred of them were ſtrongly entrenched in the church-yard, which was defended on one ſide by a high wall; on the other, by a quickſet hedge, with a dyke before it.

General Dundas ordered the Romneys and the 9th dragoons to charge the rebels, though it was up-hill, though the ground was broken, and many of the rebels were in a road cloſe to the church-yard, in which not more than ſix of the cavalry could advance in front.

They however charged with great ſpirit, though their deſtruction was conſidered by all the ſpectators to be the certain and inevitable conſequence of it; for what could cavalry do, thus broken and divided, againſt a firm phalanx of rebels, armed with very long pikes; nevertheleſs, they made three charges, but were repulſed in each; and at every repulſe the general urged them to renew the attack.

It was with the utmoſt difficulty that captain Cooks and captain Erſkine could prevail upon their men to renew the charge, after the firſt defeat. In the laſt charge, captain Cooks, to inſpire his men with courage by his example, advanced ſome yards before them; when his horſe having

received many wounds, fell upon his knees; and while in that ſituation, the body of that brave officer was perforated with pikes; and he, captain Erſkine, and twenty-two privates, were killed on the ſpot, and ten ſo badly wounded, that moſt of them died ſoon after.

Had general Dundas waited for the arrival of twenty-two of the Suffolk fencibles, who were advancing, and joined them in a very ſhort time, that affair would have had a more fortunate iſſue.

Captain Beale, who commanded the Suffolk fencibles, with great coolneſs advanced within thirty yards of the rebels, broke and diſperſed them with one well-directed volley, every ſhot having taken place.

General Dundas, defeated at Old Kilcullen, retired with his little force to the village of Kilcullen-bridge, where he halted for ſome time; but the rebels, elate with their ſucceſs, determined to follow up their victory with vigour, and knowing that they could not hope to force the ſtrong and narrow paſs of Kilcullen-bridge, defended by regular troops, they took a circuitous route, and fording the Liffey a little below Caſtle-martin, marched up to the Turnpike-hill, and took a poſition between Kilcullen and Naas,* with intent to cut off general Dundas and his forces from the poſſibility of retreating.

The general upon this occaſion put himſelf at the head of twenty-ſeven Suffolk fencible infantry, his cavalry in the rear, and marched boldly up to the rebels, whoſe ſucceſs had encreaſed their numbers to many thouſands.

The rebels were drawn up in a regular line, three deep, with three ſtands of green colours. They began the attack by firing four rounds, accompanied with loud ſhouts. They were broken and diſperſed by the ſecond or third diſcharge of the Suffolk fencibles; on which the cavalry charged, routed them, and killed great numbers in the purſuit.

Mr. Latouche's corps made a diſtinguiſhed figure in this affair, in which three hundred rebels were killed.

After the engagement, general Dundas abandoned Kilcullen, and marched to Naas, for the purpoſe of concentering the forces under his command, as near the metropolis as poſſible; having well-grounded apprehenſions, that it would be attacked by the enemy in great force.

Soon after the general marched from Kilcullen, the rebels plundered all the houſes of the proteſtants in it and its vicinity, and murdered ſuch

of

* Fourteen miles to the ſouth of Dublin, Plate I. 7.

of the inhabitants as could not make their eſcape. They killed quarter-maſter King of the 9th dragoons, a man ſeventy years old, who remained behind in the town; and two dragoons of the ſame regiment, who guarded the reverend doctor Cramer's houſe, were treacherouſly murdered by ſome wretches who were drinking with them. They piked out one eye of a Mrs. Burchell, aged ninety; they alſo aſſaſſinated ſome wounded ſoldiers who had been left in the town, and a Mr. John Cheney at Donard. All the proteſtants near Kilcullen, who were ſo fortunate as to eſcape from the ſavage rebels, fled to Naas, where they remained ſome days in the utmoſt diſtreſs.

On the twenty-fifth of May, the houſe of the reverend Henry Anneſley of Newpark, was ſurrounded by a party of rebels, headed by one Hetherington of Kildare, who, after taking a plentiful repaſt, and plundering it of proviſions and various articles, ſet fire to it, and eight out-offices, which were ſoon conſumed.

One of the leaders of this party was Laurence Byrne, a blackſmith, who lived under and was kindly protected by Mr. Anneſley's family, at Ballyſax. This ruffian made ſeveral attempts to ſtab him with a pike, but was prevented. He repaired the ſame evening to Ballyſax, with a cocked piſtol, and compelled Mr. Anneſley and his nephew to go to Knockallin camp.

All the proteſtant clergy in the county of Kildare, except one,* were obliged to fly from their houſes.

On Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May, the houſes of Mr. Eyre Lindſay, Mr. David Burchell, and Mr. John Jones, all proteſtants, were burnt near Ballyſax.

There were ſix rebel encampments in the county of Kildare,† one at Knockallin near Old Kilcullen, one at Barnhill near Kildare, one at Hodgeſtown, one at Hortland, one at Redgap, and one at Timahoe.

On Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May, a rebel army, above three thouſand in number, compoſed for the greater part of thoſe that had been ſtationed at Knockallin and Barnhill, ſent a deputation to general Dundas, to ſignify that they would ſurrender their arms, and return to their reſpective houſes, provided their priſoners that were taken were liberated; but he refuſed theſe terms. They then offered an unconditional ſurrender,

* The peculiarity of his connections protected him. † Plate I. 7.

ſurrender; but he heſitated to negotiate with them without the ſanction of government.

General Lake having been ſent to him by lord Camden, the two generals received their arms and their ſubmiſſion, and granted them pardon; yet the greater part of them joined their friends in their different camps in the county of Kildare, with the protections of thoſe generals in their pockets; and others repaired to the county of Wexford, to join their fellow traitors there.

It is univerſally allowed, that this negotiation of general Dundas with the rebels, though well intended, produced the worſt effects; for it made them elate and inſolent, by ſhewing them that treaſon might be committed with impunity; and it encouraged them in the commiſſion of murder and rapine for two years after, which will appear in the ſequel.

General ſir James Duff, quartered in Limerick, having heard that the inſurrection was very general and terrifick, inſomuch as to threaten the metropolis, and to obſtruct all the roads leading to it, marched from Limerick with two light ſix-pounders, ſeventy of lord Roden's fencible cavalry, and two hundred and fifty of the city of Dublin regiment of militia. They were joined on their route by about two hundred of the South Cork regiment of militia, and their two battalion guns; and by about fifty of the 4th dragoon guards, and a party of gallant yeomen. They arrived at Kildare by forced marches in forty-eight hours, and then repaired to a place called the Gibit Rath, where the rebels were poſted in a Daniſh fort.

General Wilford had been deputed by general Dundas to receive their ſubmiſſion; but, unfortunately for that body of rebels, ſir James Duff arrived there half an hour before him.

The general, on his arrival there, after having diſpoſed his army in order of battle, ſent a ſerjeant and twelve of the cavalry to the rebels, to deſire they would quietly ſurrender their arms; but they wantonly and without provocation fired on the king's troops, of whom they killed one, and wounded three; but ample vengeance was ſoon obtained; for above three hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and ſeveral wounded by lord Jocelyn's fencible cavalry, who fell in with them pell mell; ſo that the artillery and infantry were unable to act without the riſque of deſtroying their friends.

The

The reverend Mr. Williamſon, a proteſtant clergyman, not being able to make his eſcape, from the ſuddenneſs of the inſurrection, would have fallen a victim to rebel fury, but that he was humanely protected by Mr. Nowlan the pariſh prieſt. Being at the mercy of the rebels, he was compelled by them to go to meet general Duff, accompanied by Mr. Nowlan, to inform him that the rebels of Kildare had obtained the royal mercy, on condition of ſurrendering their arms, and returning to their allegiance; but the troops not knowing them, and ſuſpecting their ſincerity, would have hanged them, but that colonel Sankey, brother-in-law of Mr. Williamſon, arrived and undeceived them.

Next day, ſir James Duff, having received information that a large body of rebels were encamped at Blackmore-hill, whither great numbers of thoſe pardoned by general Dundas had repaired with their protections in their pockets, he marched to attack them; and by a few diſcharges of artillery they were routed, and a good many of them were killed.

No praiſe can equal the merit of ſir James Duff, and his gallant little army; for in forty-eight hours they marched ſeventy miles without halting. At Kildare, they found the murdered bodies of honeſt Crawford, of his innocent granddaughter, and of the gallant young Giffard, who preferred death to diſhonour, and whom they interred with military honours.

It is to be lamented that the diſaffection of the popiſh yeomanry of the county of Kildare was highly diſgraceful.

Of a corps of fifty yeomen cavalry at Caſtledermot,* there were but five who were not implicated in the rebellion; and their lieutenant, Mr. Daniel Caulfield, was committed by government.

A neighbouring corps of yeomanry, called the Sleumarigue, under the command of Mr. Bambrick, with great modeſty gave up their arms, conſcious of the improper engagements they had made with the united Iriſhmen.

A proteſtant corps of the ſame name, formed under the command of Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald, have rendered the moſt effectual ſervice to their country.

A well-mounted corps of fifty yeomen, called the Athy cavalry, were raiſed under the command of Thomas Fitzgerald, eſquire, of Geraldine, whoſe commander was committed to the caſtle of Dublin, where he remained a cloſe priſoner for ſome months; and ſoon after his arreſt, the

* Plate I. 8.

the corps were diſarmed publickly, in the market ſquare of Athy, for diſaffection.

An attempt was made to admit ſuch as were without cenſure, into the loyal corps of Ballylinan, commanded by Steward Weldon, eſquire; but very few were found eligible.

All the Roman catholicks in the Rathangan corps joined the rebels. Molloy their lieutenant, and ſeveral more were hanged; many were pardoned under the proclamation, and others of them abſconded.

In the North Naas corps, there were ſo many implicated in the rebellion, that but very few except proteſtants could be depended on to do duty. There was very great defection among the popiſh yeomen of the Furnace corps.

Though the Clane corps were ſixty-ſix ſtrong, ſuch diſaffection prevailed among the Roman catholick yeomen, that but twenty-four muſtered on the twenty-fourth of May.

ATTACK ON CARLOW.*

The mail coach from Dublin always reached Carlow in the morning about eight o'clock; and, as its not arriving on the morning of Thurſday the twenty-fourth of May was to be the ſignal for riſing there and in its vicinity, the rebels could not make their intended attack on that town till the morning of the twenty-fifth.

About two o'clock on that morning they aſſembled in great force, moſtly from Grange, Hacketſtown, Tullow,† Leighlin,‡ and that part of the country between Rathvilly and Borris,§ headed by one Roach a farmer. They gave a moſt dreadful yell as ſoon as they entered the town, where they were joined by moſt of the lower claſs of the popiſh inhabitants, and numbers of people who had been ſecretly coming into it the whole of the preceding day and night. They marched, in number about two thouſand, through Tullow-ſtreet, till they arrived at the potatoe market, where their progreſs was interrupted by two ſentinels poſted at the collector's door, and a loyal proteſtant who joined them; and they, by a conſtant and well-directed fire, defeated their deſign of uniting with the Queen's county rebels, (who were to have met them at Graigue-bridge) and drove them acroſs the potatoe market towards the gaol, where two ſentinels, with equal ſpirit, checked them in their career, and forced them to retreat through Bridewell-lane, towards the court-houſe; where having

* Plate I. 8, and II. 1. † Plate II. 1, 2. ‡ Ibid. 3, 4. § Ibid. 7.

having received a few ſhots from the houſe of a loyal proteſtant, they cried out that they were ſurrounded by the ſoldiers, threw down their arms, and, in the greateſt conſternation, endeavoured to retreat by the road through which they had at firſt advanced; but, fearing to meet the army in that direction, numbers of them retired into the houſes in Tullow-ſtreet, which it is believed were inhabited by their aſſociates; for when the ſoldiers ſet fire to them, to make the rebels bolt, there was not a woman or child in any of them. Some ruſhed out through the flames, and were ſhot or bayoneted; others remained in the houſes till they were conſumed. The other miſcreants who had taken different routes, were ſhot by the loyal inhabitants from their windows; and ſuch of them as eſcaped, were purſued and killed by the ſoldiers and yeomanry; ſo that the ſtreets, the roads, and fields contiguous to the town, were ſtrewed with carcaſſes. That evening, and all next day, nineteen carts were conſtantly employed in conveying the dead bodies to the other ſide of Graigue-bridge, where four hundred and ſeventeen bodies were buried in three gravel-pits, and covered with quick lime. On the whole, it was believed, that no leſs than ſix hundred of the unfortunate wretches periſhed, including thoſe who were conſumed in the houſes, and thoſe who fell in the roads and fields, and were ſecretly interred by their friends.

The Queen's county rebels were to have met, and joined thoſe of the county of Carlow, at Graigue-bridge; but having heard that there were two pieces of cannon poſted there, they changed their route; and, headed by one Redmond, and one Brennan, who had been a yeoman, they burned ſome proteſtant houſes in the village of Ballyckmoiler, and attacked the houſe of the reverend John Whitty, a proteſtant clergyman, near Arles, about five miles from Carlow; but it was bravely defended, by himſelf and eleven proteſtants, who kept up a conſtant fire, killed twenty-one rebels, and baffled all their attempts to ſtorm or burn it. The conflict continued from three till ſix o'clock in the morning; when Mr. Whitty's ammunition being nearly expended, he ſent two of his party to a neighbour to borrow more; but they were ſurrounded and overpowered after a gallant defence. The corpſe of one of them, whom they killed, was mangled in a barbarous manner. They left the other, whoſe name was Impey, ſuppoſing him to be dead; but he after-

wards recovered: He aſked for a draught of water from ſome perſons who were preſent, but they would not relieve him, till he aſked for a prieſt, and then they ſupplied him with it. This party was firſt informed, by emiſſaries from Carlow, that their friends were ſucceſsful, and had got poſſeſſion of the barrack; on which they felt a degree of joy equal to madneſs, but it was only the deluſion of a moment; for the diſmay which they felt, on hearing the fate of their friends was ſuch, as to check their ſanguinary deſign of immolating an unfortunate proteſtant, whom they were on the point of ſhooting.

Richard Waters, a member of Mr. Rochfort's corps of yeomanry, fell into their hands; and they had him for ſome time on his knees, ready for execution, when an account of the ſad cataſtrophe at Carlow arrived. He, taking advantage of the panick which it produced, repreſented to them the folly of continuing in their rebellious career; recommended to them to ſurrender their arms, and throw themſelves on the mercy of government; and his exhortation not only produced the deſired effect, but ſaved his life.

The barony of Carbery in the county of Kildare, part of the adjacent country, including conſiderable portions of the counties of Meath, and the King's county, were dreadfully agitated, ſo early as the beginning of the year 1795, by the defenders, who continued almoſt without intermiſſion, till the rebellion broke out, to levy money, to plunder of arms the houſes of proteſtants, and often to murder their inhabitants; and this in ſome inſtances at noon day.

About the hour of twelve o'clock at night, on the ſixth of May, 1797, they attacked the Charter-ſchool at Caſtlecarbery, in great numbers, broke all the windows, fired many hundred ſhots into it, and attempted to force open the door; but were repulſed with the loſs, it is ſaid, of twenty men killed. The number who fell could not be well aſcertained, as they carried off the dead bodies. They aſſumed the title of united Iriſhmen ſome time in the year 1796.

On the thirtieth of May, 1798, about two thouſand of them, headed by one Caſey, attacked and burned the ſame charter-ſchool, after having plundered all the property of Mr. Sparks, the maſter, which was conſiderable. This man, remarkable for his humanity and tenderneſs to the children under his care, was peculiarly the object of their vengeance, on account

account of the vigorous defence which he had made the preceding year. The ſchool had been defended by a party of fencibles, till the twenty-fourth of May, 1798; and when they were withdrawn, Mr. Sparks and his family were obliged to abandon it; and the children took refuge in the bog of Allen, and in ſome neighbouring cabins.

The day before the charter-ſchool was burnt, the pariſh prieſt told ſome of the children, and an old woman who attended them, that they need not be under apprehenſions that night; and that, at all events, they (meaning the children) would not be moleſted. The charter-ſchool, as a proteſtant inſtitution, was peculiarly the object of hatred to the inſurgents, who were excluſively of the popiſh religion.

In conſequence of the increaſing outrages of the country, and the well-grounded belief, that a general inſurrection would ſoon take place, lieutenant Tyrrell, commanding the Clonard cavalry, in the abſence of Mr. John Tyrrell, its captain, then in England, received an official letter on the tenth of May, ordering his corps on permanent duty at Clonard,* four miles from Carbery.

Mr. Thomas Tyrrell, at that time high ſheriff of the county, finding his houſe at Kilreny, a mile and a half from Clonard, indefenſible; and as his noted loyalty and activity had made him obnoxious, he removed his family to the houſe of his kinſman, Mr. John Tyrrell, at Clonard; which he fortified, and where he kept a guard of one ſerjeant and eighteen men, who were relieved every week.

About the ſame time, captain O'Ferrall, of the Ballina cavalry, mounted a permanent guard at Johnſtown; but as there were ſtrong apprehenſions of a general inſurrection, he was permitted to join the guard at Clonard every night for protection, and returned every morning at four o'clock to Johnſtown.

At laſt, the outrages and atrocities increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, that lieutenant Tyrrell repaired to Dublin, and applied to lord Caſtlereagh for a reinforcement of regular troops. His lordſhip aſſured him, that, from the peculiar ſtate of the country, government could not comply with his requeſt; but recommended to him to raiſe ſome ſupplementaries among the proteſtants of the country, and told him that they ſhould be ſupplied with arms and ammunition.

† See plate I. 6 and 7.

During this repreſentation to adminiſtration, the rebels burned the proteſtant charter-ſchool at Carbery, and ſeveral houſes of proteſtants in it and its vicinity. They then proceeded towards Johnſtown, burning all the proteſtant houſes they met with in their progreſs, which terminated at Gurteen, where they plundered and burned the houſe of Mr. Metcalf.

Mr. Barlow, ſecond lieutenant of the Clonard corps, marched out with part of his guard, and being joined by captain O'Ferrall, purſued the rebels to Gurteen; but finding that they were poſted behind hedges, at each ſide of the road, which was ſo deep and ſo narrow, that the cavalry, though expoſed to the enemy's fire, could not deploy, or make any offenſive or defenſive operations, they were under the neceſſity of retiring.

On the thirtieth of May, Mr. Tyrrell arrived from Dublin, and next day enrolled and armed nineteen well-affected proteſtants, to act as infantry. By this time the rebels had collected in very great numbers, and encamped on an iſland in the bog of Timahoe,* and at Mucklin and Drihid; and for ſome time they continued to plunder the houſes of all the proteſtants in the neighbourhood, and carried off all the horſes and cattle they could find; and even intercepted the ſupplies of oxen and ſheep which were going from remote counties to the capital.

Government, having received intelligence of theſe enormities, ſent general Champagne, on the fifth of June, to conſult with lieutenant Tyrrell, who was well acquainted with the country, on the beſt and moſt feaſible mode of attacking the enemy's camp. General Champagne was eſcorted to Edenderry by lieutenant Tyrrell; but finding no troops there, he ſent an expreſs to Philipſtown, to order troops from thence to attack the enemy; and they arrived at Edenderry on the evening of the ſeventh of May; and on the next day, the general, having arranged his plan of operation, proceeded to attack the enemy with the following forces: A detachment of the Limerick militia, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Gough; the Cooleſtown yeomanry cavalry, by captain Wakely; the Canal Legion, by lieutenant Adam Williams; the Clonard cavalry, by lieutenant Tyrrell; and the Ballina cavalry, by captain O'Ferrall.

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* A gentleman who was a priſoner with them, informed me, that he ſaw a prieſt there, who encouraged the rebels to perſiſt in the rebellion, by aſſuring them that all the people in Connaught were in a ſtate of inſurrection.

The general diſpoſed the cavalry ſo as to ſurround the bog, while the infantry attacked the camp, which was on an iſland in it. The conteſt laſted for ſome time, as the number of infantry was but ſmall; however, their valour amply compenſated the paucity of their numbers; for the Limerick, led on by the gallant colonel Gough, and ably ſupported by the Canal Legion, commanded by lieutenant Williams, at laſt forced the camp, and diſperſed the rebels; of whom great numbers were cut off, in their flight, by the cavalry.

Lieutenant Tyrrell having received information that a numerous body of rebels had taken poſt on a hill near his houſe of Kilreny, where they were committing depredations and various enormities, went to Kinnegad himſelf for the troops quartered there, and ſent an expreſs for thoſe who were ſtationed at Edenderry, to co-operate with them.

The following troops aſſembled on the thirtieth of June, and attacked the rebels, who, to the number of ſix hundred, were poſted on Foxes-hill: A detachment of the Limerick, the Cooleſtown, the Canal Legion, and a ſmall party of the Northumberland fencibles. They were ſoon routed with conſiderable ſlaughter; and one Caſey, their commander, his brother, and another leader, were killed, and their bodies were expoſed for ſome days at Edenderry.

Caſey had been principally concerned in the atrocities committed at Rathangan; the uniform great coat of Mr. Spenſer, and the boots of Mr. Semple, a yeoman, murdered there, having been found upon him.

Lieutenant Tyrrell entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations that ſuch deciſive advantages againſt the rebels would have reſtored peace and tranquillity; but the arrival of four thouſand Wexford rebels in the county of Kildare, commanded by general Perry, and one Kearns, a popiſh prieſt, blaſted all his hopes, and ſpread deſolation in the country which he was appointed to defend. I ſhall poſtpone a deſcription of their progreſs and operations, till I have mentioned their defeat in the county of Wexford.

The following anecdote will ſhew the reader to what a ſtate of debaſement the popiſh multitude were reduced by the ſanguinary and fanatical principles which were conſtantly infuſed into their minds, to prepare them for the approaching inſurrection and rebellion: John North, of Nurney in the county of Kildare, a fellow of mean parentage, and ple-

beian

beian manners, married a handſome young woman of the name of Carrol, of the proteſtant religion, and reſpectably connected; but whoſe diſtreſſes compelled her to make ſo diſagreeable and unequal a connection. Being a bigotted papiſt, and of a ferocious diſpoſition, he became an enthuſiaſt in the cauſe of the united Iriſhmen, and gradually contracted an envenomed hatred againſt his wife, on account of her religion; inſomuch, that he uſed conſtantly to beat her with great cruelty, and to reproach her with the appellation of heretick; and his relations, harbouring an inveterate averſion towards her for the ſame reaſon, would not ſuffer her to ſuckle her only child, a new-born infant. At laſt, impelled by fanaticiſm, he attempted to murder her with a knife, and would have effected it, but that his mother, on her knees, deprecated his anger.

He kept an inferior kind of publick houſe, which was the rendezvous of all the rebels of the adjacent country; particularly of one Prendergaſt, a prieſt, who was hanged at Monaſtereven, on the breaking-out of the rebellion. As ſhe heard them at their nightly meetings forming treaſonable plots, and expreſſing their determination to deſtroy all hereticks, ſhe was kept in a conſtant ſtate of terror.

At laſt ſhe found, among his papers, a letter from a rebel captain, adviſing him to kill her, and to bury her in an adjacent fallow field; on which ſhe fled, and repaired to her relations in the county of Wicklow.

Soon after, this ruffian having a quarrel with a proteſtant yeoman of the name of Croſs, a challenge took place, and the combatants agreed to decide it with piſtols. North fired firſt, and miſſed his antagoniſt, on which Croſs deſired him to beg his life; but he ſwore he never would do ſo of an orangeman; on which Croſs fired and killed him.

ATTACK UPON KILCOCK.

The day after the rebels ſurrendered their arms at Knockallin to general Dundas, a party of them, encamped at Timahoe, ſent as their delegate the reverend father Murphy, a prieſt, to ſir Fenton Aylmer, poſted at that time at Kilcock, with the Donadea cavalry which he commanded, conſiſting of one captain, one lieutenant, three ſerjeants, and thirty privates; for the purpoſe of aſſuring him of their penitence, and their determination of ſurrendering their arms; and to requeſt that he would go to their camp, which he might do with the utmoſt ſafety, as they had

the greateſt reſpect and regard for him: He, agreeable to their deſire, having gone there, accompanied by one friend, and eſcorted by two dragoons, had a long conference with their leaders; and in conſequence of the ſtrong aſſurance of their pacific diſpoſition, and of an ardent deſire to return to their allegiance, he repaired firſt to general Dundas, and afterwards to lord Camden, to obtain an amneſty for them.

While ſir Fenton Aylmer was conferring with the rebel chiefs in their camp, his friend perceived two of the inferior rebels ſteal behind a hedge, and preſent their muſkets at him; on which he told the leaders, that he and his friend would inſtantly ſhoot them, if the aſſaſſins did not immediately deſiſt: On which the chieftains made an apology, and ſaid it was done without their knowledge. They then, at their inſtance, accompanied them to a place about a mile from the camp; and as a proof of their ſincerity, they obſerved, that they had no arms; but they no ſooner arrived there, than they ſaw ſix rebels with their muſkets, going behind a hedge, to ſhoot at them.

Notwithſtanding his exertions to ſerve them, they treacherouſly made an attack on him at Kilcock, with their whole force ſtationed at Timahoe, which is ſeven miles diſtant, on the Monday following; ſaying, "That all they wanted was the bloody ſir Fenton Aylmer, and Michael Aylmer his lieutenant, and their bloody Orange crew."

One of his videts having informed him of their approach, he advanced with his corps, with an intention of charging them; but perceiving their great ſuperiority of numbers, he ſounded a retreat, after having narrowly eſcaped being ſurrounded by them.

The rebels, after entering the town, ſearched every receſs, and every chimney in the inn, for him and his officers.

Sir Fenton Aylmer then fell back, and joined a ſmall corps of yeomen infantry, commanded by captain Jones, about a mile at the other ſide of the town, determined to give them battle.

On taking his ground, which was in ſir Percy Gethin's lawn, he found, to his mortification, that the infantry had retreated, and that all his corps, except fourteen who were proteſtants, had deſerted him; the remainder, who were Romaniſts, not being able, as they ſaid, to mount their horſes in the hurry, remained behind; and the rebels were ſo friendly to them, that they only deprived them of their arms, without offering them any injury.

The

The papiſts in captain Jones's corps retired to their reſpective houſes, in the ſame manner, without being moleſted by the enemy. The rebels then burned the houſe of Joſeph Robinſon, a proteſtant, an active conſtable, and clerk of the pariſh church of Donadea, then the barrack; and afterwards Courtown, the ſeat of lieutenant Aylmer; ſwearing at the ſame time, that they would burn the houſe of every bloody proteſtant. They afterwards proceeded to Donadea, to burn the houſe of ſir Fenton Aylmer, but were diverted from doing ſo, by being informed that their own friends had lodged many valuable articles in it for ſafe cuſtody; but they gave orders to have them removed, that they might execute their malignant purpoſe. But having been engaged in ſome other enterpriſe, they fortunately forgot it.

Nicholas Newenham, one of ſir Fenton's videts at Kilcock, having, from exceſſive zeal, advanced too far, was taken priſoner by the rebels, and was a witneſs of the deſtruction of his father's houſe, cloſe to Donadea, which they burnt, becauſe he was a proteſtant; for they publickly announced their determination to deſtroy the property of every perſon of that perſuaſion.

Having led young Newenham to their camp, they compelled him to dig his own grave; and during five or ſix days they carried him often to the brink of it, and threatened to throw him in and bury him alive; and whenever they did ſo, they compelled him to ſay his prayers at the edge of it; and while performing his devotion, they mocked his religion, and curſed him, as a heretick; at laſt one of them, more humane than the reſt, ſhot him, threw his body into the grave, and covered it lightly with earth.

Theſe facts have been ſubſtantiated by the affidavits of different rebels, who afterwards obtained their pardon.

About a month after, as ſir Fenton Aylmer was coming to Kilcock with fourteen dragoons, he was way-laid near Clane, and had a narrow eſcape, as the hedges were thickly lined with rebels. Very fortunately for him, he had an advanced guard, conſiſting of four men, of whom they killed three, which alarmed them, and enabled them to make their retreat to Sallins. One of the advanced guard was Archibald Noble, a proteſtant, and late of the Fermanagh militia, noted for his courage and loyalty; and ſuch was their hatred towards him, that they fired the

the inſtant they ſaw him, by which the remainder of the party were ſaved.

William Aylmer, a rebel general, declared afterwards, that he would have cut off the whole of them by the ambuſh which he had laid, but that he could not reſtrain the impetuoſity of his men.

Next day they lay in wait a ſecond time for him and his party.

Of eighteen papiſts in ſir Fenton Aylmer's corps, eleven deſerted on Sunday the eleventh of June, 1798, with their full arms and accoutrements. The other ſeven that remained faithful, were officers ſervants, or perſons who immediately depended on proteſtant gentlemen for their ſubſiſtence.

INSURRECTIONS IN THE COUNTRY NEAR ATHY AND NARRAGHMORE, AND COUNTY OF KILDARE.

On the ſeventeenth of March, 1798, John Glennan, a proteſtant, was murdered near the Moat of Ardſcull; and a few days after, John Lucas, pariſh clerk at Narraghmore, a man far advanced in years, was decoyed out of his houſe by his brother-in-law, and aſſaſſinated.

Theſe atrocities, and the conſtant robbery of proteſtant houſes of arms, alarmed the loyaliſts ſo much, that they invited Mr. Rawſon, of Glaſſealy near Athy, to command them; and he was ſoon at the head of one hundred and forty men, ſteady in ſupport of their king and country. By their active exertions and the diſcoveries that were made under the direction of that excellent officer general Campbell, the leaders of inſurrection were ſpeedily apprehended in the vicinity of Athy. Many hardened rebels ſought for chieftains in more diſtant parts, and ſeveral hundreds acknowledged their crimes and ſurrendered their pikes.

Colonel Keating, a moſt active magiſtrate and intelligent officer, perceiving that the ſtorm was gathering, raiſed ſixty yeomen cavalry and twenty infantry for the preſervation of the peace; and it is to be lamented, that the Roman catholick members of thoſe corps, with few exceptions, proved afterwards to be diſaffected; and that many of them, in violation of their oaths of allegiance, turned their arms againſt their king and country.

This amiable gentleman went to the different popiſh chapels, and frequently exhorted the multitude to renounce their treaſonable deſigns, and

to return to their allegiance; but finding all his efforts fruitleſs, he left the country in deſpair; an ill-fated event for the neighbourhood where he reſided! for, had he remained, his good ſenſe would have contributed much to avert the ſtorm which hung over the county of Kildare.

In the month of January, 1798, captain Rawſon, to undeceive and conciliate the people, publiſhed addreſſes at all the chapels in his neighbourhood, of which ſee a copy in Appendix, No. XV. and for this, his noted loyalty, and his active exertions as a magiſtrate, he was condemned by a committee of aſſaſſination, which ſat in his vicinity; and the ruffian who made an attempt on the life of Mr. Darragh, having been employed to murder him, he lay in wait for him at different times, in a ſhrubbery near his houſe, and would have aſſaſſinated him, but that he was fortunately attended by his ſon, who was armed.

On the memorable twenty-fourth of May, an expreſs arrived from Dunlavin to general Campbell, and intelligence was brought to captain Rawſon, that the popiſh multitude were in a ſtate of inſurrection on every ſide, and the proteſtant inhabitants of Narraghmore requeſted to know what meaſures they were to take for their protection. The general ſent an expreſs to Dunlavin, with directions how to proceed; and captain Rawſon ſent another to Narraghmore, with orders to the loyaliſts to fall back on Glaſſealy, with an aſſurance that a party would ſoon go to their aſſiſtance; but both the expreſſes were murdered by the way; and ſuch of the unfortunate proteſtants of Narraghmore as could not effect their eſcape, remained in the village, without any aſſiſtance.

General Campbell ſent a detachment of the Suffolk fencibles, under the command of major Montreſor, by Glaſſealy, to the aſſiſtance of the Narraghmore loyaliſts, whilſt he went with another towards Mulloghmaſt-hill.

Early in the day, James Murphy of the water-works, as principal in command, with a number of rebel captains, collected the whole country, men, women, and children; in ſhort, every one capable of bearing a pike; and they, with their united force, proceeded to attack the village of Narraghmore. Nine loyaliſts, who retired into the court-houſe, ſucceſsfully reſiſted them for two hours, and at laſt beat them off.

John Jefferies, the permanent yeoman ſerjeant of the Narraghmore corps, having a houſe with much property, which he wiſhed to defend, imprudently

imprudently led his little party into it. The routed rebels were met by Daniel Walſh, a traitorous yeoman of that corps, who has been ſince deſervedly hanged; and he rallied, and brought them back to the attack. Jefferies's houſe being ſoon ſet on fire, the loyaliſts parleyed, and the rebels promiſed that their lives ſhould be ſpared, provided they ſurrendered their arms; but the inſtant they came forth, the pikemen fell to butcher them. No leſs than ſix traitors were ſtabbing together at Thomas Young; but the claſhing of their pikes, and the confuſion which aroſe from their eagerneſs to ſhed his blood, having ſuſpended his fate for a moment, Fitzpatrick, one of the traitors of the Narraghmore corps, cried out to the pikemen to clear his way; and he inſtantly blew out the brains of his fellow ſoldier, with the muſket which he had received to ſerve his king and country; he then ſeized a pike, and transfixed the body to the ground, crying out, "That's the way to kill a heretick."

Thomas Alcock, and Moſes Borroughs, an old man of eighty years, (whoſe venerable locks ſhould have protected him,) were next inhumanly butchered. The other ſix were reſerved to be hanged in the adjoining wood of Narraghmore. The rebels then ſet fire to every proteſtant houſe in the town, in which the women were particularly active. On their retiring, the mangled body of poor old Borroughs was ſeen by Fitzpatrick, who thruſt a pike into it, and pitched it into a dyke of water, exclaiming, "Fogh! I ſmell a proteſtant carrion."

This barbarian was apprehended by the Athy loyaliſts, tried by a court-martial, executed on the ſpot where he had committed ſome of his enormities, and his head is now on the gaol of Athy. In his laſt moments he declared that he died innocent.

Lieutenant Eadie of the Tyrone militia, who had been ſtationed for ſome months at Ballytore, was ordered, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, to join his company at Calverſtown. Having proceeded with twenty-three privates, by Narraghmore, he received a preſſing invitation there to breakfaſt, which was very unfortunate, as by that delay he was prevented from arriving in time to ſave the lives of the loyaliſts.

He had not proceeded far with his party, when he heard the ſhouts of the ſavages, exulting over their victims, as they conveyed them for execution.

Lieutenant Eadie placed his men behind a low wall, and when the ſavages came within thirty yards, gave them a volley, which killed many of them.

The ſavages fled, leaving all their priſoners, ſave Jefferies and William Aſhe, behind them. They were rallied and brought back to the fight, by a heroine, whoſe ſpirit and animation would have immortalized her name in a good cauſe.

In their turn, the rebels attacked lieutenant Eadie's little party, for many hours; he kept on the defenſive, until at length he completely routed his foes, taking the heroine priſoner. She was ſtripped of her riding-coat and cap; and, lieutenant Eadie, either admiring her bravery or beauty, gave her her liberty.

The rebels, after their defeat by lieutenant Eadie, retreated to Ballytore, where they gained a reinforcement of many thouſands; and, attributing their want of ſucceſs to irreligion, they formed in the ſtreet, knelt down, and compelled Mr. Cullen, the pariſh prieſt, to give them his bleſſing. Then, headed by Redmond Murphy, and Malachy Delany, two rebel leaders, they broke into a houſe where lieutenant Yeates, the ſon of a reſpectable magiſtrate of the neighbourhood, was priſoner, butchered his body in a moſt cruel manner, and threw it into the ſtreets to be devoured by pigs. They then murdered a poor travelling ſoldier, who had ſought protection in the houſe of Mr. Robert Hudſon.

They attacked and put to death ſeveral ſick ſoldiers of the Suffolk fencibles, hanging ſome of them, who were in fevers, out of their windows: they took priſoners two ladies, the wives of the Suffolk officers, and lodged them in the houſe of Abraham Shackleton,* of Ballytore, under a guard of rebels. They then proceeded to murder Jefferies and Aſhe; but Mr. Cullen ſaved and concealed them, till they made their eſcape to Athy.

By this time the rebel force had encreaſed to the number of three thouſand, and learning from their ſcouts, that lieutenant Eadie had miſſed the road to Calverſtown, they purſued him. Major Montreſor having proceeded with his detachment to Glaſſealy, a party of rebels from Fonſtown, under the command of captain Paddy Dowling and Terry

* His father was ſchoolmaſter to Edmund Burke.

Terry Toole, who were on their way to burn the manſion-houſe there, fled at his approach. The major then proceeded to the village of Narraghmore, but too late to do any eſſential ſervice there; as no human being was to be ſeen, but the wretched victims of ſavage fury, and every proteſtant houſe in it was deſtroyed, or conſumed by fire.* The major then marched to the place of his deſtination, Redgap-hill, while captain Rudd with thirty men, flanked him through the woods of Narraghmore; and having been joined by lieutenant Eadie, they followed the route which major Montreſor had taken.

At the end of the bog road near the turnpike, they were attacked and ſurrounded by the three thouſand rebels from Narraghmore, on whom they kept up a briſk fire, for near half an hour, which brought the major and his party to their aſſiſtance. The rebels having perceived his approach, placed a number of wool packs on cars, which happened accidentally to be paſſing by; and ſome of their markſmen concealed behind them, fired and killed ſeven of the Suffolk fencibles, and then retreated to their main body. But the major purſued, and obtained ample revenge; for in a ſhort time, two hundred rebels lay dead, and as many more were wounded. In theſe different conflicts, and in the ſcenes of carnage, conflagration and plunder, which occurred in the courſe of that day, ſixty of the Narraghmore corps in their uniforms, fought with the rebels; for which, eighteen of them were ſhot, ſeveral were hanged, ſome fled the country, and others came in under the proclamation, offering pardon to repentant rebels, and received protections.

The main object of the rebels in that part of the county of Kildare, was, to join thoſe of the Queen's county, and the county of Carlow; and to have aſſiſted them in taking poſſeſſion of the town of Carlow. Notwithſtanding

* The houſes of the following proteſtants were burnt at Narraghmore, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, by their Roman catholick neighbours, with whom, till that day, they had lived on the moſt friendly terms; and their inmates, narrowly eſcaping with their lives, fled for protection to Athy]:

Mary Jefferies, widow, Joſeph Whiteacre, Thomas Corry, Robert Cooke, Richard Holmes, Matthew James, Darby Kehoe, William Cope, Sarah Lucas, Catherine Young, William Little and James Little. Theſe facts have been verified by the affidavit of the ſaid perſons, and captain Thomas J. Rawſon, ſworn before A. Weldon, Eſq. a magiſtrate, the twenty-ſixth of July, 1798. Beſides the above, the houſes of the proteſtants whom they maſſacred in that town were burnt.

Notwithſtanding their different defeats, they collected a party of one thouſand two hundred, and were proceeding to accompliſh their original plan; but, in paſſing through Caſtledermot to Carlow, they were attacked by captain Mince, who commanded there a ſmall party of the ſixth regiment of foot. After the ſecond diſcharge they were routed, and ſeveral of them were killed; and ſir Richard Butler, who went with his troop of yeomen cavalry to the aſſiſtance of captain Mince, purſued them and took many priſoners, of whom two were hanged; and the remainder, through the clemency of government, were ſet at liberty.

General Campbell, having received intelligence that the rebels were in great force in Ballytore, that they had taken many paſſengers priſoners, and that they obſtructed the approaches not only to that town, but even the great Munſter road to the metropolis, by felling large trees acroſs them, he laid a plan for diſlodging them, and ordered the troops from Carlow and Baltinglaſs to march to one ſide of the town; and he intended to arrive at the oppoſite ſide at the ſame moment.

At twelve o'clock on the night of the 27th, he marched from Athy, with his whole force, except a few yeomen under the command of captain Rawſon, who were left in charge of the town; the perſon who undertook to guide his party miſtook the road, and led him by the woods of Narraghmore, through which he ſent a flanking party.

As they paſſed by the manſion-houſe of Narraghmore, ſome diſaffected perſons fired at the troops from it; on which general Campbell ordered it to be attacked with cannon. After ſome diſcharge of artillery it was ſet on fire; and the fellows who had fired at the troops were killed in the woods, as they were endeavouring to make their eſcape.

When the general entered Ballytore, he found it deſerted by every male, except Mr. Francis Johnſon, a ſurgeon; and as ſome of the Tyrone regiment had repeatedly ſeen him commanding the rebels, the ſight of him kindled ſuch indignation in them, that one of them bayoneted him through the breaſt, on which he fell. He roſe again, laid his hand on his wound, and ſtrongly, and with many oaths aſſerted his innocence. Several of the ſoldiers cried out, that they had frequently ſeen him at the head of the rebels—an open was made—five of the Suffolk fencibles preſented their muſkets at him; when he found that all ſubterfuge was vain, he exclaimed, "Since I muſt die, guilty

guilty as I am, the Lord have mercy on me!" and he was inſtantly ſent into eternity.

The general, on entering the town, liberated colonel Wolſeley and his lady, two wives of the Suffolk officers, and ſome others, who had been priſoners with the rebels.

The rebels, finding that they were every where unſucceſsful, ſent a deputation to general Campbell, offering him a ſurrender of their arms; and he having aſſented, about three hundred gave up pikes and other arms at Ballindrum, near the Moat of Ardſcull; and great numbers beſides went to Athy, and obtained protections.

In about ten days, general Dundas thought it neceſſary to order the garriſon at Athy to march to Kilcullen, to reinforce him there; and the town was evacuated by the military, the yeomen, and all the proteſtants; the latter well knowing that they would be maſſacred without the protection of the former.

When they had marched about ten miles, they received an order that the yeomanry ſhould return to defend the town, which gave the greateſt joy to the loyaliſts, as all their property would have been deſtroyed in their abſence. They arrived there about twelve o'clock at night, and concluded that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of it; but though they had been waiting to attack it ſome nights before, they were afraid to enter, ſuſpecting that the evacuation of it was but a feint; and that the general meant to have attacked them, as ſoon as they had got poſſeſſion of it.

The next evening they approached it in great force; but finding the yeomen ready to receive them, they fled from a ſmall patrole who had been ſent to reconnoitre.

From this period, the country round Athy appeared tolerably tranquil, and no bodies of rebels appeared in force; but ſtill it was not ſafe for a proteſtant to appear, or travel ever ſo ſhort a diſtance alone.

John Jefferies of Narraghmore, who eſcaped on the day they burned his houſe, having gone to that village from Athy, to look after ſuch part of his property as might have remained, was murdered at two o'clock in the day.

Such was the malignity of the rebels in the county of Kildare, that a party of them, in order to diſtreſs the metropolis, endeavoured to obſtruct the navigation of the Grand canal, by cutting its banks, and emptying

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ing its water into the adjacent country; but they were ſurpriſed and prevented by captain Griffith of Millicent, who killed ſome of them.

The vicinity of Athy remained peaceable, and it was believed that the diſaffected had given up their deſtructive ſchemes; but on the night of the twenty-fourth of December, 1798, a party of rebels, moſt of them from the Wicklow mountains, and under the command of Matthew Kenna and Redmond Murphy, two Kildare ruffians, ſet fire to the houſe of Mrs. Hannah Manders, cloſe to Glaſſealy, and murdered her, her two ſiſters,* and Mr. John Anderſon her nephew, all proteſtants, and a ſervant woman of the Romiſh perſuaſion, and threw their bodies into the flames, in which they were reduced to aſhes.

They then burned the dwelling-houſe of captain Rawſon, and all his furniture; and in one hour deſtroyed the production of twenty-five years of active induſtry.

A Roman catholick ſervant, who was in Mrs. Manders's houſe, was ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted; but Anderſon, attempting to follow him, was ſhot.

The Roman catholick maid ſhewed her attachment to the rebels, by putting her head out of a door, and calling to them to take care of Keane, the brother of one of them, who was in the ſtable. He was accordingly led out, and reſcued from the flames; but ſhe met with that fate which ſhe deſerved; for reſembling Mrs. Manders in perſon, they miſtook her, and piked her to death.

In a ſhort time after, captain Rawſon had one Whelan, an aſſaſſin, better known by the nick-name of Black Top, apprehended, for the murder of the Manders family; and he was tried before a court-martial at Carlow.

It appeared on the evidence of Mrs. Margaret Mc. Ivers, the niece, who eſcaped through a back window, that, when the houſes were ſet on fire, Black Top ſtood at the door with a muſket and bayonet, to prevent any of the proteſtant part of the family from eſcaping: That ſhe applied to him to take the young infant ſhe held in her arms out of the flames, and ſhe would take her chance; but he replied, "No, you damned heretick bitch! you may burn together; nits will become lice."

Immediately Howard, a traitorous yeoman, who had been often hoſpitably entertained in the houſe, entered it with a muſket and bayonet; on which Mrs.

* They were unoffending religious women, far advanced in years

Mrs. Manders was overjoyed at ſeeing him, ſuppoſing that he came as her deliverer; and ſhe expreſſed a hope that he would not murder her; but the obdurate ruffian replied, by knocking her down with the but-end of his muſket, and transfixing her aged body to the floor.

An old ſuperannuated ſiſter, who had not left her bed for many months, crawled into the garden, and endeavoured to conceal herſelf in a ſquare of cabbages; but ſhe was purſued and piked, and her body was thrown into the flames.

Black Top and Fitzpatrick (the murderer of Thomas Young at Narraghmore,) were convicted, and executed where they had committed theſe horrid crimes.

In the ſpring of 1800, one of the villains became an approver, and gave captain Rawſon full information. Shortly after, Howard was taken in the county of Carlow, by a ſon of the captain's; and Keane and Bryan, two more of the aſſaſſins, were alſo apprehended. Theſe three were brought to trial at the aſſizes, and fully convicted, to the ſatisfaction of a crowded court, and of the very humane judge Kelly, who in paſſing ſentence, declared, "That it was the firſt caſe that ever came before him in which he did not feel diſtreſſed; but that he felt great ſatisfaction at being the inſtrument, under Providence, of ridding the world of ſuch monſters."

On the trial it was proved, that captain Rawſon's houſe and out-offices were burned in revenge for his loyal exertions; and that the Manders family were aſſaſſinated merely becauſe they were hereticks.*

On this trial Mrs. Margaret Mc. Ivers, Mrs. Manders's niece, corroborated the teſtimony of the approver againſt Howard, in what has been before ſtated; and he, Keane and Bryan, were hanged and beheaded at Glaſſealy.

All the cottagers contiguous to that place, to whom captain Rawſon had acted with ſingular humanity for above twenty years, were among the foremoſt in plundering his houſe.

POISONING AT RATHCOOLE.

Though the efforts of rebellion were cruſhed at Rathcoole on the general riſing, yet the rebels, indignant at the diſappointment, endeavoured to accompliſh their nefarious deſigns on the twenty-ſecond of June, by poiſoning the garriſon there. On that day, captain Joſeph Hewan of the

* This was acknowledged by the approvers on the trial.

Angusſhire regiment, was ordered to march from Tallagh to Hazel Hatch, with twenty of his men, to reinforce the party there; and having halted his men at Rathcoole, the head quarters of his regiment, to refreſh them, ſome of them, after having been there about an hour, were reported to be very ill. On enquiry, it appeared, that after having eaten ſome bread and milk, they were ſeized with a great ſickneſs in their ſtomachs, accompanied with a head-ach, and a violent vomiting and griping; and they ſaid, that they thought they had a ball of fire in their breaſts.

Mr. Irwine, ſurgeon of the regiment, communicated theſe ſymptoms to colonel Hunter, who commanded there, and his ſuſpicion, that the bread which they ate, had been poiſoned. On which the colonel ordered the baker and his man into cuſtody.

The men of both parties began now to be taken ill with the ſame ſymptoms, by five or ſix at a time; the commanding officer then ordered the baker and his boy, and one Doyle, who was ſtrongly ſuſpected, to eat ſome of the bread; but more of the men becoming ſick, and the malignity of their diſorder increaſing, he ordered the two former to be ſhot. The latter grew as ſick as any of the ſoldiers; but no body doubted of his innocence, as his wife and children were affected in the ſame manner, as they had ate of the bread. Doyle kept a low publick houſe, in which ſome of the ſoldiers had been entertained. Many of them would have died, but that they were relieved by medical aſſiſtance. The ſymptoms were ſometimes abated by an emetick, but they often returned with redoubled violence; and then oil or melted butter, as a ſubſtitute, afforded them relief. Some of them were ſeized with ſuch ſtrong convulſions, that two or three men could not hold them, but with difficulty.

Mr. Robinſon, a proteſtant clergyman, his wife, and ſeven children, who were paſſing through Rathcoole, were affected exactly in the ſame manner, in conſequence of having eaten ſome of the bread.

Next day the officers of the Angusſhire regiment were well informed, that the roads, fields, and ditches near Rathcoole, were crowded on the preceding night with men well armed, and that they diſperſed when the bakers were ſhot, and reinforcements came from Dublin, Tallagh, and Hazel-hatch. They intended to have ſurpriſed the garriſon, when debilitated by poiſon.

Some

Some of the bread which had produced ſuch dreadful effects in thoſe who had eaten of it, was given to a cat and a dog, and they died of it. Some hours after the baker and his boy were ſhot, his houſe was ſearched, and a paper, containing about two ounces of yellow arſenick, was found in his bake-houſe; which, being ſent to Dublin to a ſurgeon, proved, on the analyzation of it, to be that kind of poiſon.

ATTACK UPON MAYNOOTH.

From the ſuppoſed ſanctity of this town, as a college had been recently erected there, and endowed at a very great expence by the *proteſtant ſtate*, for the education of *popiſh prieſts*, it was hoped that it would not have been moleſted by the rebels; however, the proteſtant inhabitants of it and its vicinity were as much the object of the ſanguinary rage of the rebels, as in any other part of the county of Kildare.

About twenty of the Carton cavalry, of which his grace the duke of Leinſter was captain, and Thomas Long and Richard Cane, eſquires, were lieutenants, did permanent duty there, for ſome time, previous and ſubſequent to the twenty-fourth of May; and ten of them were conſtantly ſtationed on the different avenues leading into the town: the duke was abſent at that time in England.

About one o'clock in the morning of the tenth of June, 1798, two men approached the town and addreſſed one of the corps, who was at an outpoſt; and pretending to be travellers, and that they loſt their way, begged admittance into the town, to get a lodging; but on being refuſed, they drew back a few paces, and both fired at the ſentinel at the ſame time; on which, he galloped with the utmoſt ſpeed to the guard room, and alarmed his fellow-ſoldiers; and was purſued by about five hundred rebels, headed by William Aylmer their commander.

Such was the diſaffection of the corps, that, though they were alarmed in due time, only ſeven mounted their horſes to face the rebels; and of thoſe ſeven, but four fired at them; and they were under a neceſſity of retreating, leſt they ſhould be overpowered by the great ſuperiority of numbers.

Lieutenant Cane made his eſcape, but a young gentleman of the name of Nugent, who had been on a viſit with the lieutenant, and whoſe youth and innocence ſhould have preſerved him from their ſanguinary diſpoſi-

tion, fell into their hands, and was led to their camp and ſhot there next day. They took eleven yeomen priſoners, ſome of whom returned next day, and the remainder continued with the rebels. Three days after, a party of the ſame rebels entered the town of Maynooth, and plundered ſome houſes; and at the ſame time, they ſeized Mr. Wilkinſon, a proteſtant, and a maſter carpenter, much eſteemed for his probity; and conveyed him to their camp, where they next day piked him to death. As they conveyed him out of the town, he implored them to put an end to him immediately, that his body might fall into the hands of his friends, for the purpoſe of being interred; but they refuſed his requeſt.

Afterwards lieutenant Cane, and about thirteen of the corps, joined the yeomanry at Leixlip, and continued to do duty with them, moſt of the remainder having joined the rebels.

Mr. John Brown, a gentleman farmer, much eſteemed for his probity, lived at Barropſtown, near Maynooth; and had three ſons who ſerved in the Carton yeomanry. He and his family, being natives of England, and proteſtants, were ſo much the object of rebel vengeance, that they were obliged to leave their houſe, and retire to Leixlip for ſafety.

In the beginning of September, Mr. Brown, his wife, daughter and ſon, went to paſs the day at Barropſtown. In the evening Mr. Brown, having rode out to ſee ſome hay-makers whom he employed, perceived, about forty perches from his houſe, twelve ruffians, armed and mounted, galloping furiouſly towards him; and on ſeeing him, they ſhouted and encreaſed their ſpeed. Mr. Brown galloped to his houſe, alarmed his family, and proceeded towards Leixlip. Part of the ruffians purſued him; the others his ſon, who fled from them on foot, and whom they murdered with ſavage barbarity; but his father was ſo fortunate as to eſcape.

The following anecdote will ſhew the reader how much the influence of the Romiſh prieſts tends to defeat diſtributive juſtice: A rebel, of the name of Cullen, was to be tried at the ſummer aſſizes of Naas, on the following charges: For having fired three ſhots at a yeoman, as he was travelling along the high road, and wounding him in two places; and, for being concerned in the attack upon Proſperous, and in the murder of captain Swayne. One Kennedy, the proſecutor, was kept in gaol, to ſecure his appearance, and to prevent him from being aſſaſſinated. When the trial was coming on, Mr. Kemmis, the crown

ſolicitor,

ſolicitor, went to the gaol for Kennedy, the proſecutor; but on approaching it, he perceived a prieſt whiſpering in his ear, through one of the grates; and who, on perceiving Mr. Kemmis, fled precipitately. On entering the gaol, he told Kennedy that he muſt repair to the court with him, as the trial would come on immediately; but to his great aſtoniſhment, he diſcovered, that the ſuggeſtions of his ghoſtly adviſer, but for a few minutes, had induced him to contradict the moſt material facts which he had ſworn in his information; for he pretended to be ignorant of them.

BATTLE OF OVIOTSTOWN, NEAR KILCOCK.

It was much to be lamented, that the rebels of the county of Kildare, inſtead of feeling gratitude for the royal mercy which had been extenſively granted to them by the generals who commanded there, and of returning to their allegiance, perſevered, for a long time, not only in committing individual robbery and aſſaſſination, but continued their encampments, and to commit depredations in large bodies. Lieutenant-colonel Irwine, who commanded the garriſon of Trim, having received intelligence that a numerous body of rebels were aſſembling near Kilcock on the eighteenth of June, marched on that night, with part of his garriſon, conſiſting of the fourth dragoons, a troop of the duke of York's fencible cavalry, four companies of foot, and two battalion guns, and the following yeomanry corps: The Trim cavalry, one troop; the Navan and Murgallion cavalry, one troop; the Demifore, one troop. Soon after he paſſed through Kilcock, his advanced guard was fired on by a large body of the rebels; of whom the main body, ſuppoſed to conſiſt of three thouſand, was drawn up in a line at the bottom of Oviotſtown hill, near Hortland houſe. As it was ſome time before the colonel could form, owing to the unevenneſs of the ground, and the number of incloſures on it, the rebels kept up a ſmart fire, and made a deſperate effort to ſeize the cannon; but the well-directed fire of the infantry, made them abandon that enterpriſe. Soon after the troops formed, they routed the rebels, who precipitately fled to a neighbouring bog, where they effected their eſcape, after two hundred of them had been ſlain. The king's troops ſuſtained the following loſs: Fourth dragoon guards, one ſerjeant killed; captain ſir Richard Steele, one ſerjeant,

two

two rank and file wounded; Murgallion cavalry, one rank and file wounded; Trim cavalry, one rank and file wounded; Duke of York's Highlanders, enſign John Sutler, one ſerjeant, and five rank and file killed; lieutenant-colonel Irwine, one ſerjeant, and ſeven rank and file wounded; the firſt ſlightly.

William Aylmer, who had been a lieutenant in the Kildare militia, was the leader of the rebels in this action.

For many months after, the ferocious ſpirit of the popiſh multitude continued to break forth in acts of rapine and murder, of which the reader will find ſome ſpecimens in Appendix, No. XV.

The chapel of Athy was burnt in the month of April; and an offer was made, by ſome papiſts of conſideration, of a ſum of money to a ſoldier of the Cork regiment, to ſwear that it was perpetrated by the yeomen of that town, who are proteſtants. I ſhall refer the reader to the ſame Appendix, for the particulars of this infamous tranſaction.

This chapel was wantonly burnt, with a malignant deſign of throwing an imputation on the proteſtants of having done it.

DUBLIN.

I ſhall now return to the metropolis, to give the reader a ſhort ſketch of its ſituation, as its diſaffected inhabitants ſtill continued to give unqueſtionable proofs that they hoped to ſucceed in a general inſurrection, with the aſſiſtance of the country rebels, and ſome of the diſloyal yeomen, who were ſtill attached to their cauſe in the city.

On the twenty-ninth of May, the Sepulchre's corps, who muſtered about fifty effective men, commanded by captain Ryan, was ordered to mount guard at Dolphin's-barn, an outlet on the South Weſt ſide of the city of Dublin. As they were marching to their poſt, a man of the name of Raymond, a Romaniſt, and one of the moſt active privates in the corps, entered into converſation with one Jennings, who was alſo in the ranks, and ſaid to him, "Do you ſee that our lieutenant has got piſtols?" (alluding to lieutenant Maturin, the officer of the guard.) Jennings anſwered, "Yes." Raymond then ſaid, "They will not be of any uſe to him, for we will do him out." When they arrived at their poſt, Jennings aſked him what he meant, in the alluſion which he made to the lieutenant. Raymond then informed him of the following plot: "That, in caſe

caſe of an attack, which was hourly expected, and which it was believed he had previouſly concerted with the rebels, the diſaffected members of the corps were to maſſacre the officers and the proteſtants of it, and to deliver up the bridge to the aſſailants: They were then to proceed to the battery in the park; to inform the guard that they had been defeated; to aſk admittance; and on being let in, to murder the guard; to take poſſeſſion of the battery and ammunition; and to turn it to their own uſe."

Jennings had been ſworn an united Iriſhman, and was attached to their cauſe from pure republican principles; but being a proteſtant, and having diſcovered from the maſſacres which had taken place, in the counties of Dublin, Meath and Kildare, that the extirpation of his own order was intended, he informed lieutenant Maturin of the plot; and he having communicated it to government, Raymond was taken up, tried, convicted and hanged on the Old Bridge the firſt of June.

As the Roman catholick members of that corps, who formed the majority of it, were diſcovered to be diſaffected, they were diſarmed on parade the Sunday following, and diſbanded.

Raymond would not have formed ſo deſperate a deſign, which muſt have been defeated, and have terminated in the ruin of him and his fellow conſpirators, if it were not connected with a general inſurrection, which the diſaffected in the metropolis conſtantly meditated.

The fanatical zeal of ſome of the rebels was ſuch, and their hopes of ſucceeding by a general inſurrection, were ſtill ſo ſanguine as to extinguiſh all prudence.

Two ſoldiers, who were conducting a priſoner by Peter's-row, were attacked at noon-day by two ruffians, who ſnatched their firelocks from them, with which they knocked them down. One of them, of the name of Fennel, a notorious traitor, was taken up, tried and hanged on the twenty-ninth of May, on one of the bridges. He was ſo great a fanatick, that he ſaid, when he was about to aſcend the fatal ſtep, "That he would live and die an united Iriſhman." This fellow had been captain of a corps of united Iriſhmen; and was at the head of a numerous body of them, in the fields, near the floating docks, on the night of the twenty-third of May, waiting for a ſignal to ruſh into the city.

Committees were frequently diſcovered in deliberation; blackſmiths were detected in the act of making pikes; and ſentinels were frequently fired

fired at, or knocked down while at their poſts: Information was obtained from ſome notorious traitors by whipping them, of the extent and malignity of the plot; and of immenſe quantities of pikes and other arms, which were diſcovered and ſeized in different parts of the city.

There was a conſtant communication between the rebels of the metropolis and thoſe of the country, which was proved by the frequent interception of letters; and that the former expected the co-operation of the latter.

On the evening of the twenty-fifth of May, a detachment of the merchants corps, conſiſting of one officer, one ſerjeant, and twenty privates, was ordered to eſcort four waggons of ammunition to Naas; and it was conſidered by government to be a ſervice of ſo much danger, that their deſtination was kept a profound ſecret, till the moment of their departure; and a military officer, who accompanied the party, had orders not to ſuffer any perſon to go before them, leſt the country rebels, riſen in great multitudes in the county of Kildare, and who had four encampments there, might cut them off. During the whole of their progreſs, one K——, a Romaniſt, and ſtrongly ſuſpected of diſaffection, inveighed bitterly againſt government for the diſreſpect ſhewn to the corps, in having ſent them off in ſo ſudden and unexpected a manner.

Next morning, when on their return to town, about a dozen rebels came out of a wood near Johnſtown, as if to provoke an attack from the yeomen. The officer drew up his ſmall party, who fired ſome ſhots at the rebels, on which they retired into the wood. K—— urged the party to purſue them, which would have been fatal to the whole of them; as it has ſince been diſcovered, that there were from twelve to fourteen hundred rebels in the wood, ready to cut them off on their return, of which K—— had given them information the night before; and that the ten who ſhewed themſelves were intended to draw them into an ambuſh.

On Monday the twenty-ſeventh of May, a party of the merchants corps, conſiſting of one officer, two ſerjeants, and thirty privates, were ordered on the ſame ſervice to Naas. On that night, captain Beresford waited on captain Stanley, who commanded that corps, to inform him, that he had informations againſt K——, who was immediately arreſted; and ſhewing ſtrong marks of perturbation, he confeſſed that he was a colonel in the rebel army, and that he was to have headed a very large party on the twenty-third of May, in an attack upon Newgate.

On

On Tueſday the twenty-eighth of May, an expreſs going from Dublin had been ſtopped, and a letter was found upon him from K—— to the rebels, written on Monday; the purport of which was, to inform them of every particular reſpecting the eſcort which was to go to Naas, and expreſſing a wiſh that they might be more ſucceſsful in cutting off this party than the former.

It was obſervable, that for ſome days previous and ſubſequent to the intended inſurrection, the diſaffected tradeſmen, among whom the butchers were very conſpicuous, would not take bank notes. Though it had been defeated on the night of the twenty-third of May, the rebels were ſo confident of ſucceeding in another effort, that fellows were at different times employed in marking the doors of the loyaliſts, and particularly thoſe of the yeomen. Seven men were detected and ſeized on the thirtieth of May in the act of doing ſo; and on being whipped by a party of the attornies corps, in the old Exchange, they acknowledged that they belonged to a committee of fifteen employed in that ſervice; that there were many ſimilar committees, and that each of them had its reſpective department.

As an inſurrection was ſtill expected every night, the lord mayor publiſhed the following caution:

CITY OF DUBLIN.

Manſion-houſe, 26th May, 1798.

A CAUTION,

Leſt the Innocent ſhould ſuffer for the Guilty.

The lord mayor requeſts his fellow citizens to keep within their houſes as much as poſſibly they can, ſuitable to their convenience, after ſun-ſet, in this time of peril, as the ſtreets ſhould be kept as clear as poſſible, ſhould any tumult or riſing to ſupport rebellion be attempted, in order that the troops and artillery may act with full effect in caſe of any diſturbance.

The lord mayor's ſervant acknowledged to his lordſhip, that he was at the head of a numerous body of ſervants, who were to have aſſaſſinated their maſters; and that he and his party were to have murdered the lord mayor and his family, and two others of his ſervants, who had heſitated to join them; and that this atrocious deed was to have been the ſignal for the other ſervants in the vicinity to riſe and commit ſimilar enormities.

Purſuant to a notice to the Roman catholicks, inſerted in the Dublin Journal of the twenty-fourth of May, an addreſs, purporting to be that of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, was preſented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, on the thirtieth of May, "expreſſing their firm attachment to his majeſty's royal perſon, and the conſtitution, under which they have the happineſs to live: That the ſhare of political liberty, and the advantages which they poſſeſs under it, leave them nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to induce them to look elſewhere, than to the tried benignity of their ſovereign, and the unbiaſſed determination of the legiſlature, as the ſource of future advantage; and they expreſſed their regret, that many of the lower order of their religious perſuaſion were engaged in unlawful aſſociations and practices."

This addreſs was ſigned by four noblemen, ſome gentlemen of landed property, ſome reſpectable merchants, and by twenty-eight titular biſhops. Had the latter, ſo early as the year 1793, informed government, which they might have done, having learned it in their confeſſion boxes, that a conſpiracy was at that time formed for ſubverting the conſtitution, they would have endeared themſelves to the beſt of kings, and to his government in England and Ireland. It may be ſaid, that the ſecreſy required in the article of confeſſion, raiſed inſuperable obſtacles to it. There is not a ſentence in the ſcripture which gives the moſt remote ſanction to the doctrines of confeſſion and abſolution, and the extraordinary ſuperſtructure raiſed on them, except that ſaying of our Saviour to his apoſtles, "Whoſe ſins ye remit, they ſhall be remitted to them; and whoſe ſins ye retain, they ſhall be retained."

The Almighty thought proper, at one particular period, to make uſe of ſupernatural means, and to inveſt with extraordinary powers a certain ſet of men, whom he ſelected to diſpel that darkneſs which inveſted the pagan world, and to work the ſalvation of his creatures; but that end being attained, it muſt be conſidered the higheſt arrogance in any chriſtian paſtor afterwards to claim a delegation from his Creator, and a right, to exerciſe thoſe powers.

Theſe doctrines were a device invented by the artful policy of the court of Rome, to gain an aſcendancy for its members, wherever the Romiſh faith was profeſſed; and it is moſt certain, that a ſet of men, in whom celibacy extinguiſhes all ſocial affections, who are inſulated in ſociety, and

and whoſe primary object therefore is the aggrandizement of their own order, muſt have very great influence in ſociety, when they can extract from their communicants of every rank and degree, their moſt important ſecrets. The Romiſh prieſts, thus circumſtanced, may be conſidered as in a ſtate of ambuſh, in reſpect to the reſt of the community.

From the various and fluctuating opinions delivered by the learned divines and ſchoolmen of the Romiſh church on this doctrine, it is very evident, that ſecreſy in confeſſion is a poſitive human inſtitution; and it is very extraordinary, that a ſet of men who profeſs to be of the religion of Chriſt, which is the bond of peace, and enjoins the practice of every moral virtue, ſhould preſcribe a rule under the article of confeſſion, which ſanctions the concealment of crimes, and by doing ſo, prevents the puniſhment, and conſequently encourages the commiſſion of them. This is contrary to the divine law; for any thing unworthy of the Deity cannot be true, and whatever is repugnant to his attributes of wiſdom, juſtice and mercy, muſt be falſe.

St. Paul tells us, "That our Saviour was all things to all men, that he might by all means ſave ſome."* But a prieſt is prohibited from diſcloſing a ſecret, on which the lives of thouſands, or the exiſtence of an empire, might depend. Miſpriſion of treaſon is a capital offence by the laws of every ſtate in Europe; and yet the popiſh prieſts are compelled to be guilty of it, in conſequence of their not being allowed to break the ſeal of confeſſion.

By the divine law we are ordered to ſubmit to the laws and ordinances of the ſtate under which we live. "Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the ſuperior power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive damnation to themſelves."† "Wherefore ye needs muſt be ſubject, not only for wrath, but for conſcience ſake."‡ "Submit yourſelves to every *ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake*; whether it be to the king, as ſupreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him *for the puniſhment of evil doers*, and for the praiſe of them that do well."‖

* 1 Corinthians x. 22. † Romans xiii. 1, 2. ‡ Ibid. 5.
‖ 1 Peter ii. 13, 14.

Now the prieſt, who obtains a knowledge of crimes, ſhould, according to the *ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake*, and *for the puniſhment of evil doers*, diſcloſe them to the civil magiſtrate; but in doing ſo, he is guilty of ſacrilege, as confeſſion is a ſacrament in his church, according to the canons of it; and by concealing them, he violates both the divine and human law.

By the ancient canons, particularly by the council of Lateran, under pope Innocent III. in the year 1215, every confeſſor, who reveals a confeſſion, ſhall be interdicted and impriſoned for life. Cardinal Tolet ſays, "that the ſeal of confeſſion ſhould not be broken, to ſave the lives of princes, or even the republick:" And Henriquez adds, "not even to ſave the whole world, or to keep it from burning, or all the ſacraments from demolition." But cardinal Bellarmine* ſays, "if treaſon be known to a prieſt in confeſſion, he may give notice of it to a pious and *catholick prince*, but not to a *heretick*:" And father Suarez ſaid, "that that was acutely and prudently ſaid by him." This ſhews that it was founded in human policy, and framed as a ſyſtem of terror to drive ſovereign princes within the pale of the Romiſh church. Father Binet differed from Bellarmine, and ſays, "it were better that all the princes in the world periſhed, than that the ſeal of confeſſion were broken."

Jaurigny and Balthazard Gerard, who murdered William I. prince of Orange, Clement the Dominican, who aſſaſſinated Henry III. of France, Chatel, Ravaillac, and all the parricides of that period, went to confeſſion before they committed thoſe crimes. Strada, a jeſuit, diſtinguiſhed for his learning, tells us, "that Jaurigny expiated the guilt of that crime, before its perpetration, by receiving the ſacrament from a Dominican friar.†"

Fanaticiſm was carried to ſuch exceſs in that dark age, that confeſſion was an additional engagement to the perpetration of crimes; for, it was held ſacred, as confeſſion is regarded as a ſacrament in the Romiſh church.

In thoſe counties in Ireland, where the rebellion broke out, the lower claſs of people, ſome days previous to it, reſorted in great numbers to the confeſſion boxes of their prieſts.

Soon

* One of their moſt learned divines.

† Non ante facinus aggredi ſuſtinuit, quam expiatam ejus animam, apud Dominichanum ſacerdotem, cœleſti pane, firmaverat.

Soon after the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. and while the French were lamenting the death of that amiable monarch, the advocate-general Servin, of illuſtrious memory, required that the Jeſuits ſhould be obliged to ſign the four following articles:

I. That the council is ſuperior to the pope.

II. That the pope cannot deprive the king of any rights by excommunication.

III. That the eccleſiaſtics are like any other people, entirely ſubject to the king.

IV. That a prieſt, who by confeſſion is apprized of a conſpiracy againſt the king, or the ſtate, ſhould reveal it to a magiſtrate.

The parliament paſſed an arret, laying the ſame injunction on the jeſuits; but the court of Rome was at that time ſo powerful, and that of France ſo weak, that the arret was diſregarded.

It is worth notice, that the court of Rome, which would not ſuffer a conſpiracy againſt the life of a ſovereign to be revealed in confeſſion, ordered confeſſors to inform the inquiſition, in every inſtance, where a female ſhould accuſe another prieſt of having ſeduced, or attempted to ſeduce her. This revelation was ordered by Paul IV. Pius IV. Clement VIII. and Gregory XV.

Some of the moſt learned divines of the Romiſh church have ſpecified certain caſes in which confeſſion might be revealed; and others have contended, that it might be diſcloſed in every inſtance, with the conſent of the penitent.

This horrible abſurdity is one of the unhappy conſequences of the conſtant ſtruggle, which has ſubſiſted for ages between the eccleſiaſtical and civil power,* and which has been the ſource of inextricable error; for mankind have been ſuſpended between the crimes of ſacrilege and high treaſon; and the diſtinctions of right and wrong have been buried in a chaos, from which they are not yet emerged.

To return. The roads leading to the metropolis, were ſo much obſtructed by the rebels, that no mail-coach arrived there from the twenty-fourth of May until the thirty-firſt, when the ſpirited and gallant ſir James Duff ſtruck terror into the rebels, by the defeat which he gave them on the curragh

* Fortunately avoided by the Engliſh conſtitution.

curragh of Kildare, by which, he opened a free intercourſe between Dublin and the ſouthern parts of the kingdom; but it ſhould not be forgotten, that general Campbell, by his good ſenſe and ſpirited exertions in the vicinity of Athy, Narraghmore, and Ballytore, contributed materially to effect this.

As the diſaffected in the metropolis were diſappointed in their expectations of raiſing an inſurrection there, numbers of them left it at different times, and diſplayed their zeal in the cauſe of the union, by joining rebel encampments in the country.

On the twelfth and thirteenth of June, a great many ſervants and mechanicks, and other perſons of various deſcription, ſuddenly diſappeared in Dublin, and the neighbourhood of Blackrock; and it was obſervable, that the ſame thing took place, when the rebels were about to make any great effort in Wexford, Wicklow or Kildare.

The loyalty, magnanimity, and firmneſs, of the corporation of Dublin, in the courſe of the conſpiracy and rebellion, ſhould never be forgotten. They raiſed four regiments of yeomanry, with uncommon celerity; and it is well known, that the indefatigable exertions of thoſe brave corps preſerved the metropolis from deſtruction. The vigilance and activity of the corporation in enforcing the execution of the laws were ſuch, as to ſuperſede the neceſſity of proclaiming the city, till the nineteenth day of May; and many counties claimed the protection of the inſurrection law, two years before that period.

BATTLE OF TARA.*

I already mentioned the barbarous outrages committed by the rebels in Dunboyne and Dunſhaughlin; from whence, having proceeded towards Tara, in the county of Meath, moſt of the farmers and labourers of the county through which they paſſed, flocked to their ſtandard; and in ſhort, the maſs of the people in the county of Meath, and in that part of the county of Dublin bordering on it, were in a ſtate of inſurrection, and plundered every houſe in the country, which happened not to have been well guarded, of proviſions, wines, ſpirits, bed cloaths, wearing apparel and furniture. As there were no military in

* Eighteen miles to the north of Dublin, and in the county of Meath.

in the country, and as the officers of the yeomen corps perceived that their ſafety depended on the concentration of their forces, they, by mutual and immediate communication, adopted meaſures for that purpoſe. The corps of lord Fingal and captain Gorges performed that ſervice with great activity and vigilance.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, the officers of the Navan cavalry, John Preſton, eſquire, captain, Philip Barry, lieutenant, wrote a letter to the officer commanding the garriſon at Kells, to requeſt that he would ſend them ſuch troops as he could ſpare for their protection; as a private of captain Gorges's yeomanry had arrived there, and informed them of the atrocities committed at Dunboyne and Dunſhaughlin; and that the rebels had planted the tree of liberty at the latter.

Captain Molloy, who commanded at Kells, on receiving that intelligence, marched the yeomen cavalry and infantry of that town, to relieve them; but finding on his arrival there, that the town was not immediately threatened with an attack, he returned to Kells for the protection of its inhabitants, and of a large depôt of ammunition in that town, which lay expoſed in his abſence.

It was then determined, that the Kells cavalry, with a detachment of the Navan troop, ſhould proceed towards Dunſhaughlin, and reconnoitre the enemy; and they having diſcovered that the maſs of the people were in a ſtate of inſurrection, and were committing various enormities, Mr. Barry, lieutenant of the latter, wrote the following letter to captain Molloy, at Kells:

"Sir,

"Prepare your yeomanry immediately, as an inſurrection has appeared from Dublin to Dunſhaughlin, and numbers have been murdered. Communicate this to all the other officers."

In conſequence of this, captain Molloy apprized the different yeomen officers of theſe alarming circumſtances; and recommended to them to be in readineſs. Captain Preſton, commanding the Navan cavalry, having been informed that the Rea fencibles were to be in Navan on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, on their route to Dublin, reſolved to join them, in hopes of being able to obtain their co-operation in attacking next day the rebels, whom he had reconnoitred in great force, at Dunſhaughlin; and they having complied, and all the yeomanry in the

the adjacent country having joined them, they proceeded at break of day, on the morning of the twenty-ſixth of May, from Navan, to attack the enemy at Dunſhaughlin.

On their arrival there, they found that the rebels had changed their poſition; and as they could not learn whither they had gone, the Rea fencibles, having reſolved to quit them, ſet out for Dublin, and the yeomanry determined to retire to their reſpective homes, which would have been fatal to the whole country, as the rebels would have ſpread univerſal deſolation.

He then followed the Rea fencibles, who had proceeded two miles on their march, and informed the commanding officer that he would engage to find out the rebels in two hours, if he would conſent to ſtay; but having refuſed to comply, he informed him, that he would proceed to Dublin, and obtain an order from the lord lieutenant for him to return, before he could proceed half way on his march; on which he conſented to return, and gave him two hundred and ten men, and one battalion gun, the whole commanded by captain Blanch; and they were joined by the yeomanry, commanded by lord Fingal and captain Preſton.

After going ſome time in queſt of the rebels, they found them very ſtrongly poſted on Tara-hill, where they had been four hours, and were about four thouſand in number; and the country people were flocking to them in great multitudes from every quarter. They plundered the houſes in all the adjacent country of proviſions of every kind, and were proceeding to cook their victuals, having lighted near forty fires. They hoiſted white flags in their camp. The hill of Tara is very ſteep, and the upper part is ſurrounded by three circular Daniſh forts, with ramparts and foſſes; and on the top lies the church-yard, ſurrounded with a wall, which the rebels regarded as their citadel, and conſidered as impregnable.

The king's troops, including the yeomanry, might have amounted to about four hundred. As ſoon as the rebels perceived them, they put their hats on the tops of their pikes, ſent forth ſome dreadful yells, and at the ſame time began to jump, and put themſelves in various ſingular attitudes, as if bidding defiance to their adverſaries. They then began to advance, firing at the ſame time, but in an irregular manner.

Our

Our line of infantry advanced with the greateſt coolneſs, and did not fire a ſhot until they were within fifty yards of them. One part of the cavalry, commanded by lord Fingal, were ordered to the right, the other to the left, to prevent our line from being outflanked, which the enemy endeavoured to accompliſh. The rebels made three deſperate onſets, and in the laſt laid hold of the cannon; but the officer, who commanded the gun, having laid the match to it, before they could completely ſurround it, proſtrated ten or twelve of the aſſailants, and diſperſed the remainder. The Rea fencibles preſerved their line, and fired with as much coolneſs as if they had been exerciſing on a field day.

They at length routed the rebels, who fled in all directions, after having loſt about four hundred in killed* and wounded. In their flight, they threw away their arms and ammunition, and every thing that could encumber them. We took three hundred horſes, all their proviſions, arms, ammunition and baggage, and eight of the Rea fencibles whom they had taken priſoners two days before, and whom they employed to drill them.

It was much to be lamented, that the brave Rea fencibles loſt twenty-ſix men in killed and wounded; and the Upper Kells infantry had one killed, aud five wounded.

The king's troops would have remained on the field all night, but that they had not a ſingle cartridge left, either for the gun or the ſmall arms: The priſoners, of whom they took a good many, informed our officers, that their intention was, to have proceeded that night to plunder Navan, and then Kells, where there was a great quantity of ammunition, and little or no force to protect it; and that when they had ſucceeded, they expected, according to a preconcerted plan, to have been joined by a great number of inſurgents from Meath, Weſtmeath, Louth, Monaghan and Cavan, and to have releaſed all the priſoners confined in Trim, where they would not have met with any oppoſition.

So general an inſurrection might have been fatal to the kingdom, for the rebellion in Wexford and Kildare was raging with inextinguiſhable fury: It was ſtill deſtructive in Wicklow and Carlow, and the maſs of the people, in many parts of Leinſter and Munſter, were on the point of riſing.

* In their pockets, popiſh prayer books, beads, roſaries, crucifixes, pious ejaculations to our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, and republican ſongs were found; and ſcapulars on the bodies of many of them.

The garriſon of Dublin was ſo weak, and ſo much exhauſted by fatigue in the ſevere duty which they underwent, in endeavouring to prevent its diſaffected inhabitants from riſing, that they could not ſend any troops to the adjacent country.

Part of the rebels who fled from Tara, retired to the bogs of Meath and Kildare, where they continued for three weeks to plunder and deſolate the ſurrounding country.

The earl of Fingal, who commanded the yeomanry in this action, ſhewed great ſpirit and courage in it; for which, and his noted loyalty and zeal in the ſervice of his king and country, during the progreſs of the conſpiracy and rebellion, he became ſo obnoxious to the diſaffected in the county of Meath, that it was reſolved to cut him off; and his aſſaſſination was to have been a ſignal for a general maſſacre of all the loyaliſts in that county.

I think it right alſo to ſay, that captain Molloy, who commanded the yeomen infantry, under lord Fingal, diſplayed the moſt ſteady and deliberate valour; and that the officers and privates under him fought with the coolneſs of veterans.

On the fourth of June, lord Edward Fitzgerald died in the gaol of Newgate. During his confinement he often enquired, with apparent ſolicitude, of Mr. Gregg the gaoler, and thoſe perſons who attended him, of the ſtate of the metropolis, and the kingdom in general. Any extraordinary noiſe which he happened to hear, he ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the exploſion of that conſpiracy which he had planned.

As the execution of Clinch on the ſecond day of June, attended by a numerous body of troops, and a vaſt concourſe of people, occaſioned much noiſe in the metropolis, he anxiouſly enquired the cauſe of it; and having been informed, it affected him ſo much, as almoſt to put him into a ſtate of derangement. Lady Louiſa Conolly, his aunt, attended by the earl of Clare, viſited him the day before his death, but he was completely delirious. A perſon who was preſent informed me, that it was a moſt affecting ſcene, as the degraded and deplorable ſtate to which his crimes and misfortunes had reduced him, made a very deep impreſſion on that very amiable and reſpectable lady.

Lord Edward had ſerved with reputation in the fifteenth regiment, during a great part of the American war, and on many occaſions had diſplayed great valour and conſiderable abilities as an officer. When in the army,

army, he was conſidered a man of honour and humanity, and was much eſteemed by his brother officers for his frankneſs, courage, and good nature; qualities, which he was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs in a very high degree. After the war he retired on the half-pay liſt; but having again entered into the ſervice, he obtained the majority of the 54th regiment, quartered at St. John's, New Brunſwick, on the bay of Fundy, and joined it in May, 1788.

The following adventure is a ſtrong proof of that active mind and enterprizing ſpirit which he diſplayed on all occaſions: He ſet out from Frederick-town on the river St. John's for Quebeck, in the winter of 1788, through woods and deſarts, which had never before been traverſed by any European; and without any other attendant than captain Briſbane of his regiment, a guide, and his own ſervant, who was a negro. From the great depth of ſnow, they were obliged to uſe ſnow ſhoes, and they had no other proviſions but what they carried on a ſledge, which lord Edward drew in his turn. This journey, which was ſome hundred miles, took them many weeks to perform.

In the month of November, 1791, the regiment landed at Portſmouth, where lord Edward received a letter from lieutenant-colonel Bruce of the ſame corps, from Naples, acquainting him, that he was in a rapid conſumption, and adviſing him to take proper meaſures for ſucceeding him: But as his lordſhip and his family were at that time in oppoſition in parliament, he would not ſolicit a favour from government; but at the ſame time expected that the commiſſion would have been given to him without ſolicitation, though he had many competitors of longer ſtanding.

On hearing that colonel Sturt ſucceeded to the commiſſion, lord Edward, ſoured with diſappointment, and fired with indignation, repaired to Paris the latter end of the year 1791, or the beginning of the year 1792, and became, from diſguſt, an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the extravagant political theories of the French, which were repugnant to, and ſubverſive of the glorious conſtitution under which he lived, but of whoſe defects he pretended to be a reformiſt; and having manifeſted theſe principles without reſerve, his majeſty thought proper to ſtrike his name out of the liſt of the army; but allowed him at the ſame time to ſell his commiſſion.

He became ſo great a devotee to French principles, that he married a little French woman, whoſe birth and origin* were unknown, except by conjecture, and who had nothing to recommend her to him, but the extravagance and malignity of her republican principles.

The fate of lord Edward affords a ſtrong and inſtructive leſſon to ſuch gentlemen as oppoſe the crown, from motives of diſguſt and diſappointed ambition, not to exceed the bounds of moderation; for a perſon, enflamed and blinded by reſentment, may, from an inſatiable deſire to gratify it, gradually ſink into a dereliction of every religious, moral, and political duty; and a vehement reformiſt is often an incipient traitor.

"Nemo repente fuit turpiſſimus."

The reader may form ſome idea of the perſecution of the proteſtant clergy in the archdioceſe of Dublin, from Appendix, No. XV.

The reader will find the origin and progreſs of the conſpiracy in the county of Carlow, in Appendix, No. XI.

REBELLION IN THE COUNTY OF WICKLOW.§

Previous to the introduction of the principles of the united Iriſhmen into it, in the year 1796, it was the moſt peaceable and amenable to the laws, of any county in the kingdom; and the active and unabating induſtry of its inhabitants, had improved it ſo much, that its appearance was entirely changed within the laſt twenty years.

Religious animoſities between proteſtants and papiſts were at an end, or at leaſt were dormant; and tythes were not complained of as a grievance. The gentlemen of the country reſided on their eſtates; employed great numbers in building, planting, and agricultural improvements; maintained ſocial order, and gave energy to the execution of the laws. The farmers followed the example of their landlords, meliorated the ſtate of their arable lands, and, in general, built good and commodious houſes.

The labourers, who had conſtant employment, received as wages ten pence a day in the ſummer, and eight pence in the winter; and paid but two

* She was ſuppoſed to be the natural daughter of the duke of Orleans, by madam Genlis.

§ Plate I. 8.

two guineas a year for a cottage and an acre of land; but in ſome places their wages were higher.

In the pariſh of Rathdrum, twenty good ſlated houſes were built within a few years, with ſuitable offices, fit for gentlemen of large fortune; and many others on a ſmaller ſcale, but neat and commodious.

Moſt of theſe buildings have been deſtroyed; every thing that art could accompliſh for the happineſs of man has been annihilated; and all progreſſive induſtry has been ſuſpended by the late rebellion, promoted by the united Iriſhmen.

For ſome weeks previous to the breaking-out of the rebellion, the magiſtrates of the county of Wicklow met almoſt every week, for the purpoſe of preventing, if poſſible, the exploſion ſo much dreaded.

Every means were uſed to call the lower claſs of people to a ſenſe of their duty, and a ſubmiſſion to the laws. Friendly exhortations, and promiſes of protection, were for a long time reſorted to; but they were treated with deriſion. Threats were then uſed, with no better effect. The magiſtrates then had recourſe to rewards for publick or private information of ſeditious meetings, and concealed arms; however, friendly and conciliating admonitions were ſtill continued. The reſolutions of the magiſtrates, containing pathetick exhortations, and threats, and rewards, were printed and circulated through the country; but the maſs of the people had drunk ſo deep of the intoxicating poiſon of French republicaniſm, ſublimated by fanaticiſm, that no antidote could counteract its baneful influence.

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XVI. 1. for part of a pathetick addreſs, publiſhed by the magiſtrates, on the third of April, 1798; when finding that mild and conciliatory meaſures were diſregarded, they were driven to the neceſſity of proclaiming the whole county. The upper and lower half barony of Talbotſtown was ſo much diſturbed, that it was proclaimed the tenth of November, 1797.

The firſt ſeeds of diſaffection ſown in the county of Wicklow were by a party of defenders, who had been hunted out of the county of Louth by the Speaker, in the year 1792; and were employed as labourers in the mines of Meſſrs. Camacs, at Ballymurtagh.

Thoſe

Thoſe miſcreants, with their moſt zealous exertions, could not propagate defenderiſm any farther than the diſtrict in which they lived; and it was not accompanied with any acts of violence or outrage. All the efforts of the united Iriſhmen to make the people of the county of Wicklow join in their rebellious deſigns, proved unavailing, till they perſuaded the Popiſh clergy to co-operate with them for that purpoſe; which took place in the year 1796, as ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee, on the evidence of doctor M'Nevin, a Roman catholick, and one of the leaders in the rebellion.

A loyal papiſt, who was tenant to captain King, of Rathdrum, informed his landlord, that he had been preſſed by a neighbour to take the united Iriſhmen's oath, and threatened, if he refuſed, or delayed to comply, with the total deſtruction of him and his family; but he peremptorily refuſed, having aſſigned as a reaſon, that he had taken the oath of allegiance. This objection was laughed at by his pretended friend, who aſſured him, that it had been decided, and declared, by their clergy, that the oath of allegiance, and all other oaths preſcribed by law, were to be conſidered as compulſory, and therefore not binding; and that none but thoſe which were voluntarily taken, impoſed any obligation on conſciences.* He at the ſame time recommended to him, to conſult father C. a prieſt, on the ſubject; and having aſked him, whether it was ſinful to take the united Iriſhman's oath, after having taken the oath of allegiance? he aſſured him, that it was no ſin. This man, having been informed that his life would be in imminent danger, unleſs he joined the united party, as he was told that a reſolution had paſſed at one of their meetings, that ſuch perſons as refuſed to do ſo ſhould be put to death, told his landlord captain King of what had paſſed; and by his advice, he aſked father C. and two more prieſts, who happened to be in his company, whether a perſon could get abſolution in their church, for having deliberately killed a heretic, or one who differed from them in religious tenets? The anſwer of the prieſts, which was evaſive and equivocal, ſhocked him ſo much, that he reſolved to become a proteſtant; and he and all his family have continued to go to church ever ſince the rebellion.

This

* See the council of Lateran, pages 10, 11, and the opinions of doctor Burke, and the cardinal Legate, on ſuch an oath, pages 39, 40.

This man being ſatisfied that papiſts, under prieſts influence, regarded the oath of allegiance as not binding, ſuggeſted to his landlord, captain King, the following teſt oath, and recommended that it might be propoſed to the Cronebane corps of yeomen; and aſſured him, that numbers of them, who were diſaffected, would refuſe to take it.

"I ———, do in the preſence of my neighbours, ſolemnly ſwear by the contents of this book, containing the holy goſpel of Chriſt, that I have not joined, nor in any manner entered into, any ſociety, or aſſociation of perſons, ſtyling themſelves united Iriſhmen, or any other ſeditious ſociety or aſſociation whatſoever, or taken any oath to keep the ſecrets of any ſuch ſociety: And that I will not join, nor enter into, any ſuch ſociety, or take any oath to the prejudice of his majeſty king George III. or contrary to the exiſting laws, or conſtitution of this kingdom of Ireland. And all this I ſwear, freely and voluntarily, without any mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever.

"So help me God."

The fact turned out as predicted; forty-four of that corps who were deeply diſaffected, refuſed to take the oath, which a prieſt of the name of Meagher, pronounced to be blaſphemous, when it was propoſed for his conſideration; though he would allow his flock to take the oath of allegiance, or any other preſcribed by law.

This prieſt declared that he had loſt all influence over his congregation ever ſince the introduction of French principles; and yet, when a ſearch for arms was about to be made, he gave notice to them to come in and take the oath of allegiance, which was immediately and implicitly obeyed by all his pariſhioners.

It was univerſally believed that he did ſo from an idea that the taking that oath would ſuperſede the neceſſity of ſearching for arms, and throw a veil over the malignant deſigns of the united Iriſhmen. Captain Mills, who commanded the Cronebane corps, diſarmed the forty-four diſaffected members, and their places were ſupplied by loyal men.

This teſt oath, and the occaſion of framing it, having been mentioned in the Dublin Journal, was adopted by the officers of many other corps in the counties of Wicklow, Dublin, and Wexford, by whom it was propoſed to be taken; and it produced univerſally the ſame effect, as almoſt the whole of the popiſh yeomen refuſed to take it, and were therefore diſmiſſed; which tended much to ſtrengthen the cauſe of loyalty;

as

as ſome corps were purged of many traitors by it. Fourteen Roman catholicks of the Coolgreany corps, commanded by captain John Beauman, refuſed to take it, and were therefore diſmiſſed.

In the Caſtletown corps, commanded by captain Grogan Knox, there were about fifty papiſts, and ten proteſtants. The captain intended to propoſe the above teſt oath to be taken, but was diſſuaded by his two lieutenants, ſir Thomas Eſmond and Laurence Doyle, both papiſts; but as the diſaffection of the popiſh members were very ſtrongly ſuſpected, the gentlemen of the country inſiſted on having them diſmiſſed, which was very fortunate, as many of them were afterwards hanged, or ſhot, for having been concerned in the rebellion.

There was very great diſaffection in the popiſh yeomen of Bray. In ſhort, there appeared a ſpirit of diſaffection among the popiſh yeomen of every corps in the county of Wicklow. Captain Hume's corps conſiſted of proteſtants, and were of courſe loyal.

William Byrne of Ballymanus, a rebel captain, and a member of the Wicklow yeomanry, having refuſed to take the oath, quitted it. He was afterwards hanged, for having been an active rebel leader.

Some time previous to the rebellion, and during its exiſtence, many proteſtants were murdered with horrid circumſtances of barbarity. The magiſtrates and gentry of the country, by frequent addreſſes, endeavoured to recal the people to a ſenſe of their duty; and offered large rewards for the diſcovery of ſuch atrocities.

Captain King having ſent one of thoſe papers to father C—— to be read from the altar; he, in anſwer, ſaid, "That he had received a paper from him, which contained rewards for the diſcovery of crimes, and that he was ſure it was well intended. That our Saviour was betrayed for thirty pieces of ſilver, but he hoped that none of his pariſhioners would act the part of Judas."

For ſome months previous to the rebellion, the prieſts ſtrongly inculcated the neceſſity of ſobriety and peaceable demeanour,* to lull the magiſtrates and government, and to prevent the rebels from betraying their ſecrets, which had ſuch immediate and univerſal effect, that the whiſkey houſes were deſerted, and thoſe who had been the moſt notorious drunkards, could not by any perſuaſion be induced to drink any ſpirits, and abſtained

* This appeared to have been the main object of the defenders, as appeared in their proſpectus found on Sharky at Drumbanagher, ſo early as the year 1789. See Appendix, No. II.

abſtained from broils and quarrels, and particularly from ſeditious language in any mixed aſſemblies.

Such inſtructions, penned with energy and elegance, were printed and circulated among the people, which rapidly produced an apparent reformation in their manners, to the great ſurpriſe of thoſe who were ignorant of the ſecret motives which occaſioned it.

Very early in the rebellion, two men of the names of Doyle and Lancaſter, were found in arms near Glenmalier. The former, a papiſt, was condemned to die; but it appearing that he was more than once inſtrumental in ſaving the life of Lancaſter, who was a loyal man, and had been compelled to join the rebels, he was pardoned at the interceſſion of captain King and Iſaac Eccles, eſquire, two magiſtrates. When the mitigation in his ſentence was communicated to him, he related ſeveral circumſtances concerning the rebellion; among others, that he believed the prieſts promoted the rebellion to the utmoſt of their power, and that twenty-eight of them were in the rebel army at the camp of Vinegar-hill.

In fact, the war there was purely religious; for there was no other motive to actuate the maſs of the people, except the hope of plunder, which was held out as an additional encouragement.

The old obſolete popiſh holydays were revived, in order to give the ſeditious more frequent opportunities of aſſembling, which could have proceeded only from the clergy, who attended on thoſe days.

When the united Iriſhmen had diſſeminated their principles among the maſs of the people, their leaders tried many devices to aſcertain the ſtrength and numbers of the party, and at the ſame time to inflame their reſentment againſt the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, whoſe loyalty was unqueſtionable. For that purpoſe, they propagated reports, "That the Roman catholicks were to be murdered on a particular night, by the yeomen and loyaliſts."* This afforded a plauſible pretext to the diſaffected to aſſemble in their reſpective diſtricts, to avoid or oppoſe the intended maſſacre.

At other times it was ſaid, that the orangemen harboured that barbarous deſign, though at that time the very name of orangeman was unknown

 there.

* See ſimilar reports propagated in the rebellion of 1689, p. 74 and 75.

there. The firſt meeting of that kind took place the eleventh of October, and was general in the country, from Arklow to Bray, taking in the whole of the county eaſt of the mountains.

On the tenth of October, a man who aſſumed the name of James Collins, and ſaid he was the ſervant of captain King, perambulated a great part of the county on horſeback, and propagated a report, "That he had been employed three days in giving notice to all the orangemen in it, to meet the Rathdrum troop (all of whom but four were orangemen,) the next night, to begin the maſſacre of the Roman catholicks; and the reaſon he aſſigned was, that all the yeomanry corps were to be ordered to march to Bantry bay, and that they were to perform that office before they ſet out."

He declared, "That though he was ſervant to that loyal gentleman, captain King, he was a warm friend to the Roman catholicks, and for that reaſon he wiſhed to put them on their guard."

This perſon having been well deſcribed, captain King traced him to the mines of Ballymurtagh, where he was employed by the Meſſrs. Camacs; and he diſcovered alſo, that his name was James Mc. Quillan, a native of the county of Louth, where he had been active among the defenders.

On being committed to gaol, he acknowledged, "That at a meeting of the Ballymurtagh men, (many of whom had been defenders,) it was agreed, that he ſhould undertake his miſſion, and propagate the report about the deſigns of the orangemen; that he went by the ſea-ſide to Dublin, and returned by another road to make the diſſemination of it more general."

He aſſumed the name of Collins, becauſe ſeveral perſons of that name were in the ſervice of captain King.

The riſing and aſſembling of the people was preconcerted, and Mc. Quillan's miſſion was merely to give them notice on what night it was to take place.

Captain King's name was much made uſe of to have him aſſaſſinated, as he was very active as a magiſtrate, and a yeoman officer, in checking the progreſs of rebellion; for which purpoſe he was one of the firſt perſons marked as an object of rebel vengeance in the Union Star.*

The

* See an account of it in page 187.

The informations relative to Mc. Quillan are lodged in the clerk of the crown's office.

Many other agents were employed to ſpread ſuch reports in the county of Wicklow.

On the ſeventh of Auguſt, 1797, one William Mc. Daniel of Crownaroe, announced publickly at Humewood, and in other parts of the county, that many of the proteſtant members of captain Hume's corps,* in which there was but one Roman catholick, took a ſolemn oath, to burn all the Roman catholick houſes in the county, and to ſhoot their inmates, and that they would ſoon ſwim in Catholick blood. This ruffian was taken up, convicted of that crime at the aſſizes, and impriſoned ſix months.

A female vagrant went about the country near Weſt-Aſton, ſpreading a report, with active malignity, "That Mr. Acton, a gentleman of good landed property, ſaid, that an order had been received from government, that the proteſtants ſhould put all the Roman catholicks to death; and that he expreſſed concern at it, to ſome of the lower claſs of that perſuaſion." That gentleman offered a reward for the diſcovery of that wretch, but he could not obtain it.

The conduct of the united Iriſhmen in the county of Wicklow, previous to the rebellion, was exactly ſimilar to what took place in every other part of the kingdom; except that they murdered but few perſons in plundering houſes of arms.

The firſt perſon aſſaſſinated in it, was an inoffenſive old gentleman of the name of Nickſon, on the ſeventh of November, 1797.

When the rebels went to his houſe for arms, he opened the door himſelf, informed them, that they ſhould have what arms he had, and ſaid, they ſhould alſo have ſomething to drink, if they went in.

One in the rear of the party cried out, "Does the old raſcal prate? No. 4, ſhoot him directly." On which, No. 4 ſtepped forward, and ſhot him through the body.

The popiſh multitude in Wicklow, as well as in moſt other counties, previous to the rebellion, repaired to the magiſtrates, ſwore oaths of allegiance, and obtained protections, with no other view but to deceive them and the government.

* It had not a ſingle united Iriſhman in it.

Even ſo late as the twentieth of May, great numbers of people went to Arklow, took oaths of allegiance, and ſurrendered pikes to the reverend Mr. Bayly of Lamberton, a magiſtrate; but for no other purpoſe than to delude the government and the loyal ſubjects.

Had protections been withheld till the people had ſurrendered their arms, and had ſhewn ſome ſigns of returning obedience, this practice would have been attended with the beſt effects; but the general officers in their reſpective diſtricts granted them indiſcriminately, and without any condition. An artful rebel has obtained two protections for himſelf, from two different quarters, and had given one of them to a neighbour, who aſſumed his name.

Dwyer, the noted rebel leader, more cruel than Hackett or Holt, and who has been the occaſion of many atrocious murders near Baltinglaſs, obtained a protection from general Moore, in the year 1798, and remained ſome time in his camp, corrupting his ſoldiers; and yet for near two years he bids defiance to the king's troops, and keeps the inhabitants of a large tract of the county of Wicklow in terror and diſmay.

Four deſerters from the Antrim militia, and another rebel, were taken at their harbour, at Aughavanagh, with their arms, and carried to the general's camp; but having pretended that they were on their way to ſurrender, he gave them protections, and diſcharged them. They were afterwards (except one who was ſhot,) the moſt deſperate robbing party in the country.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that the general would have treated them with ſuch lenity, had he known that they were deſerters. Had he conſulted the yeomen, or the country gentlemen of the diſtrict, he could not have been deceived; but at that time it was the faſhion to abuſe the yeomanry, and to treat the opinion of the country gentlemen with contempt, which was fatal to many parts of that county.

From the following extracts, taken from informations ſworn before the reverend Edward Bayly, of Lamberton, in that county, the reader may judge of the deſigns of the rebels. Simon Beahy ſwore the twenty-fifth of May, 1798, that the object of the rebels was, to aſſiſt the French, when they came to conquer the kingdom.

Owen Redmond depoſed the twenty-third of May, that he was ſworn to join the French, and aſſiſt them; and to kill all thoſe who would not join them.

John

John Hall depoſed the ſame, the twenty-third of May.

John Bryan made the ſame depoſition, the twenty-ſeventh of May.

Patrick Myrna ſwore the ſame the twenty-third of May. Michael Stafford ſwore the twenty-third of May, that all thoſe who were not united would be murdered.

Terence Kinſley ſwore, the twenty-third of May, that the united Iriſhmen were to riſe in rebellion againſt the king and his government, and to deſtroy all perſons who were not of the popiſh religion.*

I have ſeen a great number of informations of the ſame tenor, ſworn by repentant rebels.

I did not hear of a ſingle inſtance of diſaffection among the proteſtant yeomen in the county of Wicklow,† or that a perſon of that perſuaſion was concerned in the conſpiracy or rebellion.

Part of the Arklow corps quartered at Gorey, patroled the country on the night of the twenty-ſeventh of May, and in doing ſo, took up a wounded rebel, whoſe life they promiſed to ſpare, if he would diſcloſe what he knew of the united buſineſs; on which he freely and voluntarily confeſſed, before many reſpectable witneſſes, "That he had been ſworn by his prieſt, to riſe againſt the government, and to kill all the hereticks."

Many rebels in the county of Wicklow enliſted in the king's troops, while they were qnartered there, merely for the purpoſe of obtaining arms and ammunition, and a knowledge of military diſcipline. On the night of the twenty-firſt of September, twenty-two of the king's county militia, who had practiſed this baſe artifice, deſerted with their arms and ammunition. Some yeomen cavalry were ſent in purſuit of them, but the deſerters having lain in wait, fired on them when they were in a deep road, with high hedges on each ſide, killed two of them, and wounded ſome more. This method was univerſally adopted by the rebels, for the above purpoſes, and to ſeduce the king's troops from their allegiance.

On the thirteenth of May, 1798, the magiſtrates and yeomen officers for ſome miles round Baltinglaſs, publiſhed ‡ exhortations to the lower claſs of people,

* See Appendix, No. XVI. 2.

† Except Holt, a low fellow, without any kind of principle.

‡ Plate I. 8.

people, recommending to them to ſurrender their arms, to make full confeſſions of their guilt, to ſwear oaths of allegiance, and to receive protections; and vaſt multitudes of them continued to do ſo, from morning till night, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth of May; and yet, on the morning of that day, the inſurrection of the lower claſs of people was general; and they were all armed with pikes or muſkets, though, with their uſual diſſimulation, they had for ſome days before put on the ſemblance of contrition.

On the nineteenth of May, a decent looking man went through the country contiguous to Baltinglaſs, exhorting the people to be in readineſs to riſe at a moment's warning, as no excuſe would be taken.

On the morning of the twenty-third of May, the following notice was put under the door of a yeoman of captain Saunders's corps:

"This is to give you notice, that if you do not do as you are deſired to do, you will be left deſolate: and further, if you let any bad perſons know, you will be burnt in your houſe."

Captain Saunders of the Saunders-grove corps, having received a hint that ſome of its members were ſeduced by the united Iriſhmen, called a full parade of them on the twentieth of May, and exhorted them, if any of them had been unfortunately tempted to ſwerve from their allegiance, to acknowledge it to him either publickly or privately; but his addreſs to them did not produce any effect.

Such of them as were diſaffected, had reſolved that evening to diſcloſe their guilt to their captain, but that James Dunn, the corporal, who had ſeduced them, perſuaded them to adhere to the united cauſe, and not to violate the oath of ſecreſy which they had taken. Full information having been received of the guilt of Dunn, he was taken up on the twenty-firſt of May, by the Wicklow militia, and on being arreſted, he impeached ſome of the members of his own corps.

This diſcovery induced captain Saunders to call a full parade the twenty-ſecond of May, when he announced it to his men, in preſence of a party of the Wicklow militia, and the Dunlavin cavalry; and having deſired three or four of the moſt guilty to come forward, no leſs than twenty of them, touched with the ſtings of compunction, advanced, and confeſſed that they had been ſworn. They were immediately conveyed as priſoners to Dunlavin, where many of them were ſhot on the morning of the twenty-

fourth

fourth of May, when the general riſing took place. There was much diſaffection in the popiſh members of all the yeomen corps in that part of the country; but I could not hear of a ſingle inſtance of treachery in a proteſtant. There was a conſpiracy formed to murder captain Saunders; but this is not ſurpriſing, as all the proteſtant gentlemen of that county were to have been cut off by their popiſh ſervants or tenants. Thomas Kavanagh, a popiſh member of lord Aldborough's corps, was a leader of the rebels; and was afterwards hanged: and his head was amputated, and fixed on a may-pole at Baltinglaſs.

Mrs. Saunders, with heroic fortitude, remained at Saunders-grove, with her ſix children, during the whole of the rebellion, while the tempeſt howled around her; and, confiding in the fidelity of a few proteſtant yeomen, ſhe bid defiance to many bands of traitors who often approached her houſe, which ſhe humanely made the aſylum of many loyal proteſtants, who narrowly eſcaped from the pikes of the aſſaſſins in the adjacent country.

The rebels having aſſembled to the number of four or five hundeed, near Stratford upon Slaney, entered that town in order to pillage it. While they were proceeding to do ſo, lieutenant Macauly, commanding thirty of the Antrim militia, and cornet Love, with twenty of the ninth dragoons, attacked them; and at the ſame inſtant, captain Stratford appeared at the other end of the town with a detachment of his corps. They attacked the rebels at the ſame time, and completely routed them, having killed between one and two hundred; and many were wounded, who made their eſcape. Thomas Kavanagh, who headed the rebels on that occaſion, offered to mount guard next day at Baltinglaſs, in order to betray it to the rebels, which he would have done, but that his treachery was diſcovered.

Previous to relating the battle of Newtown-mount-kennedy, I ſhall give an account of the progreſs of the rebellion in the adjacent country, and of the circumſtances which immediately preceded it.

In the ſpring and ſummer of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſeven, ſtrong ſymptoms of diſaffection began to appear in it, ſuch as cutting down trees to make pike handles, ſounding of horns, meetings of the people on moon-light nights for the purpoſe of exerciſing, and firing ſhots to intimidate and keep within their houſes the loyal inhabitants. Some vigilant and intelligent magiſtrates, ſeeing that nothing but active and ſeaſonable exertions could ſave the county from deſtruction, had the landholders

and

and principal inhabitants convened, to take its alarming ſtate into conſideration. Notwithſtanding the moſt indubitable proofs that treaſon fermented, and had made a conſiderable progreſs in the country, which was evinced by the facts which I have ſtated, many noblemen and gentlemen were ſo incredulous, in conſequence of the artful conduct, and groſs miſrepreſentation of the diſaffected, and of the readineſs of the multitude to take the oath of allegiance, as not to believe that they had treaſonable deſigns, and for that reaſon, the meetings were frequently adjourned; and inſtead of adopting vigorous meaſures, the moſt friendly and pacifick addreſſes to the people were publiſhed, inviting them to reſpect the laws, and to return to a ſenſe of their duty.

The committees of the united Iriſhmen regarded their patience and forbearance, as cowardice and puſillanimity; and the lower claſs of people became daring and inſolent, pulling down the pacifick reſolutions of the county meetings; and denouncing vengeance againſt ſuch magiſtrates and loyal ſubjects, as expreſſed a diſapprobation of their ſeditious proceedings; or had taken an active part againſt them; and at length it became dangerous for perſons of that deſcription to traverſe the country, for fear of being aſſaſſinated.

At laſt they were driven to the neceſſity of proclaiming the whole county, as the infection had ſpread very widely. Some parts of it had been proclaimed the tenth of November, 1797. The general meetings of the people, in their reſpective diſtricts, on the eleventh of October, I have already mentioned. It had a moſt terrifick appearance, in the country round Newtown-mount-kennedy. The people, in conſiderable numbers, headed by their captains, and variouſly armed, paraded there. On being interrogated by the gentlemen of the country, who remonſtrated to them on the dangerous conſequences of their conduct, they ſaid, in excuſe, that they aſſembled in defence of their perſons and property, againſt the orangemen, who, they ſaid, conſpired againſt them; and were to riſe and cut off every perſon of their perſuaſion without exception.

I have already mentioned, that ſuch reports were framed for no other purpoſe, but to kindle an inextinguiſhable hatred in the Roman catholicks againſt the proteſtants; and the effects of it appeared afterwards in the maſſacres which took place in the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, Meath, Dublin, and Kildare.

Matters

Matters remained in that ſtate, till the ſpring of 1798, when a paper containing the proceedings and reſolutions of the county of Wicklow committee was obtained, and was afterwards proved upon oath before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, which ſhewed the extent and malignity of the conſpiracy.

Government ſtill deſirous, if poſſible, to avoid harſh and coercive meaſures, and to induce the people to return to their duty and their allegiance by mild and conciliating means, lieutenant-general Craig, by their orders, iſſued a proclamation, dated the eleventh of May, 1798, for that purpoſe, which ſee in Appendix, No. XVI. 3; and major Hardy, a humane gentleman and a judicious officer, who then commanded in that county, uſed the moſt zealous endeavours to the ſame end.

Early in the month of May, as the country was in ſuch an alarming ſtate, that no loyal ſubjects could with ſafety remain in their houſes, the yeomen of the diſtrict were ordered into garriſon at Newtown-mount-kennedy.

On Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, a party conſiſting of ten of the Ancient Britiſh cavalry, commanded by lieutenant Edwards, and the ſame number of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, under lieutenant Archer, were ordered to proceed to Roundwood, and to return by the Devil's-glynn, where the rebels were ſuppoſed to be encamped in conſiderable force; and they were to reconnoitre them, and to aſcertain their numbers and their poſition. As they approached Roundwood, they attacked and cut off ſome ſmall parties of the rebels.

Soon after they were informed, by expreſs, that the rebels were proceeding to burn all the houſes of the proteſtants, and that they had begun with that of Mr. Hugo,* at Drummeen, about three miles off; the detachment arrived in time to ſave the dwelling-houſe, but they found the offices in flames. They attacked and routed the rebel party, who committed that atrocity, with conſiderable ſlaughter, and laid waſte the village of Clohogue, in which they took refuge.

On the twenty-ninth of May, two dragoons, one a yeoman, the other an Ancient Britiſh fencible, were ſent from Dublin, with an expreſs to lord

* He was lieutenant of the Wicklow cavalry, and was noted for his zeal, his activity and courage.

Roſsmore, at Newtown-mount-kennedy, who was to forward it to Wicklow. When they were within two miles of Newtown-mount-kennedy, ſome rebels, who lined the hedges, fired on them, and killed the yeoman who carried the expreſs; and yet his comrade, though the traitors continued to fire at him, diſmounted, and with great coolneſs took the expreſs out of his pocket, and delivered it, all covered with the blood of the deceaſed, to lord Roſsmore.

For ſome days previous to the thirtieth of May, immenſe numbers of rebels were ſeen on the mountains which overlook the village of Newtown-mount-kennedy, which gave ſtrong reaſons for ſuſpecting that they meant to attack it.

About one o'clock, on the morning of that day, the town was aſſaulted by about one thouſand of them, variouſly armed, who began by ſhouting and huzzaing for Napper Tandy, and then by ſetting fire to ſeveral houſes, particularly to the ſtable of the Ancient Britons; but very fortunately the horſes had been removed the preceding day.

On their entering the town, they were oppoſed by the ſmall garriſon in it, conſiſting of forty Ancient Britons, twenty of the Antrim militia, forty of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, and forty diſmounted men, who had only received their arms the preceding day.

Nothing could exceed the valour of this ſmall force, in repelling ſo ſudden and violent an attack. In the firſt onſet, captain Burgany of the Ancient Britons fell, covered with ſhot and with pike wounds. Captain Gore of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, who bravely led the attack, was diſmounted, and received ſome dangerous pike wounds. Mr. Graves Archer, lieutenant of that corps, was ſeverely wounded in the charge, and his horſe was killed; and ſeveral of the yeomen received ſlight wounds.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, the rebels were routed and purſued with much ſlaughter, the purſuit having continued for ſome hours; and the rebels, to facilitate their eſcape, dropped ſome hundred pikes in their flight.

The conduct of lieutenant Fergufon, and his detachment of the Antrim, was highly meritorious, not only for their courage and activity in the town, but in diſlodging and diſperſing a party of rebels, headed by one Maguire, a noted leader, who were too late for the attack on the village,

village, but materially aſſiſted in covering the routed rebels in their retreat.

Holt, a famous rebel chieftain, who commanded at the attack on Mr. Hugo's houſe, was to have aſſiſted in the aſſault on Newtown-mount-kennedy, with ſix hundred men; but could not arrive there before the main body was defeated.

The reader may conceive in what a dangerous and terrifick ſtate this country was in, on the breaking-out of the rebellion, from the following circumſtance: Captain Beauman, who commanded the Coolgreany corps, was at Arklow,* when that event took place; and though his houſe was but five miles diſtant, he did not venture to go to it, nor could he learn what was going forward there for three weeks; ſo completely was all communication cut off.

For ſome months after the rebellion was ſaid to be extinguiſhed in the county of Wicklow, the rebels continued to commit the moſt ſhocking atrocities, plundering and burning the houſes of proteſtants, and murdering their inmates, though there were three camps ſtationed there at that time, for the purpoſe of preventing the commiſſion of outrages.

In the pariſh of Donoughmore, twenty-two of the principal proteſtant houſes were burned, and no houſe of a Romaniſt, but one; and that, becauſe the woman of it lamented, that the houſe and property of her proteſtant landlord had been deſtroyed.

A hundred proteſtants of that pariſh fled for protection to Tullow,† Dunlavin, and Baltinglaſs;‡ and were afraid to return to their reſpective homes, in conſequence of the threats and denunciations of their popiſh neighbours.

All the proteſtant houſes at each ſide of the road from Baltinglaſs to Hacketſtown, from Hacketſtown to Rathdrum, and from Rathdrum to Bleſſington, were burnt; but the property of a Roman catholick did not receive the ſmalleſt injury in that extenſive tract. On Wedneſday the twenty-fifth of July, they burned all the proteſtant houſes, ſixty in number, between Rathvilly and Hacketſtown. This deſolating ſpirit was very much encouraged by the refuſal of the general officers to aſſiſt the civil magiſtrates with troops to prevent it.

* Plate II. 1. † Ibid. II. 2. ‡ Ibid. I. 8.

Mr. Hume, member for the county, made ſuch an application to general ———; but he openly and bluntly refuſed him, having ſaid, that ſuch outrages were occaſioned by the burning of houſes, by country gentlemen.

The rebels, finding that they ran no riſk of puniſhment, proceeded in large bands and with cool deliberation to lay waſte extenſive tracts of country.

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XVI. 4, for ſome ſpecimens of their treaſonable deſigns, of their deſtructive ſpirit, and of the cold-blooded murders which they committed.

About three o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, two yeomen patroling near the meeting of the waters, a place between Arklow and Rathdrum, ſaw a well-dreſſed man, on a horſe covered with foam and ſweat, from ſevere riding; they ſeized him, and demanded who he was, and whence he came. He anſwered, that he was a gentleman, and had been riding about for pleaſure, to ſee the beauties of the country. Having conducted him to Rathdrum, he was examined by the commanding officer there, but would not give an account of himſelf.

A young gentleman of Drogheda, a recruiting officer, who was preſent, recogniſed the priſoner, gave privately a brief hiſtory of him to captain Giffard, and requeſted that he would keep it a profound ſecret.

At that inſtant an alarm having been given, that the rebels were advancing, the garriſon got under arms, the cannon were drawn out, and the matches were lighted.

Captain Giffard ſhewed him theſe preparations: Told him, he knew that he was father Martin, a prieſt, of Drogheda: That he was acting as a ſpy: That unleſs he made a full confeſſion, he ſhould be put to death, as his life was forfeited by the laws of war: That if he complied, he ſhould be left at the diſpoſal of the viceroy, who was merciful; but if he heſitated, he ſhould be blown away at the mouth of a cannon.

He inſtantly dropped on his knees, begged to be taken into a private room, where, he ſaid, he would make a full and candid confeſſion.

At firſt he began to trifle; but the captain having mentioned ſome circumſtances, which convinced the priſoner that he knew more of him than he ſuppoſed, he made the following full and unreſerved confeſſion upon oath, and afterwards ſigned it:

"That

"That his name was Martin, that he had been a friar of Drogheda, and that he recently officiated at Dunboyne: That he was early an united Iriſhman, and very active in the cauſe: That he preached up the maſſacre of the proteſtants at Dunboyne, which afterwards took place there: That he was in habits of intimacy with father Ledwich, pariſh prieſt of Rathfarnham, whoſe nephew (Ledwich) and Wade, he excited to rebellion, in conſequence of which they were both hanged on the Queen's-bridge: That he was now come down to promote the cauſe, and was in ſearch of Byrne and Holt, who were at the head of a large body of rebels in the mountains, between Rathdrum and Hacketſtown: That he had ſlept the preceding night at the houſe of a prieſt at Roundwood."

He alſo ſtated, "That there was a club of traitors at that time ſitting in Dublin, and another in Drogheda," moſt of whom have been ſince taken up, and puniſhed. He ſaid, "That a large ſum of money had been levied on the Roman catholicks in general, both clergy and laity, every perſon paying according to his wealth, ſome an hundred pounds, others one ſhilling: That he, though a poor prieſt, was rated at a guinea: That the money ſo levied, was to be applied to purchaſe arms and ammunition, and to reward their friends both in and out of parliament."

The practice of putting red tape on the necks of popiſh children, a ſhort time before the rebellion broke out, prevailed as much in the county of Wicklow as Wexford. It is certain, that the intent of it was, to diſtinguiſh the popiſh from the proteſtant children. The pretext was, to protect them from the effects of a contagious diſorder which would ſoon appear in the country, and be fatal to many of its inhabitants; but experience has ſince taught us that it was to enable the rebels to diſcriminate proteſtants from popiſh children in the maſſacre which was intended of the former.

A court-martial was held at Arklow, the eighteenth of June, 1798, by orders of general Needham, for the trial of Matthew Waddock, a traitor, found in arms, and for being in the action of the ninth of June, at Arklow.

The priſoner acknowledged the crime, and that while he attended the rebel army, he conſidered as chief commanders in it, Anthony Perry of Inch, father Francis Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt of Gorey, father Roche of the ſame, Bernard Murray, apothecary, and Matthew D'Arcy, both of the ſame.

James

James Murrigan, a priſoner, taken in arms with Waddock, depoſed, that fathers Roche, Stafford, Kavanagh and Redmond,* four prieſts, were always conſidered as commanders in the rebel army.

The death of captain Hume, member for the county of Wicklow, murdered by the rebels, happened in the following manner; which was proved on the trial of John Moore, the rebel who killed him:

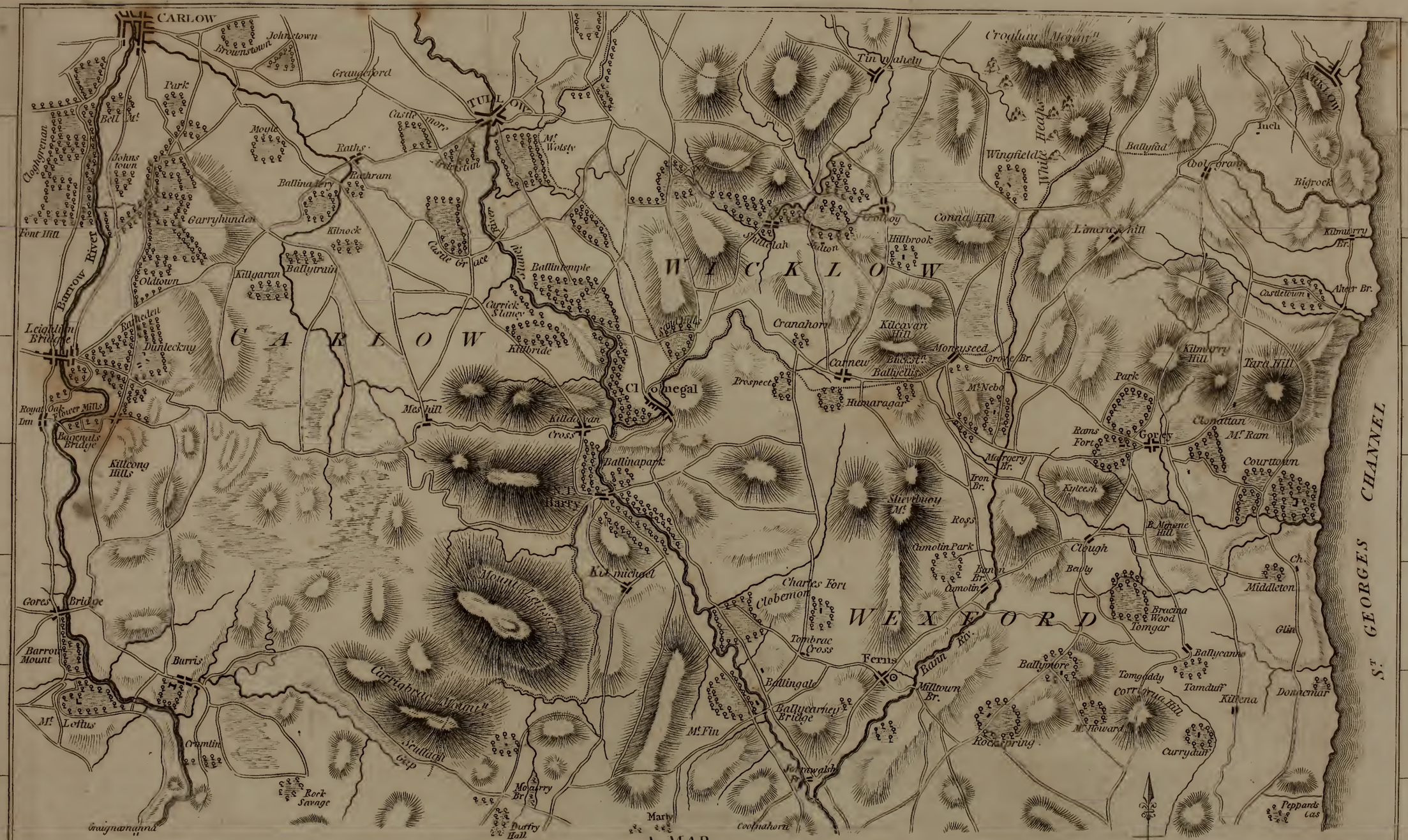
John O'Neale ſwore, that the party of rebels to which he belonged, was cloſely purſued by the king's troops, through Glenmalier, into Aughavanagh, where they ſaw different parties of the king's troops in purſuit of them. They had but ſix horſemen of their party, three in red, and three in coloured clothes. Captain Hume, having miſtaken them for a party of yeomen, advanced near them, and cried out, "Is there not enough to mind that poſition?" Conway, one of the rebels, aſked him, Who he was? to which he anſwered, "Captain of a corps of cavalry." Conway then ſaid, "Did you ever hear of the Ballynatrochin cavalry?" and then raiſing his firelock, miſſed fire at him. On which Moore ſhot him, and mounted his horſe, and Conway took his ſpurs. This gentleman, who was univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed in his country, had diſplayed great courage and activity at the head of his corps, during the progreſs of the rebellion. This melancholy event happened in the month of October, 1798.

REBELLION IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

The inhabitants of no part of Leinſter enjoyed ſo equal a portion of ſocial happineſs, as thoſe of the county of Wexford, which aroſe from the following cauſes: Many Engliſh families who ſettled there at different periods, but particularly in the laſt century, introduced that œconomy, induſtry, and cleanlineſs, which are peculiar to the Britiſh nation, but in which the native Iriſh are very deficient; and ſtrong veſtiges of thoſe habits are ſtill evident in the deſcendants of the Britiſh ſettlers. There are fewer abſentee eſtates in Wexford than in moſt other counties, and more gentlemen reſident in it, who maintain ſocial order, and diſcharge the duties of hoſpitality, charity and humanity; and as the leaves of a tree enrich the ſoil which nouriſhes the parent trunk, ſo the rents of an eſtate ſhould be expended in rewarding

* The latter was hanged. He was coadjutor to father Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt of Gorey.

Plate II.



A MAP
of part of the Counties of
Carlow, Wexford, & Wicklow.

a Scale of Miles

rewarding the labour of thoſe, who, in producing them, contribute to the eaſe, the comfort, and convenience of the landlord. From its oblong and narrow form, and the ſinuoſity of its ſea coaſt, it enjoys a much greater length of it, in proportion to its quantity of ſquare acres, than any other county; a circumſtance favourable not only to commerce, but to agriculture, as the ſea ſand, and ſea weed, form a very good manure for corn. It is abundantly ſupplied with fiſh and ſea fowl. It is biſected by the river Slaney, which is navigable to Enniſcorthy, fifteen miles from the ſea: part of it is bounded on the weſt by the rivers Nore and Barrow, which unite a little above New Roſs, and proceed in a very copious ſtream to Dunbrody, where being joined by the river Suir, they run in a ſouth-eaſt direction, and, paſſing by Paſſage and Duncannon fort, diſcharge themſelves into the ocean at Hook tower.*

The county of Wexford had been generally noted for the peaceable diſpoſition of its inhabitants, and a chaſte adminiſtration of juſtice, which might be juſtly imputed to the comfort, and the conſtant occupation, which its very extenſive and flouriſhing agriculture affords to the farmers and the peaſantry, and to the number of gentlemen who reſide on their eſtates. While many counties in Ireland were diſgraced by nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, committed by defenders and united Iriſhmen, for five years previous to 1797, it was the pride and the boaſt of the Wexford gentlemen, that their county remained in perfect tranquillity.† But in the autumn and winter of the year 1797, and in the ſpring of the enſuing year, as there were well grounded ſuſpicions that the maſs of the people began to be infected by thoſe baneful principles, which have ſince proved ſo fatal to the kingdom, that pikes had been manufactured, that clubs had been formed, in which illegal oaths had been adminiſtered, meetings of the magiſtrates were held in different parts of the county, to take into conſideration the neceſſity of proclaiming thoſe diſtricts, where ſymptoms of diſturbance had appeared.

From the beginning of the year 1797, it was perceived by ſome magiſtrates of diſcernment, that the lower claſſes of the people were very unwilling to pay their debts, or to fulfil any engagements: That they appeared ſurly when called on to do ſo; and they were heard, when angry, or

* See Plates, No. I. II. III.

† The only inſtance to the contrary that occurred there ſome years were the white boys in the year 1774, and the defenders who appeared there in 1793; but the latter were ſoon ſuppreſſed.

or drunk, to hint on ſuch occaſions, that they would ſoon have an opportunity of being revenged. They were ſeen to remain later than uſual at fairs and markets, and in publick houſes, and to confer together in whiſpers.

At a meeting of the magiſtrates held at Gorey, the twentieth day of November, 1797, ſuch ſtrong proofs appeared, that a ſpirit of diſaffection had exiſted ſome time in certain diſtricts, that nineteen pariſhes were proclaimed; which circumſtance alarmed the prieſts of thoſe pariſhes, and their congregations, as they found that the progreſs of their rebellious deſigns would be impeded, if the civil magiſtrate was empowered to act with additional energy under the inſurrection law. They therefore aſſembled at their reſpective chapels, and in an addreſs, which they univerſally adopted, beſought the earl of Mountnorris to avert that meaſure, as it would cover them with a ſuſpicion of diſloyalty and diſaffection, which they by no means merited: And as his lordſhip, and ſeven more magiſtrates of the county, ſpoke and voted againſt proclaiming thoſe pariſhes, they entreated him and them, to meet them at their reſpective chapels, that they might take the oath of allegiance, to clear themſelves from that imputation; and his lordſhip, and thoſe magiſtrates, having accordingly attended them, they all, at their reſpective altars, ſwore an oath of allegiance, agreeable to a form previouſly agreed upon.*

So deep was the diſguiſe of the popiſh multitude, and their prieſts, that the proteſtant miniſters, churchwardens, and pariſhioners of ſome pariſhes, were prevailed on by them, to ſign certificates of their loyalty and peaceable deportment, in order to prevent the adoption of that ſalutary coercion, which would have checked their dangerous deſigns; and yet thoſe very prieſts, and their flocks, diſplayed the moſt bitter and unrelenting enmity againſt thoſe miniſters † and their congregations, in the month of May, and hunted them like wild beaſts.

At the meeting held at Gorey, eight magiſtrates, including Lord Mountnorris, voted and ſpoke vehemently againſt proclaiming the nineteen pariſhes, from a perſuaſion that the popiſh inhabitants and their prieſts were perfectly

* See in appendix, No. XVII. the addreſs to his lordſhip, and the oath of allegiance which they all adopted, and the names of the prieſts and their reſpective pariſhes.

† See in appendix, No. XVII. the certificates of ſome pariſhes, which I happened to obtain.

See Plate II. 6.

A MAP.

of the Southern part of the County of

WEXFORD

perfectly innocent; and yet they were as obnoxious to that ferocious and ſanguinary ſpirit which broke forth in the month of May, as thoſe who wiſhed to enforce that meaſure.

The ſymptoms of rebellion were ſo evident and alarming in the month of April, that twenty-ſeven magiſtrates aſſembled at Enniſcorthy, on the twenty-fifth of that month, and agreed that the whole county ſhould be proclaimed, and it accordingly took place on the twenty-ſeventh; but Mr. Joſhua Pounden ſtrenuouſly urged an exemption from its operation for that town, from a conviction of the loyalty of its inhabitants; and Mr. Alcock of Wilton, from the ſame motive, ſolicited a ſimilar privilege for his tenants; though the ſequel proved that they were deceived.

This procedure was adopted, in conſequence of their having diſcovered that great quantities of pikes had been made, and of their having detected blackſmiths in the act of fabricating them.

Mr. Hawtrey White, captain of the Ballaghkeene yeomen cavalry, obtained the following information, and communicated it to government, ſo early as the month of November, 1797: Their manner of aſſembling: Their frequent meetings: Their mode of collecting money in their reſpective pariſhes: That it was to be applied to the purpoſe of purchaſing arms and ammunition, and of ſeducing the military: That an attack on the city of Dublin was meditated: That the popiſh prieſts were deeply concerned in the rebellion; and that whenever it would break out, religion would have the chief influence.

Many other prieſts and their congregations followed the example of thoſe who took oaths of allegiance, on the twenty-ſixth of November, 1797, having ſolicited the magiſtrates to give them the ſame opportunity of exculpating themſelves.

In the month of February, 1798, ſome of the principal popiſh farmers of the pariſh of Kilruſh, ſolicited Charles Dawſon, eſquire, of Charles-Fort, near Ferns,* a magiſtrate, to attend them at their chapel for that purpoſe; and he complied with their wiſhes, on the enſuing Sunday, when he was aſſiſted by the reverend Edanus Murphy, their pariſh prieſt, and his coadjutor. The latter in a long harangue from the altar, expatiated on the virtues of his preſent majeſty, the wiſdom and lenity of his

T t government,

* See Plate II. 6.

government, and recommended to them a ſteady and unſhaken fidelity to both. He at the ſame time appointed three days for them to aſſemble at different places in the pariſh, to take and ſubſcribe the oath of allegiance, before Mr. Dawſon, which they accordingly did; and father Murphy was preſent at one of their meetings.

The ſame prieſt and his flock aſſembled again on the twenty-eighth of January, 1798, in their chapel, expreſſing their abhorrence of the barbarous outrages lately committed, and of the dangerous conſpiracies formed by traitors and rebels, ſtyling themſelves united Iriſhmen; and declaring their unalterable attachment to their beloved ſovereign, and to our happy conſtitution. It was ſigned by Edanus Murphy, and five hundred and fourteen of his pariſhioners, and publiſhed in the Dublin Journal on the third day of March, 1798, after having been preſented to the viceroy.

Notwithſtanding ſuch unequivocal teſtimonies of their loyalty, Mr. Dawſon had ſtrong reaſons for thinking that a ſtorm was gathering, as the people aſſembled privately, and many pikes had been manufactured in the pariſh, ſubſequent to the adminiſtration of oaths at the chapel. He therefore prevailed on ſome of his tenants, partly by threats, and partly by perſuaſion, to make a full confeſſion of their guilt, and to deliver up their arms, which they accordingly did; and next day, a great number of people followed their example, in acknowledging their deluſion, in ſurrendering pikes, and in ſoliciting protections, which they obtained; though theſe very people had a few days before taken oaths of allegiance, and had ſigned an addreſs to the viceroy.

On this diſcovery, Mr. Dawſon, alarmed at the perilous ſtate of the country, repaired on the twentieth of May to Wexford, where he and twenty-nine magiſtrates aſſembled; and publiſhed notices, exhorting all the people in general to come in, to take oaths of allegiance, to confeſs their errors, and to accept the protection which they then offered them. This produced the deſired effect; for the magiſtrates continued the entire week to receive great numbers of people, who ſeemed very penitent, having confeſſed their errors; the committees before whom they had been ſworn; and the blackſmiths who had made their pikes, of which they ſurrendered great quantities.

The

The ſame protections were granted in the pariſhes of Enniſcorthy, Templeſhambo, Ferns,* Newtown-Barry† and Camolin,‡ where the reſpective pariſh prieſts attended, and exhorted their flocks to teſtify their loyalty, and to renounce their errors; and this continued till the day before the rebellion broke out, and in moſt of the pariſhes in that county they followed their example.

The prieſts and their congregations in the pariſh of Monomolin, took oaths of allegiance, ſurrendered their arms, and received protections, on the week preceding the rebellion, and ſent a loyal addreſs to the viceroy.

Great numbers of people in the pariſh of Kilſcoran, attended by two prieſts, continued to take oaths of allegiance on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, previous to the thirtieth of May. Above one thouſand perſons did the like in the pariſh of Taghmon, the week preceding the rebellion, and two hundred even ſo late as the morning of Whitſunday.

The protections granted to the perſons who took ſuch oaths, were found afterwards in the pockets of numbers of them who fell in the rebellion.

On the twelfth of April, 1797, many pariſh prieſts and their congregations addreſſed lord Camden in terms ſtrongly expreſſive of their loyalty, and on this occaſion they all adopted one form of addreſs.‖

As the earl of Mountnorris had always been peculiarly attentive to the intereſt of the Roman catholicks, and had endeavoured to awaken a ſenſe of duty in them, at this alarming period, they ſolicited him to preſent them to the viceroy, which he accordingly did.

The reverend Dudley Colclough, a magiſtrate, adminiſtered oaths of allegiance in the pariſh of Templeſhambo, to ſome hundreds of people, who ſurrendered their pikes, and on doing ſo received protections.

Sir Frederick Flood and Henry Brownrigg, eſquire, did the like in the pariſh of Camolin, where the prieſts attended.

The following letter § publiſhed in the Dublin Journal of May twenty-ſixth, ſhews how much the magiſtrates were impoſed on.

* Plate II. 6. † Ibid. 5. ‡ Ibid.

‖ See in Appendix, No. XVII. 1. the names of the prieſts, their pariſhes and their addreſs.

§ Camolin, May 24th.

"I have the ſatisfaction of informing you, that the meaſures of government have been attended with the happieſt effects. In this pariſh, many hundred pikes have been given up within

It was obſerved, that in the town of Camolin, a number of prieſts uſed frequently to meet, dine together, and hold private conferences for ſome months previous to the rebellion.

At Enniſcorthy, the two Mr. Poundens ſat for an entire week, previous to Whitſunday, giving protections to the people, in conſequence of their having taken the oaths, and ſurrendered their arms. Theſe proceedings took place in the preſence of three prieſts,* who to give a greater appearance of ſanctity to them, inſiſted that the people ſhould be ſworn on a popiſh manual; and yet ſo little regard had their flock for the ſacred obligation of an oath, that ſome of theſe protections were found in the pockets of rebels, who were killed on the Monday following, when they attacked the town of Enniſcorthy.

In the pariſh of Ferns, oaths were adminiſtered to the inhabitants of it, by Iſaac Cornock, eſquire, and the reverend Mr. Turner † of Ballingale, both magiſtrates, until the evening before the rebellion broke out.

Some of them denied, that they had ever ſeen a pike, or taken the united Iriſhman's oath; but on being refuſed protections, and threatened with the ſeverity of the law, they acknowledged both; and ſaid, that they had procured thoſe weapons to protect themſelves againſt orangemen, who they heard would ſoon riſe and exterminate the Roman catholicks. A few of them owned, that the purport of their oath was, to join the French, and to kill all loyal ſubjects, and ſuch perſons as would not join them; and on being urged to declare whom they meant by loyal perſons, they ſaid proteſtants.

Mr. Hawtrey White of Peppard's caſtle,‡ in the pariſh of Donoughmore, an active magiſtrate, knowing that rebellious principles had been widely diffuſed, and had taken deep root in the minds of the people, prevailed

within theſe few days to ſir Frederick Flood and Henry Brownrigg, eſquire, magiſtrates; and the unfortunate people are crowding in with the fulleſt confeſſion, and throwing themſelves on the mercy of government. I have been myſelf an eye-witneſs to the ſenſe of guilt and contrition in the deluded peaſantry, againſt whom ſuch baneful arts have been exerted."

* It was obſerved, that a prieſt retired with ſome of the pariſhioners, and whiſpered them ſometime before they took the oath.

† Mr. Turner, before whom they ſwore thoſe oaths on Saturday, was murdered by them next morning.

‡ Plate III. 1.

vailed on the following prieſts, and the moſt reſpectable farmers of their congregations, to aſſemble at his houſe, on Saturday, the nineteenth day of May, for the purpoſe of admoniſhing them, on the alarming ſtate of the country: Father Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt of Donoughmore, father Michael Murphy, of * Ballycanew, father Michael Lacy, of †Kilmuckridge. He informed them of his having received certain intelligence, that ſecret meetings of the people had been frequently held, in which treaſonable oaths had been adminiſtered, and that great quantities of pikes had been made in their pariſhes, and in all the adjacent country; and he preſſed them to uſe their utmoſt exertions, by exhortations from the altar, to check their deluded congregations, in their career to deſtruction; but they, and their pariſhioners, declared in the moſt ſolemn manner, that they were poſitively ignorant of the alarming circumſtances which he ſtated, and that they had never ſeen a pike; though Mr. White had poſitive information, that ſome of the farmers who had made ſuch declarations of their innocence, were poſſeſſed of conſiderable quantities of thoſe weapons. They all departed, making ſtrong profeſſions of loyalty, and expreſſing great ſurpriſe and concern at what they had heard. Next day theſe prieſts exhorted their flocks from the altar, to conduct themſelves peaceably, and to act with fidelity towards the government; and they, as if deeply impreſſed with the admonitions of their ſpiritual paſtors, continued the entire week to ſurrender pikes, and to ſwear oaths of allegiance before the magiſtrates, and to receive protections. But though the maſs of the people gave ſuch unequivocal teſtimonies of their ſincere intention to preſerve ſocial order, the following circumſtance raiſed many ominous doubts and conjectures in the minds of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects: That the popiſh multitude reſorted to their chapels, much oftener than uſual, for ſome weeks before the rebellion broke out, to exerciſe their devotions, and to confeſs to their reſpective pariſh prieſts, not only in the county of Wexford, but in many other parts of the province of Leinſter.

For ſome months previous to it, doctor Caulfield, the popiſh biſhop, and a number of prieſts, uſed frequently to meet, and dine at the houſe of Peter Redmond, at Enniſcorthy, where they held ſecret conferences.

By

* Plate II. 6. † Plate III. 2.

‡ Mr. White had undoubted information at that time, that theſe prieſts were deeply and actively engaged in the cauſe of the union. Michael Murphy was killed at the battle of Arklow.

By ſuch profound diſſimulation, covered over with the broad mantle of religion, the prieſts and their congregations lulled the government, and the magiſtrates, into a ſtate of ſupine and fatal ſecurity; and prevented them from adopting ſuch vigorous meaſures, and ſalutary precautions, as were neceſſary to prevent the execution of their nefarious deſigns. They therefore formed their deſtructive plans, with the ſilence and ſecreſy of moles, and ſtarted forth, ſuddenly, with the fury and fierceneſs of tygers. The deluſive ſtillneſs that preceded the inſurrection in the county of Wexford, reſembled a calm in one of the tropical regions, which is ſuddenly ſucceeded by a hurricane, that ſpreads univerſal deſolation.*

When this dreadful volcano burſt forth, which has brought irreparable calamities, and indelible diſgrace on that once-happy and opulent portion of the kingdom of Ireland, there were no other troops in the county of Wexford but the North Cork militia, conſiſting of but three hundred men; and they did not arrive there till the twenty-ſixth of April. Their head-quarters were in Wexford, where three companies of them were ſtationed; the remainder were cantoned at Gorey, Enniſcorthy, and Ferns. Two thouſand troops, properly cantoned in it, would have awed the rebels into obedience, and have prevented the poſſibility of a riſing; but the ſolemnity and ſacredneſs of oaths, and the earneſtneſs of proteſtations, baniſhed all ſuſpicion on the part of the government, the magiſtrates, and the loyal ſubjects; though the ſubverſion of the former, and the extirpation of the latter, had been ſome months concerted.

The following reaſon is to be aſſigned, for the zeal which the leaders of rebellion in the county of Wexford diſplayed, in organizing and arming the people, and in practiſing the arts of deception on the government: lord Edward Fitzgerald had laid a plan, that a few faſt-ſailing French frigates, ſhould come to Wexford, filled with arms and ammunition, with

* But, as we often ſee, againſt ſome ſtorm,
A ſilence in the heavens, the rack ſtand ſtill,
The bold winds ſpeechleſs, and the orb below
As huſh as death; anon, the dreadful thunder,
Doth rend the region —— SHAKSPEARE.

‖ Plate II. 4.

with officers and Iriſhmen, and perſons capable of drilling men.§ In conſequence of this, their expectations of their arrival were ſuch, that the Wexford rebels miſtook our frigates for French, when they appeared on their coaſt.

It was the intention of the Iriſh directory, that the inſurrection ſhould take place at one and the ſame time, all over Ireland; but the following circumſtances diſconcerted their ſcheme, and prevented the accompliſhment of it: The arreſt of the repreſentatives for the province of Leinſter, at Oliver Bond's, and afterwards of lord Edward Fitzgerald, the two Sheares, Neilſon, and ſome other leaders; and as their ſucceſſors diſagreed about the time of riſing, it is certain that it was not determined on till a ſhort time before it was to take place in Dublin and its vicinity.

It was not communicated to the Wexford leaders till the twenty-fifth of May, and it required ſome time to apprize the different captains of it, that they might prepare their corps to act in concert. For theſe reaſons, the general inſurrection in that county did not take place till Whitſunday, the twenty-ſeventh day of May, 1798.

But the zeal of father John Murphy,* of Boolavogue chapel, in the pariſh of Kilcormick, was ſo intemperate, that he began his military career at ſix o'clock on Saturday evening the twenty-ſixth of May; and conſidering the time of its duration, and the limits to which it was confined, we muſt allow that it was as deſtructive as that of Attila, Gengis Kan, or Tamerlane. His father was a petty farmer at Tincurry, in the pariſh of Ferns, where he was educated at a hedge-ſchool, kept by a man of the name of Gun. It appears by his teſtimonium and diploma,† that he received holy orders at Seville in Spain, in the year 1785; and, I preſume, that he graduated there as a doctor of divinity, as he aſſumes that title in his journal,‡ which he dropped in his retreat from Vinegar-hill, and which was found by captain Hugh Moore of the 5th dragoons, aid-de-camp to general Needham.

As one Webſter, a proteſtant neighbour of doctor Murphy, was returning from Gorey, he met him near Boolavogue, about four o'clock on

§ Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XVI.

* See the oath of allegiance which he took, and his addreſs to lord Mountnorris, with other prieſts, Appendix, No. XVII.

† See Appendix, No. XVIII. 1. ‡ Ibid.

on Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May, and was ſaluted by him with great cordiality; and yet, in about three hours after, the doctor was at the head of a numerous party of rebels, who burned the houſes of Webſter,§ and his brother, and many of his proteſtant neighbours.

The doctor collected his forces by lighting a fire on a hill called Corrigrua,* which ſignal was anſwered by another fire on an eminence contiguous to his own houſe, at Boolavogue; ſoon after which father Murphy ſet out on his cruſade, at the head of a numerous band of followers.†

Theſe outrages, the firſt ſymptoms of open rebellion, were communicated to the garriſon of Enniſcorthy,‡ in the following manner: A party of theſe rebels attacked the houſe of the widow Piper, at Tincurry, four miles from that town, wounded her in a deſperate manner, and murdered her ſon-in-law, a young man of the name of Candy. Her daughter, having narrowly eſcaped by leaping out of a window, mounted a horſe, and galloped off to Enniſcorthy, and informed the garriſon quartered there of theſe atrocities, at ſeven o'clock in the evening.

About the hour of eleven o'clock that night, the Enniſcorthy and Healthfield yeomen cavalry, commanded by captain Richards and captain Grogan, proceeded to Tincurry, to diſperſe the rebels; and on their arrival there, found all the circumſtances of atrocity related by the poor female fugitive to be ſtrictly true; and they were alſo informed by her mother, that the aſſaſſins principally concerned in them, were one Fitzpatrick, and the Boulgers, a popiſh family, her near neighbours, with whom ſhe had always lived in the cloſeſt friendſhip; and that their enmity could have ariſen from no other motive, but becauſe ſhe was of the proteſtant religion, and that her two ſons were in the ſervice as yeomen.

Soon after the yeomanry returned to Enniſcorthy, they were alarmed a ſecond time, by the arrival of a young man of the name of Webſter, who informed them that his father's houſe at Garrybritt, about five miles off, had been ſet on fire by a party of rebels, and that he made his eſcape after having ruſhed through the flames. On this intelligence, captains Richards and Grogan ſet out a ſecond time with their corps of cavalry, in purſuit of the rebels; and on their arrival at Garrybritt, found the houſe

§ See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 2. the Affidavit of Samuel Whealey.
* Plate II. 7. † Ibid. ‡ Plate III. 2.

houſe of the two Webſters, brothers, John and Robert, in flames, and the two daughters of one of them, both handſome and young, having narrowly eſcaped, were ſitting in their ſhifts, in an orchard near the houſe, ſhivering with cold. Their father, a man of conſiderable ſubſtance, was in a moment reduced to poverty.

Captains Richards and Grogan ſaw all the proteſtant houſes, as far as their ſight could extend, in a ſtate of conflagration; and having received undoubted information that father Murphy was at the head of the rebels who were thus ſpreading devaſtation, they, in the firſt inſtance, repaired to his houſe, where they diſcovered that he, conſcious that his nefarious conduct would provoke the vengeance of the magiſtrates and the military, had concealed his furniture in a pit in an adjacent field, before he had ſet out on his campaign; and all the rebels who attended him followed his example.

They therefore ſet fire to father Murphy's houſe, as a puniſhment for the atrocities which he and his followers had perpetrated. Some perſons have aſſerted that the yeomen were the aggreſſors on this occaſion, and that father Murphy would not have embarked in the rebellion, if he had not been provoked by the burning of his houſe and his chapel; but the facts which I have related are a ſufficient refutation of this; and the affidavits of two rebel leaders of the names of Roſſiter and Crawley,* remove all doubts on it.

In juſtice to captain Richards, I think it right to ſay, that he would not ſuffer any of his party to burn father Murphy's chapel, or to inſult his veſtments, which were found in the pit† near his houſe; but that on the contrary, he inſiſted that nothing of the kind ſhould be done, having ſaid, "Puniſh the man, but do not mock or inſult his religion."

The yeomen cavalry, in their progreſs that night, overtook ſome of the rebels in arms, whom they put to death, and burned ſome of their houſes, which their inmates had deſerted, and from which the furniture had been removed and concealed.

Many particulars of the deſtructive career of that ſacerdotal hero, during that night and next day, have been verified by the affidavit of Samuel

* See Appendix, No. XVIII. 3.

† They found there his teſtimonium and diploma.

Whealey, a farmer of that pariſh.* Having burnt every proteſtant houſe in the pariſh of Kilcormick, and murdered ſuch of their inmates as he could ſeize, he proceeded to a place called the Harrow, where he engaged and defeated a party of the Camolin yeomen cavalry, having killed lieutenant Bookey, who commanded it, and Mr. John Donovan, one of the privates; after which he burned the houſe of Rockſpring,‖ belonging to the former.

When lieutenant Bookey ſet out with his troop, he left a guard in his houſe, conſiſting of five Roman catholick ſervants, and two proteſtants, Jacob Ward and Samuel Hawkins. Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, about five hundred rebels, headed by father Murphy, ſurrounded the houſe of Rockſpring, on which the five papiſts deſerted, and the two proteſtants were left alone, with four guns, to defend the houſe. The rebels called to them to deliver up their arms, which the two proteſtants ſaid they would do, and immediately diſcharged four guns at them; and they continued to load and fire at them with all poſſible celerity. The rebels, incenſed at their ſpirited conduct, threw ſtones at the windows, fired into them with their muſkets, and at laſt broke open the front door with a ſledge. As ſome of the aſſailants had fallen by the fire of the beſieged, others, dreading the ſame fate, were heard to cry out, "Let us retreat, before more of us are killed."

The rebels having entered the houſe, got lights, and aſſembled in the hall; on which the two proteſtants ceaſed firing, and placed themſelves on the head of the ſtairs, with their muſkets, to prevent their foes from aſcending. Father Murphy ordered ſome of his men to go up ſtairs, and learn who the perſons were that had the audacity to oppoſe him; but having heſitated to obey his commands, he drew his ſword, and threatened them inſtantly with death. Two of them having attempted to comply, were ſhot before they proceeded far, and tumbled down among their comrades. As the laſt reſource, to be revenged of the beſieged, they ſet fire to the houſe; and yet the two proteſtants, with the moſt deliberate valour, continued to charge and fire, till the floor, a prey to the flames, began to crack under them; on which they repaired to the upper ſtory, but even there they were much ſcorched with the flames, and almoſt ſtifled

* See Appendix, No. XVIII. 2. ‖ Plate II. 7.

ſtifled with ſmoke. But as they ceaſed to fire, the rebels imagined they were ſuffocated or conſumed, and that they had obtained ample revenge; and fearing that the dawn, which was not far diſtant, would expoſe them to the yeomanry of Enniſcorthy who had been ſcouring the country, they retreated, by which the lives of theſe two brave men were preſerved.

As the murder of the reverend doctor Burrowes, rector of Kilmuckridge, and the burning of his glebe-houſe at Kyle,* were marked with circumſtances of peculiar atrocity, I ſhall give a minute deſcription of them, as related to me by his widow and children.‖ Some of his proteſtant pariſhioners, dreading that they would fall a prey to the ſanguinary rage of father Murphy, took refuge in the houſe of Kyle, on Saturday evening. One Murphy, though an united Iriſhman, had candour and humanity enough to inform Mr. Burrowes, about eleven o'clock that night, that his houſe would be attacked early next morning by a party of rebels. In conſequence of this information, he, his family, and his pariſhioners ſat up all night, and barricadoed the lower part of the houſe, which was attacked at ſun-riſe by about five hundred rebels.

It was vigorouſly defended for ſome time, many ſhots having been fired by the aſſailants and the beſieged. At laſt, the rebels ſet fire to the out-offices, which were quickly conſumed, and ſoon after to the dwelling-houſe, which in a ſhort time was in a ſtate of conflagration. The rapid progreſs of the flames in the latter was imputed to ſome unctious combuſtible matter applied to the doors and windows of the houſe, which the rebels frequently uſed in the courſe of the rebellion.

The beſieged, being in danger of ſuffocation from the thickneſs of the ſmoke, reſolved to quit the houſe, however perilous it might be; and they were encouraged to do ſo by doctor Murphy, who aſſured them, that they ſhould not be injured, if they ſurrendered themſelves without any further reſiſtance. Relying on his promiſe, they quitted the houſe, on which they treacherouſly murdered Mr. Burrowes, and ſeven of his pariſhioners; and gave his ſon, a youth of ſixteen years,‡ ſo ſevere a wound in the belly with a pike, that for ſome time he lay motionleſs and

 apparently

* See Plate III. a.

‖ The moſt material of them have been verified by the affidavit of his eldeſt ſon. See Appendix, No. XVIII. 4.

‡ This amiable youth languiſhed and died of that wound in the autumn of 1800.

apparently dead. Mrs. Burrowes, her four children, and Miſs Clifford, her niece, continued for twelve hours to weep over the mangled bodies of her huſband and his ſeven pariſhioners, and to conſole and adminiſter relief to her ſon, who was in excruciating agonies, and bleeding ſo copiouſly, that every moment ſhe expected his diſſolution.

The horror of the ſcene was heightened by the houſe in a ſtate of conflagration, diſcharging immenſe volumes of flame and ſmoke, and emitting ſuch heat, that the unfortunate ſufferers could ſcarce endure it. All her houſhold furniture, and her cloaths, except what ſhe and her children wore, were deſtroyed by the fire.

In the evening, ſhe, her children, and niece, repaired to a wretched inn at Oulart, about half a mile off, with her ſon, who was carried on a door. Theſe unfortunate ſufferers remained there till Tueſday the twenty-ninth day of May, and during that time her ſon did not receive any medical aſſiſtance. They were eſcorted by a party of rebels to Caſtle-anneſley, the ſeat of Mr. Clifford, above five miles off, where they were kept as priſoners, till the town of Wexford was taken from the rebels.*

While Mr. Burrowes's houſe was in flames, Thomas Foxton, one of his proteſtant pariſhioners, who ſought an aſylum in his houſe, concealed himſelf in an oven, to eſcape the ſanguinary rage of the rebels, and he remained there till their departure. By ſkulking in places of concealment, he contrived to evade their reſearches, till after the king's troops got poſſeſſion of Wexford; when he, half famiſhed, and attended by his wife and three young children, was met between Inch and Gorey by a flying party of rebels, who put him to death. His afflicted wife carried his body, on her back, two miles, to the church of Inch, to be buried. An inſtance of piety which deſerves to be recorded! ‖

Though the popiſh inhabitants of Kilruſh had continued to take oaths of allegiance, and to ſurrender pikes to Mr. Dawſon, of Charles-fort, for a week preceding Whitſunday, he had ſuch ſtrong doubts of their ſincerity, that he kept in his houſe by night, ten of his proteſtant pariſhioners, well armed, for his protection. Having diſmiſſed them on that morning, he

* See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 4. the affidavit of T. C. Burrowes.

‖ Richard, the brother of Thomas Foxton, and William Edwards who eſcaped, and who were examined as witneſſes the ſixteenth of November, 1798, on the trial of Peter Crowley, one of father Murphy's gang, proved that they heard ſome of the rebels ſay, "That all proteſtants ought to be killed, as they were not chriſtened."

he was preparing to attend his family to church, conſiſting of Mrs. Dawſon, two daughters, his ſon of the age of ſixteen, and a miſs Reade, when a man, who was under obligations to him, arrived at his houſe, and informed him, that he had juſt come from a large body of people, who had riſen the night before, had burned many houſes, and had committed many various enormities, which he enumerated, and that they were reſolved to carry every thing before them; that they were determined to compel Mr. Dawſon to join them, and co-operate with them; and that they would murder him, and his family, if he refuſed to comply. Mr. Dawſon boldly declared, that he would ſubmit to die, ſooner than violate his allegiance to his king. He immediately ſent a perſon to collect his proteſtant guards, but, alas! no more than one of them, his gamekeeper, could be found;* and a few minutes after he arrived, a thouſand rebels ſurrounded his houſe, and ſet fire to it and his out-offices, which were ſoon in flames. Mrs. Dawſon, her daughter, and miſs Reade, in the greateſt conſternation, made their eſcape out of a window. Mr. Dawſon fled into his hall, as it was the moſt defenſible part of his houſe. Soon after the front door fell in, and he received a muſket ball in his breaſt. He could have ſhot the man who fired at him; but perceiving his family in the hands of the rebels, he feared that they would inſtantly have fallen a prey to their ſavage revenge.

As the flames began to rage in every part of his houſe, he fled into his lawn, where he was ſurrounded by a large body of them, who were proceeding to aſſaſſinate him; but ſome of them interfered, and ſaid, it would anſwer their purpoſe much better, to take him with them, and make him act as their commander. He ſhewed them his wound, which bled copiouſly, and aſſured them it would ſoon occaſion his diſſolution; and they ſeemed ſo much convinced of it, that they left him. He then proceeded through a plantation of trees to a tenant's houſe. His ſon, of whoſe ſafety he had deſpaired, arrived there ſoon after, breathleſs and faint from running. He had fallen into the hands of the rebels, who were on the point of murdering him. They procured horſes, and repaired to the town of Ferns, two miles off. In their way thither, they perceived all

* This man's name was John Willis, and he was murdered that morning by one Arthur Murphy, his neighbour, and apparently his friend.

all the proteſtant houſes on fire, in every direction, as far as their ſight could extend. The proteſtant inhabitants of Ferns,* alarmed at ſuch appearances, and expecting that the town would be attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who were aſſembled in its vicinity, retreated to Enniſcorthy,† ſix miles diſtant, eſcorted by a detachment of the North Cork militia, and the Scarawalſh yeomanry, commanded by captain Cornock; and Mr. Dawſon, and his ſon joined them. Mrs. Dawſon and her family repaired to Newtownbarry,‡ five miles off, under the protection of the yeomanry cavalry of that town; and next day, eſcorted by them, they went to Enniſcorthy, which was nine miles off.

The houſes and property of all the inhabitants of the town of Ferns were plundered or deſtroyed, when they fled to Enniſcorthy. The baſe ingratitude of the popiſh multitude towards doctor Cleaver, biſhop of Ferns, deſerves peculiar attention. That amiable prelate, as noted for his great piety and extenſive learning, as for his mildneſs and humility, reſided conſtantly in his dioceſe, which was by far the beſt regulated in the kingdom. In the courſe of a few years, he had provided for above twenty curates, without any other recommendation but their own merit; in conſequence of which, his clergy were diſtinguiſhed for their unremitted practice of every religious and moral duty.

His lordſhip and Mrs. Cleaver, were ſingularly charitable and humane, to all the lower claſs of people in his neighbourhood. He paid an apothecary in Ferns 30 l. a-year, to attend his labourers; and he regularly employed a phyſician when they were afflicted with maladies of a dangerous nature.

He ſupplied them with clothes and blankets every winter; and with proviſions at Chriſtmas.

And yet, horrid to relate! thoſe very labourers plundered his houſe of every valuable article in it, on the morning of Whitſunday, and openly avowed their thirſt for the blood of him and Mrs. Cleaver. An orphan, whom he had found naked, and ſtarving, at the age of ſeven years, and whom he had fed, clothed, and inſtructed, for ſix years, in his palace, was the leader of theſe ſavages, ſhewed them every precious article of furniture; and aſſiſted them in breaking open the cellar. He uſed to preſide

* See plate II. 6 and 2. † See plate III. 2. ‡ See plate II. 5.

preſide at the head of the table, and his toaſt was, "Damnation to all biſhops!" Some of his lordſhip's Engliſh maidſervants were eye-witneſſes of theſe ſcenes of brutal ferocity.

A rebel, taken in arms, near Scarawalſh-bridge,* in the month of June, was aſked, Why they did not deſtroy the biſhop's palace, when they plundered it? and he anſwered, that father John Murphy, of Boolavogue, meant to keep it for himſelf.

Notwithſtanding the aſſurances of father Michael Murphy, and father Michael Lacy, and their flock, on the nineteenth of May, to Mr. White, at Peppard's caſtle, of their fidelity to government, and their total ignorance of a conſpiracy; the inſurrection was as general, and as deſtructive, in the pariſh of Kilmuckridge,† near which it lies, on Whitſunday the twenty-ſeventh of May, as in the pariſh of Kilcormuck. Mr. White's houſe was plundered on that day by his own tenants and neighbours, who had a ſhort time before ſurrendered their pikes, and taken oaths of allegiance, as a proof of their ſincerity. Two of the former, for whom he had a ſtrong predilection, were the firſt who began to pillage. One of them, of the name of Brien, was ſo great a favourite with him, that though he diſcovered ſometime before, that he was concerned in the conſpiracy, he rebuked him privately, and would not proceed againſt him with that rigour, which the law required; and yet, he frequently pierced the portrait of Mr. White with a pike, and lamented that he had not the original. He entered the apartment of Mrs. White, his ſiſter, an aged lady, and told her, ſhe muſt quit the houſe; and he was ſoon after followed by a young woman, armed with a pike, who gave her the ſame orders. Mr. White is captain of the Ballakeen cavalry; and it was very fortunate that he had aſſembled his corps at Gorey, on Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May; for it has been ſince diſcovered, that it was the intention of the rebels, to have cut them off, ſingly, in their reſpective houſes, that night.

In the pariſh of Camolin, they had ſurrendered many hundred pikes, and continued to confeſs their guilt with apparent contrition, and to take oaths of allegiance in the preſence of their prieſt, father Francis Kavanagh, till the eve of the rebellion; but on Whitſunday they roſe in maſs, armed with pikes and guns, vowed vengeance againſt the proteſtants as orangemen,

* Plate II. 8. † Plate III. 2.

men, proceeded to plunder and demoliſh their houſes, and to kill ſome, and to take others priſoners.

The reverend Mr. Owen, the pariſh miniſter, having fled, was taken priſoner near Gorey, where he was confined ten days, during which time he was often urged to become a convert to popery; but having refuſed, they knocked him down, ſtripped him of his clothes, and gave him ſome ragged garments to hide his nakedneſs, wounded him with pikes, and ſent him barefooted to Wexford gaol, with ſome other priſoners. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, a popiſh gentleman, was captain of the guard who conducted them, though he had taken the oath of allegiance, and had been a member of the Shelmalier yeomanry.

Early on the morning of Whitſunday, captain White, having been informed that the rebels had riſen the preceding night in great force, and were committing great outrages, proceeded to the place where they were ſaid to be aſſembled, with his own corps, and that of lord Courtown's. On his arrival there he found the intelligence which he had received to be true: He purſued the inſurgents, which he could eaſily do, as their deſtructive progreſs was marked by the houſes of proteſtants in a ſtate of conflagration. He ordered ſome of the ſtragglers whom he found in arms to be put to death. One of them, whoſe life was ſaved, confeſſed to captain White, that the party whom they purſued was headed by the reverend John Murphy, of the pariſh of Kilcormuck; that they were determined to burn the houſe, and take the life of every proteſtant that came in their way; that the inhabitants of the country for ſome miles round were to aſſemble that night at Oulart, and were to plunder and burn all the proteſtant houſes that occurred in their way thither. Captain White's party purſued the rebels within ſix miles of Wexford, in hopes of being able to engage them; but when they were within a muſket ſhot of them they halted, and faced about to give them battle; at the ſame time a party of them formed at each ſide of the road, with a view of ſurrounding them. The rebels amounted to about four thouſand, and the yeomen cavalry, who were armed only with piſtols and ſabres, did not exceed eighty; and as they were encloſed in a narrow road, where they could not act, captain White very prudently ordered them to retreat. He then recommended to his yeomen to get their families into Gorey* as faſt as poſſible.

He

* Plate II.

He accompanied Mr. D'Arcy, a member of his corps, within a mile of Ballynahown,* his country ſeat, and adviſed him to ſend his mother, a venerable old lady, into that town, to eſcape the ſavage fury of the rebels; but before he could effect it, he was ſhot near his houſe, by a rebel of the name of Whelan, who was attached to father John Murphy, as his aide de camp.† This young gentleman was poſſeſſed of a large eſtate, and had very honourable connections, as his mother is aunt to the earl of Ely, and ſiſter to general Tottenham. From a deſire to ſerve his king and country, he entered as a private into the Ballaghkeene cavalry. Captain White then repaired to Iſland,‡ the ſeat of Mr. Bolton, within two miles of Kyle, and recommended to him to repair immediately to Gorey, for protection. Mr. Bolton, and his family, conſiſting of Mrs. Bolton and ten children, ſucceeded in eſcaping to Gorey, but were ſtopped in their way by a party of rebels, who diſarmed, and were on the point of murdering them and their ſervants.§ On that morning the houſes of Mr. D'Arcy and Mr. Bolton were plundered and burnt. Captain White was induced to go to the houſe of Kyle, by the great volume of ſmoke, which iſſued from it; and on his arrival there, he beheld that heart-rending ſcene of miſery which I have already deſcribed. At ſome diſtance from the houſe, he met William Edwards, one of Mr. Burrowes's proteſtant guards, whom the rebels had left for dead; but as they had not touched any vital part, he roſe, as if from a trance, and through exceſſive weakneſs, tottered every ſtep in endeavouring to make his eſcape. His arm was broke; he had many ghaſtly wounds, and he was covered with blood.

On the ſixteenth of November, 1798, Peter Crowley was tried and convicted at Wexford, of having been actively concerned in this woeful ſcene, on the evidence of Richard Foxton and William Edwards; and they proved that ſome of the rebels declared at Kyle, that all proteſtants ſhould be killed, as they were not chriſtians; and that Mr. Burrowes cried out for mercy when he ſurrendered himſelf to father Murphy, but was immediately butchered.

* See Plate III. 2.

† This was proved on the trial of the rebel general Roach, which began the ſeventeenth of December, 1798, at Wexford.

‡ Plate III. 2.

§ See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 5. the affidavit of George Williams, giving an account of the deſtructive rage of the rebels on the morning of Whitſunday.

Mr. White made many attempts to go to his own houſe; but as all the avenues to it were occupied by detachments of the rebels, who afterwards plundered it, he retreated to Gorey, and had many narrow eſcapes in doing ſo. In his way thither, he beheld the houſes of proteſtants on fire, in every direction. I ſhall refer the reader to the affidavit of George and Elizabeth Williams, for the ſcene of deſolation which the country, for many miles round, exhibited on Whitſunday.* Mr. ſerjeant Stanley arrived at Gorey, from Dublin, on Saturday the twenty-ſixth day of May, in his way to Cork, where he was to hold a ſpecial commiſſion. Captain White ſent ſix yeomen cavalry to eſcort him as far as Enniſcorthy. Two of them, George Greenly and James Shaw, ſtopped, on their return, at their own houſes, where they were murdered. Margaret Greenly, the ſiſter of the former, on hearing that her brother had fallen into the hands of the rebels, fled to his aſſiſtance, in hopes of deprecating their anger, but they barbarouſly murdered her. Shaw was deſperately wounded, and carried to his bed, with a proſpect of his recovery; but the rebels returned in a fortnight, and butchered him with ferocious cruelty; but ſpared the houſe, becauſe his mother was a papiſt.†

As father Michael Murphy, who acted with ſuch profound diſſimulation, made a conſpicuous figure in the rebellion, I ſhall ſay a few words on his origin and progreſs through life. He was born at Killnew, near Kilmuckridge,‡ of mean parents, and was bred at a hedge ſchool at Oulart, by one Prendergaſt, an itinerant pedagogue; and having received holy orders, he went to Bourdeaux, recommended to the Abbé Glynn, preſident of the Iriſh college there, by the reverend James Caulfield, then pariſh prieſt of New Roſs, but now popiſh biſhop of Ferns, which appears by the following letter:

" Reverend Sir, Roſs, October 23d, 1785.

" The reverend Michael Murphy, a ſubject of the dioceſe, and ordained a prieſt laſt Whitſuntide, now bound for your city, for the purpoſe of proſecuting his ſtudies of philoſophy and theology, craves a line from me in

* Appendix, No. XVIII. 5.

† Michael Fitzpatrick, who headed the gang of aſſaſſins that murdered him, was convicted of that crime at Wexford, the twenty-eighth of September, 1799, and hanged.

‡ See Plate III. 2.

in his favour to you; I can only ſay, he is well recommended to me, as a ſober, regular, well-behaved man; and if it is convenient to you, I ſhall eſteem your accommodating him for the above end. I believe he is the laſt of the ſet that applied to me, wherefore I hope I ſhall not have occaſion to trouble you again for ſome years.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES CAULFIELD."

At his return from France, he became an officiating prieſt at Ballycanew, and behaved himſelf there with very great propriety, till the rebellion broke out; but, under the veil of ſanctity, he concealed a furious and ſanguinary ſpirit, which diſplayed itſelf on the morning of Whitſunday; when, at the head of a numerous party of his pariſhioners, whom his evangelical inſtructions had converted into robbers and aſſaſſins, he proceeded towards Oulart, burning the houſes of proteſtants, and murdering ſuch of their inhabitants as could not eſcape.

I have been well aſſured, that he narrowly eſcaped from the deſtructive ſpirit of French republicaniſm, when his order was on the point of being annihilated in France; and yet he manifeſted a ſtrong predilection for the principles of that nation, and a deſire to join them, ſhould they land in Ireland.

The moſt memorable event occaſioned by the fanatical rage of the rebels on Whitſunday, was the defeat of a detachment of the North Cork regiment at Oulart, near Kilmuckridge,* of which the afflicted family of the reverend Mr. Burrowes were eye-witneſſes, a few hours after their own cataſtrophe happened; and as it was in a great meaſure the cauſe of the dreadful ſcenes of carnage and plunder which ſoon after happened in the county of Wexford, I think it right to give the reader a circumſtantial account of it.

On the morning of Whitſunday the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1798, at an early hour, the town of Wexford was alarmed by the arrival of Edward Turner of Newfort,† eſquire, a magiſtrate, who informed the officer commanding the garriſon, that his houſe had been beſet that morning by a large body of inſurgents, who had ſeized the pikes which they had ſurrendered

* Plate III. 2. † Ibid. III. 4.

rendered to him a few days before, after having taken oaths of allegiance, and that they were aſſembling in great numbers.

The garriſon conſiſted of part of the North Cork militia, captain Boyd's yeomen cavalry, and doctor Jacob's yeomen infantry. A detachment of the cavalry was ordered to ſcour the country; and about the hour of eleven in the morning, one hundred and nine picked men of the North Cork, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Foote, marched out to attack the inſurgents; and on their march towards Oulart,* they were joined by colonel Lehunte's yeomen cavalry. From that time the ſituation of the town was truly diſtreſſing: The rebels were underſtood to be in conſiderable force; and the anxiety of the inhabitants for the fate of the brave men who marched out to oppoſe them, was aggravated by the reports of the horrid atrocities they had committed in their progreſs through the country; for between two and three o'clock they had received intelligence at Wexford, of the murder of Mr. D'Arcy, the reverend Mr. Burrowes, and the reverend Mr. Turner; and the ſuppoſed murder of Mr. Dawſon, and the burning of their reſpective houſes.

All was ſolemn ſilence and anxious expectation! but ſtill encouraging accounts were received of the North Cork militia, before whom the rebels were ſaid to be flying in every direction. But this deluſive hope was of ſhort duration; for about the hour of four o'clock, Mr. Perceval, the high ſheriff, rode into town, with the melancholy account of their total defeat and deſtruction; and ſoon after lieutenant-colonel Foote, and one ſerjeant, the wretched remains of that fine and valiant body of men, were ſeen penſively riding over the bridge, and approaching the town: And now the ſolemn ſilence of that awful morning was ſucceeded by a truly heart-rending ſcene. Moſt of the North Cork, who fell in the action at Oulart, were married men; and as ſoon as their fate was known, their widows and orphans ran into the ſtreets, filling the air with their cries, diſmaying every heart, and piercing every ſoul with ſhrieks of anguiſh and deſpair.

This fatal affair took place at Oulart, about eight miles off, where the rebels, to the number of five thouſand, were poſted on the ſide of a hill. A detachment of them deſcended from it, apparently with a deſign to engage the king's troops; though this turned out in the event to be but a ſtratagem,

* Plate III. 2.

ſtratagem, for the purpoſe of ſurrounding and ſurpriſing them. The rebels, having been broken and diſperſed by a general volley, fled up the hill towards the main body, and were purſued by the North Cork militia, who were broken into ſmall parties during the purſuit, from the number of hedges which they had to clamber over. In the mean time, father John Murphy, who commanded the rebels, ſent numbers of them circuitouſly under cover of the hedges, to attack the militia on either flank, and in the rear, while the main body charged them in front. This artifice ſucceeded; for they were ſurrounded, overpowered by numbers, and the entire party was cut to pieces, except the lieutenant-colonel, a ſerjeant, and three privates. They were attended by colonel Lehunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, in which there were twenty-four Roman catholicks; and of theſe, twenty deſerted to the rebels on that morning before the action began, which contributed to their ſucceſs.

This action was thus deſcribed to me by perſons of veracity, who were ſpectators of it. Lieutenant-colonel Foote has given the following relation of it in a letter to a friend: "I marched to a hill called Oulart, where between four and five thouſand rebels were poſted. From their great ſuperiority of numbers, it was not my intention to have attacked them, unleſs ſome unforeſeen favourable circumſtances would warrant that meaſure; however, my officers were of a contrary opinion. I met here part of a yeoman cavalry corps, about ſixteen; the remainder, with their ſerjeant, having that morning joined the rebels. I halted with this corps, while I ſent a note by their trumpeter to Wexford, with orders for two officers and forty men to march thence to us to ſupport our detachment; apprehending that the rebels, from their numbers, might intercept our retreat. Afterwards, when I joined the party, I found that they were moved forward by the officer next in command; and the ſoldiers cried out, that they would beat the rebels out of the field. By this movement we were immediately engaged with the rebels, who fired from behind the hedges, without ſhewing any regular front. We beat their advanced party from one hedge to another, which they had ſucceſſively occupied, and fired from on us, killing great numbers of them, till they retreated in much diſorder to the main body, which conſiſted moſtly of pikemen. I conſidered this a favourable opportunity of forming the detachment, for the purpoſe of retreating, or of receiving the enemy in a good poſition; and

I uſed

I uſed every exertion to effect it; but unfortunately the too great ardour of the men and officers could not be reſtrained. They ruſhed forward, were ſurrounded, and overpowered by numbers. They diſplayed great valour and intrepidity, and killed a great number of the rebels.* Of this detachment, none have as yet returned to Wexford, but myſelf, a ſerjeant, and three privates. I received a wound from a pike in my breaſt, a ſlight one in my arm, and ſeveral bruiſes and contuſions."

The colonel had a faithful ſervant, who had lived eighteen years with him; and who, regardleſs of his own danger, remained cloſe to him during the action, and often warned him that the rebels were taking aim at him, but he was ſoon ſhot himſelf.

It appears, that the rebels were rendered bold and deſperate by intoxication; and that from twelve to fifteen of them ſingled out and attacked each of the ſoldiers, who did not reſign their lives but at a dear rate to their aſſailants.

Lieutenant Ware, nephew to lieutenant-colonel Foote, a young gentleman juſt of age, and poſſeſſed of a good landed property, was on the point of making his eſcape on horſeback, after the diſperſion of his party; when a ſmall boy, one of the band of muſick, who had been wounded, called out to him, and implored him to ſave his life; on which Mr. Ware ſtopped his horſe, and humanely endeavoured to raiſe him on his ſaddle, and to carry him off; but before he could accompliſh his benevolent deſign, he was dragged from his horſe by a rebel, with a hook annexed to his pike, and was immediately butchered.

The officers who fell in this unfortunate affair were, major Lombard, the honourable captain De Courcy, lieutenants Williams, Ware, Barry, and enſign Keogh.

Whitſunday, the day after this defeat, the ſervant of one of the officers who fell, having been warmly attached to his maſter, went to Oulart, to have his body interred; but the rebels murdered him, as ſoon as they diſcovered his generous deſign. The ſubſequent ſucceſs of the rebels in the county of Wexford, aroſe, in a great meaſure, from the arms and ammunition which they obtained, and the confidence with which they were inſpired by this victory over the king's troops, whom they had hitherto conſidered as invincible, however inferior their numbers might have been. All the night after this action, the rebels continued to burn the houſes, and

* The rebels have ſaid, that they loſt but ſeven men killed.

and deſtroy the property of proteſtants, and to murder ſuch of them as fell into their hands.*

The day after the action at Oulart, orders, written in red ink, were iſſued by father John Murphy, and diſperſed over all the adjacent country, commanding, at the peril of their lives, all perſons capable of bearing arms, to join his army forthwith, for the purpoſe of attacking Enniſcorthy; at the ſame time, the old men were ordered to bury the dead.

Two perſons, employed in that taſk, found ſome remains of life in one of the Cork ſoldiers, and one of them conveyed him to his pig-ſtye, with the humane intention of reſtoring him, if poſſible. By ſupplying him with nouriſhment, he recovered the uſe of his ſpeech, and had every ſymptom of convaleſcence: He ſaid that his name was Sullivan. The merit of his preſerver was the greater, as the crime of reſcuing a ſoldier or a yeoman from deſtruction, if known, would inevitably have occaſioned his own.

A ruffian of the name of Roſterſon, having heard of this act of humanity, repaired to the houſe of the perſon who performed it, and cenſured him for it as a criminal act. He ſaid in his defence, "That the poor patient was a good Roman catholick;" but the ſavage retorted, "That his religion was no excuſe, as he was a ſoldier;" and he inſtantly plunged his pike into his body.

As ſoon as the garriſon of Gorey heard of the defeat of the North Cork at Oulart, and of the immenſe numbers who were flocking to the ſtandard of father John Murphy, they, deſpairing of being able to maintain their poſition againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of numbers, retreated to Arklow, and were followed by all the proteſtants of the town, and the adjacent country, who dreaded the ſanguinary rage of the rebels. They, with infancy and decrepitude in their train, and with little or no means of ſubſiſtence, preſented a woeful ſpectacle; and as all the houſes at Arklow were occupied by the military and yeomen, theſe poor fugitives ſuffered very great diſtreſs, ſleeping in barns and out-offices, and even in ditches.

On Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, major Hardy, who commanded at Arklow, ordered the garriſon to return to Gorey; by which they gained ſome

* For a deſcription of their atrocities, ſee Samuel Whealey's affidavit in Appendix, No. XVIII. 2.

ſome fame, and rendered the moſt important ſervice, in repulſing a numerous body of rebels who attacked that town on the thirtieth of May.

The murder of the reverend Francis Turner of Ballingale,* about three miles from Ferns, and rector of Edermine, was attended with circumſtances of peculiar atrocity. On the morning of Whitſunday, a party of about three hundred aſſaſſins, headed by Denis Carthy and James Maher, ſet out from the houſe of William Carthy of Ballycarney,‡ uncle of the former, and declared their intention of putting him to death in the preſence of Mrs. Carthy, who endeavoured to diſſuade them from it, affirming that Mr. Turner was univerſally eſteemed and reſpected. The houſe was defended for ſome time by him, and eight of his proteſtant pariſhioners, who had ſought an aſylum in it. Mr. Turner, ſoon after the attack was made, received a ſhot in his jaw, which entirely diſabled him from attending to the defence of his houſe. As it was double, and the aſſailants ſeemed to direct all their fury againſt its front, the beſieged, after the death of Mr. Turner, paid no attention to the rear, into which the rebels entered, having been admitted (it is ſaid) by the treachery of the butler.

After having murdered Mr. Turner, and five of his proteſtant pariſhioners, they ſet fire to his dwelling-houſe and out-offices, in which the bodies of the deceaſed were conſumed. An aſſaſſin of the name of William Beaghan, inſultingly flouriſhed the blade of a ſcythe over the dead body of Mr. Turner, and uttered ſome expreſſions indicative of ſavage joy.

In front of the houſe, they ran a pike through the neck of William Chriſtian, one of Mr. Turner's proteſtant guards; and while the weapon was infixed in the wound, they ſhook his head very violently, to increaſe the agony of his pain; and when his body fell on the ground, they raiſed it up on their pikes, and toſſed it in the air, to extinguiſh any remains of life which might have been in it.

After the perpetration of this horrid deed, Denis Carthy and James Maher, boaſted at their return to the houſe of William Carthy, of having executed it; and the latter openly declared, that a quantity of blood which appeared on his breeches, was that of the reverend Mr. Turner.

Thus this worthy gentleman, whoſe benevolence and amiable manners had juſtly entitled him to univerſal love and eſteem, and whoſe mind was highly adorned with profound and elegant learning, fell a prey to the fanatical

* Plate II. 7. ‡ Ibid.

fanatical rage of a popiſh rabble, headed by his tenants and neighbours, whom he had never failed to treat with kindneſs and beneficence.

The principal leader in this atrocious act was Michael Keogh, Mr. Turner's proctor, who was raiſed to a ſtate of comfort and affluence from downright poverty, by his kindneſs and generoſity.

The circumſtances attending this tragical affair were related to me by his two nephews, and a ſervant of the late Mr. Turner, who were eye-witneſſes of them; and moſt of them were verified by affidavit.*

One of the former, of the age of twelve years, ſometime after this melancholy event, went to the garden of his deceaſed uncle to pull ſome fruit, when he was inſulted by a rebel boy about fifteen years old, who attempted to expel him from it; having declared, that he had no right to be there, as his family had informed him that the garden was his property.

The maſs of the people muſt have been univerſally filled with an idea of exterminating all thoſe who were connected with England by religion, intereſt, or conſanguinity, and of appropriating this iſland excluſively to themſelves, when a child of that age made ſo open and prompt an avowal of it.

The ſingular fortitude and integrity of Mrs. Cambia Carthy, wife of William Carthy, in proſecuting James Maher and Denis Carthy, her huſband's nephew, juſtly entitle her to univerſal eſteem and admiration. She is daughter of ſurgeon Maw of Gorey, and of the proteſtant religion. When theſe ruffians deliberately expreſſed their deſign of murdering Mr. Turner, on the morning of Whitſunday, ſhe endeavoured to diſſuade them from it, and afterwards, ſhe appeared as a witneſs againſt them on their trial; though, by doing ſo, ſhe was ſure of provoking the vengeance of all her huſband's relations, who were of the popiſh perſuaſion, and moſt of whom were deeply and actively concerned in the rebellion.

On the murder of the reverend Mr. Burrowes at Kyle, his widow and her family were conveyed to Oulart, and afterwards to Caſtle-anneſley,† the ſeat of Mr. Clifford, who was her brother; and Mrs. D'Arcy, his

* See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 6. the affidavit of John Horton, James Doyle, and Cambia Carthy.

† Plate III. 2.

mother-in-law, repaired there alſo, expecting to find ſecurity and ſome conſolation under the roof of ſo near a relation; but, alas! they ſoon diſcovered that it was as much the houſe of woe as their own manſions.

Having heard of the calamities which had befallen his ſiſter's family, Mr. Clifford went to Oulart, on the twenty-ſeventh of May, to relieve them; but finding that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of it, he endeavoured to make his eſcape; and in doing ſo, one of the rebels fired a piſtol at him, and wounded him in the ſhoulder.

On Wedneſday the thirtieth of May, he reſolved to go to Kyle, to ſecure ſuch part of his ſiſter's property as had not been plundered; but thinking that the protection of the pariſh prieſt would be neceſſary for his ſafety, he repaired to the houſe of father Michael Lacy* for that purpoſe. As ſoon as he arrived there, another man of the name of Lacy fired four ſhots at him with a muſket, but fortunately miſſed him; and yet Mr. Clifford continued all the time on his knees, imploring mercy from the ſavage. Lacy then gave the muſket to a man of the name of Boulger, whom he knew to be a better markſman than himſelf, and he fired, and gave him a deſperate wound in the head, as the charge conſiſted of ſlugs and horſe-nails. On falling to the ground, the rebels beat him in a moſt cruel manner, and diſlocated his ſhoulder, ſo that they left him for dead. They then ſhot his faithful attendant, a proteſtant ſervant, who had lived twenty-five years in his family.

As this amiable gentleman was diſtinguiſhed for general benevolence, and every good quality that could endear, it was believed that he had not an enemy on earth; but his religion was his only crime. Mr. Clifford, who might have ſoothed the anguiſh of his aged mother-in-law Mrs. D'Arcy, and Mrs. Burrowes and her five orphans, was conveyed, with his poor ſervant, on a car to his houſe, where he continued delirious, and in convulſions for a month; during which time his afflicted wife and ſix children daily expected his diſſolution; and to heighten their diſtreſs, the houſe was occupied by a party of rebel guards, who were daily relieved from a neighbouring camp at Upton,‖ the ſeat of Mr.

* Father Lacy, the prieſt, might have ſaved his life by the turn of his finger.

‖ See Plate III. 1, 2.

Pl. IV

Gen.ls Sir Ja.s Duff & Loftus advanced by the Ferns Road when the Latter turned to the left at A *by the Road to the fields* B.

The Dotted line represents the advance of the Rebels

C. *The point at which Lieu.t Gen.l Lake began the attack.*

SCALE OF ½ a Mile

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 120 130 140 150 160 Perches ½ Mile

A MAP OF ENNISCORTHY and VINEGAR HILL

where the Rebels were posted previous to the Action on the 21.st of June 1798.

By

Alex.r Taylor

Capt.n in His Majesties Royal Engineers.

Mr. James White. While they continued priſoners at Caſtle-anneſley, their food was ſo bad, that they were often on the point of ſtarving.

The inhabitants of the country contiguous to Carnew,* nine miles from Gorey, collected in ſuch numbers on the twenty-ſeventh of May, under the auſpices of father Michael Murphy, that they had the confidence to attack that town.

On that morning, the garriſon conſiſting of a company of the Antrim militia, commanded by captain Rowan, two corps of yeomen infantry, and one of cavalry, making in the whole about two hundred men, having received intelligence that they were approaching the town, marched out, met, and engaged them, at a place called Bullinruſh, killed nine, and took two priſoners, and diſperſed the remainder, who fled to Ferns,‡ poſſeſſed at that time by the rebels. The garriſon had the mortification to behold all the loyaliſts houſes in flames, as far as they could ſee.

While the infantry were reſting themſelves, a detachment of captain Wainright's troop, who had been on an out-poſt, were driven in about four o'clock in the evening, by the main body of the rebels from Ferns, who were advancing to renew the engagement.

The little garriſon formed and marched to attack them on Kitthomas-hill,† where they were judiciouſly poſted. The rebels having been broken in about a quarter of an hour by the fire of the infantry, were charged by the cavalry,§ though up a ſteep hill, and diſperſed in all directions. In the purſuit, about one hundred and fifty of them were killed; and of the garriſon but one man was ſlightly wounded. They took a great number of horſes, ſome of which had belonged to the unfortunate Mr. Turner, who was that day murdered at Ballingale. There were three prieſts in that action, one of whom was the famous father Michael Murphy, killed at the battle of Arklow on the ninth of June.

On Friday following, the firſt of June, the unfortunate colonel Walpole marched into Carnew, and reconnoitred the rebels, poſted on Ballymore-hills, twice before the fatal fourth of June.

The rebellious inhabitants of the country, encouraged by the ſucceſs of father John Murphy againſt the North Cork regiment, flocked to his ſtandard at Oulart in ſuch numbers, that he reſolved to attack the town

* See Plate II. 4. ‡ Ibid. 7. † Near Slievebuoy mountain, Plate II. 5.

§ The Shilela cavalry, commanded by captain Wainright, earl Fitzwilliam's agent, who in various actions ſhewed great valour and good ſenſe.

of Enniſcorthy,* about ſix miles diſtant, on Monday morning the twenty-eighth day of May; but firſt I think it right to give the reader an account of the garriſon which defended it.

	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.
North Cork militia.					
Captain Snowe's company,	1	1	3	2	56
Captain De Courcy's company,		1	2	1	24
Total of the North Cork,	1	2	5	3	80
Enniſcorthy infantry.					
Captain Founden,	1	2	2	1	50
Do. ſupplementary,		1	3		57
Scarawalſh infantry.					
Captain Cornock,	1	2	3	1	60
Enniſcorthy cavalry.				Trumpeter.	
Captain Richards,	1	2	2	1	50
Total	4	9	15	6	297

Officers names.

North Cork, captain Snowe, lieutenant Bowen, enſign Harman.

Enniſcorthy, infantry, captain Pounden, lieutenants Drury and Hunt.

Supplementary, lieutenant Pounden.

Scarawalſh infantry, captain Cornock, lieutenants Carden and Rudd.

Lieutenant Spring on half-pay, and formerly lieutenant of the 63d regiment, joined the troops as a volunteer.

Enniſcorthy† is a market, a poſt, and a borough town, which returned two members to parliament. It is divided into two parts by the river Slaney, over which there is a ſtone-bridge.‡ The market-houſe, the court-houſe, and the principal ſtreets are on the ſouth ſide of it. Two ſuburbs called Templeſhannon || and Drumgoold § lie on the north ſide, and at the foot of Vinegar-hill, a mountain which is quite cloſe to the town. It is about twelve miles from the town of Wexford, ſixteen from Roſs, eighteen from Gorey, eight from Taghmon, ſix from Ferns, and nine and three quarters from Newtown-barry. As the tide ebbs and flows

* Plate III. 2. † Ibid. IV. ‡ Ibid. || Ibid. 5. § Ibid. 6.

flows to it, which makes the river navigable for barges of ſome burden, it was a place of conſiderable trade; and the inhabitants were between four and five thouſand, before the deſolating ſpirit of rebellion baniſhed or deſtroyed a great portion of them.

Information having been received that James Lacy, a ſhopkeeper, was at the head of a traitorous conſpiracy, he ſuddenly diſappeared. On ſearching his houſe, ſome treaſonable papers were found in it; which exaſperated the yeomen ſo much, that ſome of them ruſhed into it and deſtroyed a great part of the furniture. This man was afterwards commiſſary general of the rebel army, on Vinegar-hill; and his brother, a prieſt, frequently attended the camp there, and ſaid maſs for the rebels.

On Saturday evening, the twenty-ſixth of May, captain Pounden and the reverend Mr. Handcock, both magiſtrates, agreed on the expediency of ſeizing and laying under requiſition all the gunpowder to be found in the ſhops; not only to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels, but to ſupply the loyaliſts, ſhould there be a deficiency of it. That night the garriſon lay under arms in the ſtreets, and the neceſſary guards and patroles were eſtabliſhed.

From Saturday evening till Monday morning, proteſtant families, in great numbers, were coming into the town, flying from the fanatical vengeance of the rebels, and bringing their children, their baggage, and their furniture on cars.

On that evening a handſome young woman, of the name of Piper, came galloping at full ſpeed into the town, with horror and fright in her countenance, and crying out, "Murder! Murder!" and ſaying, that the maſſacre had begun. I have already related the cruelty of the rebels towards her family at Tincurry.

About ſeven o'clock on Monday morning, the twenty-eighth day of May, a man arrived there, and informed the garriſon, that they would be attacked before three o'clock in the afternoon; and at that time the troops were much exhauſted in mind and body, from being conſtantly under arms, from ſupplying patroles and videttes, and from ſcouring the country; and ſoon after captain Snowe received a letter from lieutenant-colonel Foote, with an account of the defeat of the North Cork at Oulart. Captain Ogle, of Belview,* now member for the city of Dublin, marched

* Plate III. 4.

marched to the relief of the garriſon on Sunday morning, with a numerous corps of infantry; but having received intelligence that his own country was diſturbed, he was under the neceſſity of returning to it, accompanied by the Healthfield corps of cavalry, commanded by captain John Grogan.

On Monday morning the twenty-eighth day of May, about nine o'clock, the drums beat to arms, as a report was ſpread, that the rebels were advancing towards the town in great force. The different poſitions and rallying poſts were immediately aſſigned to the garriſon. The North Cork occupied the bridge, the Enniſcorthy cavalry the ſtreet leading to it from the town, the Enniſcorthy and Scarawalſh infantry the Duffrey-gate-hill, at the Newtown-barry road. A conſiderable guard was poſted in the market houſe, where the arms and ammunition were lodged, and ſome ſuſpicious perſons were confined; and another in the caſtle, where ſome notorious rebels were in ſtrict cuſtody.

About half an hour before the enemy appeared, a rebel ſpy, with a white cotton jacket, and a white hat with a broad green band, was ſeized near the town, and as a rebel commiſſion was found in his pocket, he was hanged.

At length, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the videttes at the Duffrey-gate* came galloping in, and announced, that the rebels who had aſſembled at Bally-orle hill, which is on the north eaſt ſide of the town, and about two miles diſtant from it, were advancing on the Newtown-barry road, in an immenſe column, which extended a mile in length, and was ſo thick, as to fill up the road.

Some officers in the garriſon, who had ſeen a great deal of actual ſervice, declared that their number was between five and ſix thouſand. They ſtaid at Bally-orle hill till father John Murphy ſaid maſs for them.

In the courſe of the morning they ſet fire to ſome houſes, in hopes of drawing the garriſon out of the town.

As many avenues led into the town, it would have been impoſſible for the yeomanry to occupy them for its defence, from the paucity of their numbers, ſhould the rebels be allowed to approach it. For this reaſon, captains Cornock and Pounden led their corps forward, in a line about four hundred yards from the Duffrey-gate; on which the rebel column halted

* Plate IV. 2, 3.

halted about the ſame diſtance from them. Soon after, three rebel leaders* who were on horſeback, with drawn ſwords, began to move among them, and to give orders; on which great numbers of the rebels filed off in the fields on the right and left, to the diſtance of about half a mile from the main body; which they did with a deſign of outflanking the yeomen, of cutting them off from the town, and of entering it by the different avenues which led into it. After this movement, having advanced a little, they drove a number of horſes on the road againſt the loyaliſts for the purpoſe of throwing them into confuſion. They then fired a general volley, both from the main body, and the flanks; by which lieutenants Hunt and Pounden were mortally, and captain Cornock ſlightly wounded, and ſome of the privates were killed and wounded. One Thompſon, who had volunteered among the ſupplementary yeomen, received a ſpent ball in the neck, which he extracted, and fired at the enemy.† The yeomen returned the fire, with conſiderable effect. The rebels ſtill advanced, firing at the ſame time from behind the hedges, with ſuch ſteadineſs and celerity, that captain Drury, who had ſerved the whole of the American war, and who volunteered that day, declared, he had never experienced a heavier or better-directed fire. As the county of Wexford abounds with water-fowl, the occupation of a fowler is ſo profitable, that numbers of the lower claſs of people are not only expert in the uſe of fire arms, but excellent markſmen.

As the rebels ſtill continued to advance, and to extend their wings, for the purpoſe of ſurrounding the yeomen, the latter retreated near the town, and ſent to captain Snowe, who guarded the bridge, where he was ſupported by the cavalry commanded by captain Richards, to requeſt he would reinforce them with the North Cork, and he accordingly repaired to the Duffrey-gate, attended by the cavalry, to ſupport the yeomanry; but as a detachment of them were between him and the enemy, and exactly in his line of fire, he could not do any material ſervice, without running a riſque of injuring the loyaliſts; and, as apprehenſions were entertained that the rebels would croſs the river to attack Temple Shannon, he repaired to his former poſt at the bridge, and at the ſame time, ordered

* Two of theſe were father John Murphy, and Roach, colonel Lehunte's permanent ſerjeant.

† An officer, who aſſiſted him in extracting it, aſſured me of this.

dered the cavalry to cover his retreat, as a large body of the enemy had come near his laſt poſition. Captain Richards then charged and diſperſed them, but in effecting it, nine of his men were killed, and three wounded; and ſixteen of his horſes were either killed or ſo ſeverely wounded, as to be unfit for ſervice.

The high clay banks, improperly called in Ireland hedges, formed the fences of the town-fields round Enniſcorthy, and afforded breaſt-works to the rebel markſmen, behind which they fired with ſecurity and deliberation on the loyaliſts.

At laſt, the yeoman infantry, perceiving that they muſt ſoon be ſurrounded, and cut off by the long extended wings of the enemy, while the main body engaged them, divided themſelves into ſmall parties, and occupied the different avenues which led into the town, where they made a moſt gallant defence, having killed great numbers of the rebels; though they ſuffered much from the treachery of the diſloyal inhabitants, who not only fired at them from the windows, but their fanaticiſm was ſuch, that they ſet fire to their own houſes, to annoy the yeomen; for, in a ſhort time, three large ſuburbs, called Guttle-ſtreet, Drumgoold, and Iriſh-ſtreet,* and two lanes in the centre of the town, were in flames; yet the loyaliſts were ſo confident of ſucceſs, from having completely repulſed the rebels, that they gave three cheers. The enemy, defeated in the many attempts which they made on the north and weſt ſide of the town, made an effort to croſs the river, about a quarter of a mile above the bridge, where there is an iſland, in which they ſucceeded; but were ſoon repulſed by captain Richard's corps, part of whom fired at them with carbines, from a place about one hundred yards above the glebe houſe, and killed great numbers; at the ſame time they were ſeverely galled by the Nork Cork on the bridge.

They then attempted to croſs the river higher up, out of the reach of the fire of the North Cork. On this, captain Snowe detached lieutenant Prior, with a ſerjeant and ſixteen men of his corps, to oppoſe them, which they did moſt effectually; for having taken poſt behind a hedge, they continued to kill great numbers of them, till their ammunition was expended. Soon after captain Cornock came to captain Snowe at the bridge, bleeding copiouſly, from a pike wound he had received in the neck, having the crown of his hat cleft from a blow of a pike, and demanded a rienforcement, as the rebels, under cover of the

* See Plate IV. 3.

the ſmoke, had forced into the town in conſiderable numbers, at the Duffrey-gate and Iriſh-ſtreet. At the ſame time the diſaffected inhabitants fired on the yeomen from their windows. One column of them attacked captain Pounden's, the other captain Cornock's corps, which had ſuffered materially. The ſtreets were entirely involved in ſmoke, ſo that the yeomen could not perceive the rebels till they were charged by their pikes. The flames from the houſes at each ſide of the ſtreet were ſo great, as to unite over their heads, and to form an arch. Their hair was ſinged; the bear ſkin in their caps was burnt. The loyaliſts, bravely diſputing every inch of ground, retreated to the market-houſe,* an open ſpace, like a ſquare, where they made a determined ſtand, and killed great numbers of the enemy. By this effort the loyaliſts turned the ſcale, and drove the rebels completely out of the town, the ſtreets of which at each ſide of the river preſenting an awful ſcene of conflagration. While the troops were thus engaged in the ſouth ſide of the town, another body of the rebels croſſed the river, about three quarters of a mile above the bridge, but were ſoon routed by captain Snowe, on which occaſion his men ſhewed great dexterity, as markſmen, having ſeldom failed to bring down ſuch individual rebels as they aimed at. Captain Snowe then ordered captain Richards to charge them, which he did moſt effectually, but with the loſs of two men killed, and ſome wounded.

As a party of the rebels which came from Vinegar-hill towards the glebe ſtill remained unaſſailed, and their numbers ſeemed to increaſe, they were attacked by captain Drury, with half a company of the North Cork, and he diſperſed them with conſiderable ſlaughter. Thus ended an action which laſted more than three hours, fought on a very hot day, and in the midſt of a burning town, the diſaffected inhabitants of which ſet fire to their own houſes, to annoy the loyaliſts, and fired on them from their windows. In this the yeomen and proteſtant inhabitants performed prodigies of valour, in ſupport of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and in defence of their property and their families. They loſt near one third of their number, which did not exceed three hundred, and the rebels whom they encountered, were ſaid by ſome to amount to five thouſand, by others to ſix thouſand.

* See plate IV. 4.

A return of the killed and wounded in defence of the town of Enniſcorthy, on Monday the twenty-eighth day of May, 1798.

	Killed.			Wounded.		
	Officers.	Serjeants.		Privates.	Officers.	Priv.
North Cork militia,		1		3		3
Scarawalſh infantry,	1	2		17	1	3
Enniſcorthy infantry,	1			6		4
Supplementary infantry,	1			30		
Enniſcorthy cavalry				11		6
Total, 1 captain,	3 ſubalterns	3	1 drum.	67	1	16

Captain John Pounden who commanded the ſupplementary yeomen, lieutenant Hunt of the Enniſcorthy infantry, and lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalſh infantry, were killed. The latter, who had ſerved with reputation as an officer during the whole of the American war, was ſhot from the window of one Denny an apothecary, it is ſaid, by one Barnet his ſervant. In the number of the killed and wounded, I have not inſerted a great many proteſtants who ſuddenly joined the troops with guns, piſtols, pikes or ſwords, and of whom many fell in the action.

Of the garriſon eighty-eight were killed and wounded; and deducting ſeven of the North Cork, there remain eighty-one loyal proteſtants who bled that day in defence of the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

It was generally believed, that not leſs than five hundred of the rebels were killed or wounded. The banks of the river, and the iſland in it were ſtrewed with their dead bodies, and numbers of them fell in the ſtreets; but it was obſerved that the diſaffected inhabitants were always ready to drag them into their houſes, whenever they could get a ſafe opportunity, that the ſight of them might not diſcourage their ſurviving friends. To keep up their courage, every artifice was uſed; for even women, as if inſenſible of their danger, were ſeen in the midſt of the carnage, adminiſtering whiſkey to their rebel friends.

When the action terminated, the rebels were completely routed and expelled from the town; however, the loyaliſts did not think it tenable for the following reaſons: It was in a ſtate of conflagration; and the rebels, who continued to hover round it, would have attacked it in the night, and would have been aſſiſted by the Roman catholick inhabitants, who were very numerous: As there were many avenues leading to the town,

town, and as the loyaliſts, under arms, had loſt near one third of their number, which did not originally exceed three hundred, they muſt have been overpowered and maſſacred in the night. The officers therefore, after mature deliberation, reſolved to abandon the town, and to march to Wexford, on the eaſt ſide of the river by St. John's; but, from the ſuddenneſs of the retreat, only a few of the proteſtant inhabitants could attend them; and they could carry with them no other comforts or neceſſaries but the wearing apparel which they wore. Imagination cannot form a more tragical ſcene than the melancholy train of loyal fugitives, of whom ſome were ſo feeble from their wounds, from ſickneſs, the tenderneſs of old age, or infancy, that they could not have effected their eſcape, had not the yeomen cavalry mounted them on their horſes. Some parents were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of leaving their infants in cottages, on the road ſide, having, at the ſame time, but a faint hope of ever ſeeing them again.

As they travelled to Wexford, the rebels fired at them from the oppoſite ſide of the river, wherever they could get an opening.

Such of the loyal inhabitants as were unable to join their departing friends, took a melancholy farewel of them, and waited the fatal hour, when they were to fall victims to the fanatical vengeance of the rebels, who, when they got poſſeſſion of the town, proceeded with ſavage delight, to commit unbounded carnage and plunder. The following extract of a letter written by a very reſpectable beneficed clergyman, the reverend Mr. Handcock, rector of Kilcormick, who fought with the king's troops in defence of the town, will give the reader a perfect idea of the ſufferings of the proteſtant inhabitants on that day:

" Finding that we could no longer keep our ground, I ruſhed ſingly through the ſtreets, with a blunderbuſs cocked, and preſenting it at every perſon who looked at me, running for my life, but without the fainteſt hope of ſaving it, or that of my family, yet determined to ſhare their fate, and with great difficulty getting into my houſe, locked and barricadoed by the frighted inmates, I dragged my wife down ſtairs with my children, juſt as they ſat in her ſick room;† and obſerving which way the fugitives were moving out of the town, I forced them along with the

* Plate IV. 4.

† She lay in but two days before.

tragical cavalcade, until my wife, overpowered with terror and the heat of the flames, fell on a burning pile of rubbiſh, where, unable myſelf from fatigue to raiſe her, ſhe would have been ſuffocated or trampled to death, had not a gallant fellow of the North Cork militia, wounded, and ſcarce able to drag his legs after him, aſſiſted me, ſwearing the Munſter oath, "By J—s, you did not forſake us, and I will not deſert you." The poor fellow accordingly ſtuck by us till we arrived at Wexford.

In return for this, having got my wife and children behind or before mounted yeomen,* I procured a horſe for his wife, and carried his muſket as far as I was able. When we came within three or four miles of Wexford, we were met by the yeomen cavalry of it, who turned out, on hearing our diſaſter, to cover our retreat.

The rebel army having got poſſeſſion of the town, broke open the gaol and liberated all the priſoners. They then proceeded to burn and deſtroy every houſe belonging to a proteſtant of any diſtinction. Before ſun-ſet the principal part of the town was in flames; and, late in the evening, a great number of old men, women and children, of the proteſtant religion, fled into the adjoining woods, leſt they ſhould periſh in the flames, or by the ſanguinary rage of the rebels. Such of them as were not fortunate enough to make their eſcape, were maſſacred. The rebels having broke open the cellars, continued to commit every wanton cruelty and barbarous exceſs, which ſavage ferocity, heightened by fanaticiſm and ebriety, could dictate.

When they entered the town, ſome ladies of diſtinguiſhed beauty, wild with horror and affright, waded over the river Slaney at the riſk of their lives, with one child on their back, and another in their arms. Numbers of both ſexes fled to the wood of St. John's,† better known by the name of Ring-wood, where they paſſed the whole night, petrified with horror, at hearing ſhots conſtantly fired, the ſhouts of the rebels, and the groans of the dying. They kept a gloomy ſilence, not venturing to ſpeak to each other, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered.

The rebels having heard next day, that a number of proteſtants were in the wood, ſent a party, well armed, to ſcour it; and they killed ſuch of

* Many of the mounted yeomen, though overcome with fatigue, walked the whole way, and gave their horſes to the fugitives.

† Plate III. 2.

of them as were not fortunate enough to make their eſcape. They continued for ſome days after, to beat it as cloſely as a pack of fox-hounds would.

A party of ladies who fled towards the river, when the rebels entered the town, informed me, that ſeveral ſhots were fired at them; and that in their retreat, they met a boy about ſixteen years old, armed with a pike, who approached them with a ſtern air; on which they aſked him, if he was going to kill them? and he ſaid, "No; but it is no matter where you go, for you will all be killed."

As ſoon as the rebels began to enter the town, many of the Roman catholick inhabitants frequently exclaimed, particularly the women, "That they would have no hereſy amongſt them; that they would put an end to hereticks; and that they would have all or none."

They murdered Richard Whaley, a lockſmith, near one hundred years old, as ſoon as they entered the town; and Edward Sly, a proteſtant, was ſhot by his neighbour William Lee, when he was kindly reaching him a quart of beer. Numbers were dragged from their houſes, and barbarouſly maſſacred in the preſence of their wives and children.

The town, the morning after the rebels got poſſeſſion of it, preſented a dreadful ſcene of carnage and conflagration; many bodies were lying dead in the ſtreets, and others groaning in the agonies of death; ſome parts of the town were entirely conſumed, and in others the flames continued to rage with inextinguiſhable fury; no leſs than four hundred and ſeventy-eight dwelling-houſes and cabins were burned in the town and its ſuburbs, beſides a great number of ſtores, malt-houſes, and out-offices.

Early next morning, the rebels formed a camp on Vinegar-hill, made entrenchments round it, and placed ſome batteries in them. They then ſtationed a large garriſon in the town, which was relieved every day by an officer's guard from the camp. Such great numbers of the lower claſs of people from the adjacent country flocked to their camp, that it ſoon conſiſted of at leaſt ten thouſand men. They poſted ſtrong picquet guards, centinels, and videts, in all the avenues leading to the town, and for ſome miles round it.

They then proceeded to deſtroy the church of Enniſcorthy, and having pulled down the organ, the pews, the communion table, and reading deſk, they burned them to aſhes before the church-door, where they tore

tore the bibles and the prayer-books; and then proceeded to demoliſh the remainder of the inſide part, leaving nothing but the roof and the bare walls. They took down the bell, and mounted it between two beams on Vinegar-hill, for the purpoſe of marking the progreſs of time, and of alarming the camp in caſe of ſurpriſe.

They committed ſuch proteſtants as were not fortunate enough to retreat to Wexford with the loyaliſts, or to eſcape into the woods, to a priſon on the hill, formed by the walls of an old wind-mill, and then proceeded to try them by a court-martial, which ſat conſtantly for that purpoſe. The only charge againſt them was, their being orangemen, which was ſynonimous with proteſtant.*

On the morning of Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, they put to death twenty-four perſons of the eſtabliſhed church, by ſhooting ſome, and piking others in front of the rebel line, of whom one was Mr. Henry Hatton, portrieve of the town of Enniſcorthy, an innocent unoffending gentleman.§ They burned the glebe-houſe of Enniſcorthy to aſhes; but converted the out-offices into ſtores for holding proviſions and arms for the camp.

A committee of twelve, conſiſting of ſome rebel officers and three prieſts; viz. fathers Roche, Kearns and Clinch, and at times father John Murphy, continued conſtantly to ſit, and to ſuperintend and regulate the concerns of the camp, and the newly-eſtabliſhed republick. When the buſineſs of the day was over, they dined together at a table, regularly furniſhed with the beſt viands which the country could afford, and with delicious wines taken from the cellars of the neighbouring gentlemen.

They ſent gangs of aſſaſſins round all the adjacent country, commanded by rebel officers, in queſt of proteſtants, who ſeized ſuch of them as could not make their eſcape, and committed them to priſons at the foot of the hill, or in the town. I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. ‖ for the mode in which this infamous buſineſs was conducted, and for ſome of

* See in Appendix, No. XIX. 8. the confeſſion of James Beaghan.

§ For a deſcription of this horrid ſcene, ſee Appendix, No. XIX. in the affidavits of Catherine Heydon, Benjamin Warren, Richard Sterne, Robert Whitney, Margaret Hunt, Edward Stacey, and Ann Piper.

‖ See extracts from the trials of Thomas Clooney, James Beaghan, William Fenlon, Andrew Farrell, and Nicholas Walſh.

of the atrocities which were perpetrated by the rebels while they continued in poſſeſſion of Vinegar-hill.

The walls of the old windmill on the top of the hill ſerved as a fold to contain the victims who ſupplied the ſacrifice of the day; and when the rebel ranks were on parade, they were led forth and butchered in their preſence, and as a regale to them; and what was very ſingular, the executioners often knelt down, croſſed themſelves, and ſaid a prayer, before they immolated the victims, who were frequently almoſt famiſhed before they were led to execution, from the bad and ſcanty food with which they were ſupplied.

The camp was conſtantly attended by from ten to twenty prieſts, who daily ſaid maſs at the head of each rebel column, and afterwards pronounced an exhortation to animate them in the extirpation of hereſy, and in the excluſive eſtabliſhment of their own, the only true orthodox faith.

Mr. Stephen Ram, of Ramsfort, in the county of Wexford, brother-in-law to lord Courtown, who is deſervedly loved and revered by his tenants, informed me, that ſuch of them as were of the Roman catholick religion, and had been unfortunately concerned in the rebellion, were very communicative to him, and informed him, that they entered into it at the inſtigation of their prieſts; that it was uſual in the rebel camp, for the prieſt of each pariſh to call over the names of his own pariſhioners; and that his coadjutor did ſo, if he was prevented from age, infirmity, or any other cauſe.

Commiſſaries were appointed in every pariſh, to provide proviſion for the camp, according to the directions of the committee, or the commander in chief, and each of the commiſſaries had a certain number of pikemen under his command.

The commander in chief, at each camp, gave written orders to the commiſſaries to ſupply the different rebel corps or individuals with proviſions, of which I give the reader copies of ſome originals which fell into my hands.

"The commander in chief requeſts commiſſary Brennan to give bread for forty men to captain Devereux's corps.

June 15th, 1798. ROCHE."*

Lacken-hill.

* This was father Philip Roche.

Mr.

" Mr. John Brennan,

" Pleaſe to ſend dinner for twelve men belonging to Jeremiah Fitzhenry.

18th June, 1798. ROCHE."

" Permit Tom Harper and another man to paſs for food for eight men to commiſſary Brennan.

June 19th, 1798. ROCHE."

Whenever any of the country commiſſaries ſent proviſions or cattle into one of the camps, they obtained receipts for them from the commiſſary general, as appears by the following :

" Received from Mr. John Brennan,* ſeventeen bullocks, to keep at graſs till called for. June 18th, 1798, firſt year of liberty.

STEPHEN MYLER."

General Roche received the following preſent from a man of the name of Murphy, who acted as ſteward in the camp, and wiſhed to ingratiate himſelf with the commander in chief, as appears by the following letter :

" Sir,

" I have ſent you a caſk of wine, a barrel of beer, eighteen loaves of bread, two ſheep of the beſt ſort, one loaf of bread, and two fowl for your own uſe ; from your friend and humble ſervant,

PATRICK MURPHY, ſteward."

This camp, which was the grand rendezvous of the rebels, ſent large detachments to thoſe who fought the different battles in the county of Wexford. Their tents were formed of carpets, quilts, ſheets, blankets, window curtains, and various articles of furniture which they had ſeized in proteſtant houſes.

Mrs. M.‡ a reſpectable gentlewoman, who remained the entire night of Monday the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, in Ringwood, gave me the following relation of the dangers and diſtreſſes which ſhe and her huſband ſuffered. It will ſerve to ſhew the ſavage and ſanguinary diſpoſition of the rebels.

Mr. Bennett, of Birmount,§ lay concealed in the wood that night. Next morning, about ſeven o'clock, when we were almoſt ſinking with cold

* He had been a member of the Healthfield cavalry, and in violation of his oath of allegiance deſerted and joined the rebels.

‡ This is not really the initial letter of her name, which I conceal, leſt it might expoſe her to rebel vengeance.

§ Plate III. 3.

cold and hunger, he kindly invited us to his houſe, which lay cloſe to the river Slaney, at the oppoſite ſide of it. Having gone there, about ſeven o'clock in the evening, a woman came to us, trembling with fear, and ſaid, "That the rebels were approaching in all directions to burn the houſe, and to murder us." Mr. Bennett hid himſelf in his garden. We were adviſed to get ſome green boughs, as the emblem of rebellion, and to go out to meet them; and having accordingly done ſo, they deſired us not to be frightened, as they never injured women; and they aſked us if we were chriſtians, (meaning Roman catholicks,) and very fortunately we told them we were. They informed us, that they had juſt killed Mr. Edward White * of Roxana, and his ſon, who lived near Vinegar-hill; having, as they ſaid, ſearched his houſe for arms and orangemen. Having found Mr. M. in the garden, they preſented their firelocks, and were on the point of ſhooting him; but ſaid they muſt ſuſpend his execution till their officer, who was abſent, arrived. They took him off, mounted behind one of them; when they fortunately met a rebel, who had a particular regard for Mr. M., and who galloped off ſpeedily to Vinegar-hill camp, and procured him a protection from father John Murphy, who was then commander in chief there.

"On Thurſday I went to Vinegar-hill, in hopes of getting a protection from father Philip Roche,† a rebel chieftain, and in our way thither, we ſaw the bodies of Mr. White and his ſon, lying dead and naked in the lawn before his houſe; for the rebels would not ſuffer them to be buried.

"In our way to Enniſcorthy, we ſaw twelve dead bodies lying on the road; and on entering the town, we were filled with horror at beholding a great number of them in the ſtreets.

"The camp at Vinegar-hill preſented a dreadful ſcene of confuſion and uproar. A number of female rebels, more vehement than the male, were marching out to meet the army from Newtown-barry. This was a large body which father Roche led from Vinegar-hill to the attack of that town, which took place the firſt of June. Great numbers of women

* This aged gentleman was a magiſtrate, and had been always friendly to the Roman catholicks. His ſon was almoſt an ideot. The rebels made them kneel in a potatoe trench, ſhot them, and ſome days after covered them lightly with earth. They murdered on Vinegar-hill his brother, Mr. John White, of Whitefield, a magiſtrate, and very far advanced in years.

† Edward Roche was the lay-general.

were in the camp. Some men were employed in killing cattle, and in boiling them in pieces in large copper brewing pans; others were drinking, curſing, and ſwearing; many of them were playing on various muſical inſtruments, which they had acquired by plunder in the adjacent proteſtant houſes; and this produced a moſt diſagreeable and barbarous diſſonance.

"At laſt I met father Roche in Enniſcorthy, and he gave me a protection, not only for Mr. M. but one for Mr. Bennett's houſe, in the following words, which was poſted up in the hall: "No man to moleſt this houſe, or its inhabitants, on pain of death!"

"However, next day, a rebel guard came to Mr. Bennett's, and compelled him and Mr. M. to go before the pariſh prieſt of Bree, in order to ſend them to the attack on Roſs; but Mr. John Devereux, a rebel captain, on ſeeing Roche's protection diſcharged him; and ſoon after father John Sutton of Enniſcorthy, and a Mr. William Barker, a rebel general, gave them protections, and certified that they had been tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.

"We then repaired to Mr. Joſhua Lett's, a mile beyond Enniſcorthy, where we ſtaid ſome days. During our reſidence there, we daily ſaw great crowds of rebels, who often boaſted of the number of proteſtants they had put to death, and even in what manner they had piked them. They ſaid, "That Cork and Limerick had capitulated to them: That Dublin was ſurrounded by forty thouſand united Iriſhmen: That the whole kingdom would be ſoon in their poſſeſſion; and that there ſhould be no other religion but the Roman catholick." They compelled us to go to maſs, which we did, to preſerve our lives.

"At laſt, the rebels, having diſcovered that Mr. M. was concealed in Mr. Joſhua Lett's houſe, threatened to demoliſh it, unleſs he was inſtantly diſmiſſed. As Mr. Lett was obliged to comply with this mandate, we repaired to Mr. Fitzhenry's of Ballymacus,† about five miles off. In our way thither, we met many parties of rebels, who would have put Mr. M. to death, but for the prieſt's protection; for which they ſhewed the utmoſt reſpect. This ſhews the great influence of the ſacerdotal order, and how eaſily they might have prevented the maſſacres of proteſtants.

"We

† Plate III. 3.

"We were there but a few hours, when a rebel guard arrived, and carried us back to Enniſcorthy, where Mr. M. was put into a guard-houſe, containing about a dozen unfortunate proteſtants, who were ſhot or piked next day in the camp. I was then deſired to apply to one of their officers, named Morgan Byrne, whom I found ſitting in their committee-room, at a long table, with many books and papers before him. Father Kearns was at the head of the table, round which all the members of the committee ſat. On repreſenting my ſituation, and that of Mr. M. Mr. Patrick Sutton, who was a general among them, ſaid, "He would do his utmoſt to ſerve Mr. M. and me;" and Mr. Morgan Byrne* ſaid, "He would ſpare his life, provided he would join and fight with them; but on no other condition.

"Unheard-of barbarities were committed at Enniſcorthy, Vinegar-hill, and in all the adjacent country, before the rebels were ſubdued and driven from them.

"The pikemen would often ſhew us their pikes all ſtained with blood, and boaſt of having murdered our friends and neighbours."

Every morning when the rebels paraded on Vinegar-hill, they put to death from fifteen to thirty proteſtants in their preſence, and as a regale to them; and this was done with the ſolemnity of an execution under a judicial ſentence.

Samuel Goodiſon, a farmer, worth 400 l. a-year, of the proteſtant religion, was univerſally eſteemed for his good moral character. He and his family, conſiſting of a wife and nine children, remained in Ringwood on the night of the twenty-eighth of May, to eſcape the fanatical rage of the rebels. On Tueſday morning, they repaired to St. John's,† the ſeat of Doctor Hill, on the Slaney, who offered to let them remain there; but Goodiſon ſaid, he had ſuch warm friends among the Roman catholicks, that he was ſure of getting a protection from them, if he could arrive with ſafety at Enniſcorthy. He left his family at a mill, within a quarter of a mile of the town; and having advanced a ſhort way, he was overwhelmed with joy at meeting his neighbour and particular friend, Luke Byrne; but that ſanguinary ruffian ſhot him inſtantly, inſtead of affording him that protection which he ſolicited. A reſpectable gentlewoman of Enniſ-

* The loyal ſubjects called this fellow Santerre, and his father Luke Byrne, who was more ſanguinary, Marat.

† See Plate III. 2.

corthy heard him boaſt afterwards, that he never ate ſo ſweet a breakfaſt, as he had that morning, for that he had killed Samuel Goodiſon and William Carroll.

John Stillman, eighty years old, who had ſerved as a ſoldier the greater part of his life, and George Saunders, ſeventy years old, ſlept all Monday night in Ringwood; and having come out of it about twelve o'clock, next morning, they were ſhot on the road leading to Enniſcorthy. Saunders died inſtantly. Stillman continued alive till next day, and was able to ſit up. A rebel out-poſt, of about twenty men, amuſed themſelves with ridiculing, inſulting, and torturing him. They often aſked him in irony, (as he was a proteſtant) Whether he would have a prieſt? They had but one ball among them, and they fired it five or ſix times through his body, while proſtrate on the ground; and yet he was alive next day. He had but one eye, which they put out with a pike. At length they put him to death. Afterwards the rebels were known to call him their plaything, in converſation at Enniſcorthy; and to declare, he was ſo tough an old fellow, that they had great difficulty in putting him to death.

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 1. for the ſufferings of Benjamin Warren, a proteſtant yeoman, and the ſcene of carnage which he beheld on Vinegar-hill. I ſaw his wounds in Auguſt, 1798. His body had been perforated with pikes in many places.

When the town was evacuated on Monday the twenty-eighth of May, Richard Sterne, a ſickly old man, his wife, his ſon far gone in a conſumption, and a grandchild, five years old, on his back, endeavoured to retreat to Wexford with the proteſtant fugitives, but being unable to accompany them, they concealed themſelves in a wood, where they remained four days and four nights, and muſt have ſtarved, but that they received a few potatoes and about a pint of milk from a fiſherman.

I ſhall refer the reader to his affidavit, Appendix, No. XIX. 2. for an account of his ſufferings, and of ſome of the horrors practiſed at Vinegar-hill.

In Appendix, No. XIX. 3. the reader will ſee an account of the murder of the reverend Mr. Heydon, in the ſtreets of Enniſcorthy, who was venerable for his piety and his years, being near eighty years old.

I have

I have been aſſured that the rebels would not ſuffer his body to be interred for ſome days, and that a great part of it was devoured by pigs.

Richard Sterne was a priſoner in Mr. Beale's barn, at the foot of Vinegar-hill, where he ſaw numbers of his fellow-priſoners tried and condemned by a rebel court-martial (at which one Lawrence Power was preſident) for being orangemen, or proteſtants, which were ſynonimous. Lawrence Power was afterwards taken in Dublin, tried, convicted, and hanged. Richard Sterne, being examined on his trial, depoſed, that he ſaw many perſons led to execution under the judgment of that court; and that he ſaw one Murtagh Keane ſhoot Thomas Simpſon and Jeremiah Smyth, ſoon after Lawrence Power had pronounced the ſentence.

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 4. for the barbarous treatment which Edward Stacey, a proteſtant farmer, of Tomgar, received from four ruffians, who were ſent from the camp in queſt of proteſtants. I ſaw the wound which he received, ſoon after it was healed.

The gangs of pikemen who were ſent to roam the country in queſt of proteſtants, to ſupply the grand ſlaughter-houſe at Vinegar-hill, could not reſtrain their thirſt for blood, and often killed their priſoners on the ſpot where they ſeized them, though contrary to the orders of their leaders.

For the ſufferings of lieutenant Hunt, of the Enniſcorthy yeomen infantry, ſee Appendix, No. XIX. 5.

On the thirtieth day of May, William Neal, Henry and Bryan, his ſons, were ſeized at their houſe at Ballybrennan, by a band of aſſaſſins, who were ſent from the camp in ſearch of proteſtants, and were conveyed to Vinegar-hill camp. Michael Maddock and Joſeph Murphy were leaders of the party. The former called them orangemen, meaning proteſtants, and wanted to kill them as ſuch, but was over-ruled by ſome others of the band. Bryan Neal offered them his horſe and cow to liberate them; but Maddock ſaid, "That the cattle of all orangemen belonged to them already."

When they arrived on Vinegar-hill, Murphy ſaid he would not bring them any more orangemen, unleſs they put them to death directly: On which a conference was held, when the father and the two ſons were immediately condemned. They firſt led out to execution Bryan, who begged they would ſhoot him, inſtead of torturing him with pikes.

One

One of the rebels ſaid he ſhould not die ſo eaſy a death, and inſtantly ſtruck him on the head with a carpenter's adz, which made him ſtagger a few yards; but he was ſoon brought back, when one of them ſtabbed him in the ſide with a ſpear, another in the neck, and a third ſhoved them aſide and ſhot him. William, the father, who was then brought forth, ſolicited to be ſhot; and having complied with his requeſt, they put him on his knees. The executioner miſſed fire at him three times; on which father Roche, the general, who attended the execution, deſired him to try whether his firelock would go off in the air. He accordingly tried, and it ſucceeded. Father Roche then gave him a protection, and ordered him to be diſcharged; having imputed his eſcape to divine Providence. Murphy and Maddock were near neighbours, and ſuppoſed to be the intimate friends of the Neal family, who had no ſuſpicion that they had harboured ſuch ſanguinary hatred againſt them, on account of their being of the proteſtant perſuaſion.* William Neal had another ſon burnt at the barn of Scullabogue.

Charles Davis, a glazier of Enniſcorthy, and of the proteſtant religion, fought againſt the rebels in defence of that town; but was afterwards made a priſoner, and conveyed to Vinegar-hill by a party of rebels, who informed him, that, as he was an orangeman, he would be put to death. On his arrival in the camp, he ſaw about forty bodies lying dead, quite naked, and very much mangled with pikes; among which he perceived the body of Mr. Henry Hatton, portrieve of the town of Enniſcorthy.

The rebels deſired him, inſultingly, to lay his hand on his deceaſed friends, whom they called hereticks; and told him, that all the hereticks in the kingdom ſhould ſhare the ſame fate. They then put him on his knees, in the midſt of the dead bodies, and ſhot him through the body and the arm, and gave him ſeveral pike wounds; after which they buried him, covering his body lightly with ſods. He lay in that ſituation from ſeven o'clock in the evening till five next morning, when he found a dog, who had ſcraped away the ſods, licking his wounds. A party of rebels, who were near the grave, perceiving the motion of his body,

* Theſe facts were verified by oath, on the trials of Murphy and Maddock, held at Roſs, the thirteenth and twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulſe; alſo, by affidavit, ſworn before D. Colclough, eſquire, by William Neal, twenty-fourth July, 1798.

body, exclaimed, "The dead is coming to life; and that Davis ſhould have a prieſt, as he could not obtain ſalvation without one." Father Sutton, of Enniſcorthy,‡ who was in the camp, adminiſtered the rites of his church to him, and told him he was ſorry to ſee him in that ſituation; but as there was no proſpect of his recovery, he was glad that he was to die under his hands. He was then delivered to his wife, who conveyed him to his own houſe; where, with the aid of medical aſſiſtance, he recovered. Theſe facts have been verified by affidavit, and are univerſally known. Charles Davis, who is now living, ſhewed me his wounds.

John Mooney, ſervant to doctor Hill, and a proteſtant, was taken priſoner, and conducted to the wind-mill priſon, on the top of Vinegar-hill, the thirty-firſt day of May; and found there ſixteen proteſtant priſoners, with ſome of whom he had been long acquainted. They were deſired to prepare for death; and ſoon after a ruffian entered the priſon with a drawn hanger, and began to torture the priſoners by way of amuſement; but the rebel centinel ſtopped him, and ſaid, that as they were to die ſoon, it was cruel to torment them. In a few minutes one of the priſoners was dragged out of the mill door, and ſhot; and ſoon after the remainder were executed in the ſame manner. Among them there was a well-dreſſed reſpectable looking man, and his ſon, a boy about thirteen years old. The father ſeemed to bear his approaching diſſolution with great fortitude, ſuppoſing that they would not injure his ſon, on account of his tender age; but what agonizing pangs muſt he have felt, when his child was butchered in his preſence! and he, when led out to execution, was obliged to ſtep over his bleeding corpſe, which fell acroſs the door.

Mooney, the laſt perſon taken out, was placed by the ſixteen dead bodies; and the executioner, whoſe name was Byrne, deſired him to turn his back to him, (which the victims were often compelled to do;) but Mooney refuſed to do ſo, having ſaid, that he was not afraid to face a bullet. The executioner, who was very ragged, advanced, with his muſket preſented, within twelve paces of him, when Mooney deſired him to ſtop; and taking off his coat, waiſtcoat and hat, which were new,

‡ This prieſt might have ſaved any perſon he choſe, and was daily attending the camp.

new, threw them to him, desired him to take them for his trouble; and requested he would approach nearer to him, and do his business properly. The executioner, struck with his fortitude, said it was an undoubted proof of his innocence; and declared he would have nothing to do with him. On this, one Murtagh Brien, alias Kane, a sanguinary monster, and the common executioner, rose from his knees, (for the rebels commonly knelt and prayed before or during the execution,) and insisted on putting Mooney to death, and presented a blunderbuss for that purpose; but Byrne interfered, and swore he would blow out the brains of any person who would attempt to injure him; and he immediately dismissed him.

Papists of the meanest situation, even beggars, have been known to save protestants when they chose.

Mooney was seized by a party of rebels two or three days after, and they were on the point of putting him to death, for having, as they said, often enquired for and opened the letters of father Sutton at Enniscorthy, before the insurrection took place, in order to obtain information relative to the rebellion; but that priest, who happened to come up when the charge was made, acquitted him of it.

The rebels made a constant practice of violating women who fell into their hands. In consequence of which, a rebel general, Patrick Sutton, issued the following proclamation:

PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas information has been received that many outrages are committing through the country on the wives and daughters of several people: This is therefore to desire and command all officers to use every exertion to apprehend and bring into Vinegar-hill camp each and every person who shall be found guilty of such offences, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

Given under my hand at Vinegar-hill camp, this 17th day of June, 1798, the first year of liberty.

PATRICK SUTTON, commander in chief."

Patrick Conners was peculiarly the object of popish vengeance, for the following reasons: Having married a protestant wife, he was constantly urged by his popish neighbours and his parish priest, to make her change her

her religion; but he refuſed to interfere about her mode of worſhip. At laſt, he was ſo much diſguſted and ſhocked at their bitter and unremitting reproaches, that he became a convert to the proteſtant faith. In conſequence of this, he was denounced by his pariſh prieſt, who laid his flock under a prohibition not to deal with him. This interdict reduced him to poverty, from having obtained a good livelihood as a ſhopkeeper in the town of Enniſcorthy.

On the thirtieth of May, 1798, he, his wife and daughter, were taken to the camp of Vinegar-hill, where the rebel troops were drawn up at parade in the form of a half moon. Conners, John Plunket, and James Rigley, two more proteſtants, were led out in front of them to be executed. James D'Arcy, a corn-factor, in good circumſtances, who volunteered in this bloody buſineſs, ſtept forward from the line, with a horſe piſtol, and ſhot them one after another, charging the piſtol with great deliberation, and ſaying between each murder, "I will now do your buſineſs." His daughter, Mary Conners, was offered ten guineas if ſhe would not proſecute; but ſhe declared, that ſhe would not ſell the blood of her father.

The poor old widow of Conners was holding him by the arm when they ſhot him; and, on falling, he pulled her to the ground. On riſing, ſhe exclaimed, "You had now better put me to death!" and the brutal ſavage was on the point of doing ſo, but other rebels, more humane, prevented him.

Theſe facts were proved at Wexford, on the trial of D'Arcy, the ſixteenth of November, 1798, when he was convicted and hanged.

D'Arcy bore a very good character previous to this atrocious act.

It appears that many Roman catholicks, who had led irreproachable lives, and were eſteemed for their moral conduct prior to the rebellion, embrued their hands in human blood, without any horror or remorſe during the courſe of it, as their feelings had been blunted by fanaticiſm.

Edward St. Leger, a proteſtant, was taken priſoner and conducted to the old mill on Vinegar-hill, by a party of rebels, on the firſt day of June, 1798, but was releaſed ſoon after at the interceſſion of one Fenlon. As he was leaving the priſon, he ſaw a man ſitting on the ground, with no other clothes than a piece of a ragged blanket thrown over him. He preſented a moſt ghaſtly appearance, as his eyes were out, his

head and body were much ſwollen, and his cheeks were covered with ulcers. On St. Leger's exclaiming, "What a miſerable object!" he attempted to ſpeak, but uttered ſome inarticulate ſounds, which he could not underſtand; for which reaſon, he believed, that his tongue had been cut out. An armed rebel who was near, and ſeemed to be guarding him, told St. Leger, that he was under puniſhment, and ſpoke ſomething of ſlow death; meaning, as he verily believed, that the unfortunate wretch was condemned to ſuffer a ſlow death.*

Unwilling to diſguſt the reader, I will give him a circumſtantial account of but a few of the various cruelties practiſed on the victims who were immolated on Vinegar-hill by theſe ferocious fanaticks; had they been perpetrated by the dregs of the people, ſome allowance might have been made for the force of religious bigotry on the minds of the vulgar herd; but we have to lament, that many perſons whoſe birth, education, or opulence, raiſed them far above that deſcription, were preſent at, or were conſenting to, the perpetration of theſe atrocities; for we find that they were conſtantly in the rebel camps where they daily took place, and that they could have prevented them is unqueſtionable; for no inſtance that I could diſcover ever occurred, that the perſonal interference or the written protection of a rebel officer, or one of their prieſts, did not ſave the life of a perſon deſtined for deſtruction.

Mr. William Barker, a brewer and a merchant of Enniſcorthy, was a general in the camp: Mr. Patrick Sutton, formerly a merchant, and well educated, held that rank; and his two ſons, one of whom was educated for the bar, were officers there: One Kelly, an opulent farmer near that town, a rebel officer, who has been hanged: The bloody Luke Byrne, a maltſter, and his two ſons, in opulent circumſtances: Meſſrs. Codd|| and Walſh, ſhopkeepers, and reputed rich: Marineth, a farmer, was wealthy: Andrew Farrell was in good circumſtances, and yet he was active in promoting the maſſacres: Jeremiah Fitzhenry, married to John Colclough's ſiſter, was of the ancient family of the Fitzhenrys, in the county of Wexford: John Colclough, of a family highly reſpectable, who often repreſented the county, was well educated and in good circumſtances, diſgraced

* See Appendix, No. XIX. 6.

|| Francis Codd, another perſon of the ſame name, was very loyal.

diſgraced himſelf by yielding to the influence of fanaticiſm. He was the only papiſt that I could learn of his family. Meſſrs. Garret and William Byrne were rebel chieftains, and attended the camps.

The reverend Mr. Pentland and Mr. Trocke were put to death on Vinegar-hill, on Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, with about thirty proteſtants more.

Luke Byrne, an opulent farmer and brewer of Enniſcorthy, though advanced in years, was remarkably cruel and ſanguinary; and his two ſons, Morgan and Mogue, were little leſs ſo. His brother frequently acted the part of executioner on Vinegar-hill.

William Carroll, a tanner, of the proteſtant perſuaſion, who had always lived on terms of the warmeſt friendſhip with Luke Byrne, accoſted him in the ſtreet of Enniſcorthy, when he was at the head of a party of rebels; but Byrne drew his ſword, proſtrated him with a blow of it, and ordered the pikemen, whom he commanded, to diſpatch him; and they inſtantly perforated his body with pikes. This honeſt and induſtrious man left a widow and eight children.

It is ſurpriſing how wanton the rebels were in committing cruelties. On Thurſday the thirty-firſt of May, John Doyle ſaw a wounded man lying in the ſtreets at Enniſcorthy, and approaching him, ſaid, in a ſtrain of irony, mingled with cruelty, "What a pity it is you are not more alive!" and then ſtabbed him ſeveral times with a pike, and turned over his body. Doyle was convicted of that crime before a court-martial, on the twentieth of July, 1799.

Thomas Clooney, a farmer, was worth ſeveral thouſand pounds. His ſon was aid-de-camp to the rebel general at Roſs, and was ſhot there. Fenlon, a ſchoolmaſter, a young man of pleaſing manners, and a genteel appearance, a captain in the rebel army, was hanged in Wexford. Furlong, a rich farmer, was a rebel captain. Robert, John and Denis Carthy, very opulent farmers, and well educated, were deeply concerned in the rebellion. Their nephew Denis was ſtained with the blood of the reverend Mr. Turner, murdered on Whitſunday. William Lacy, a ſhopkeeper at Enniſcorthy, and brother to father Michael Lacy, (who uſed to ſay maſs there,) was commiſſary general in the camp on Vinegar-hill. William Devereux of Taghmon, was in opulent circumſtances. Meſſrs. John and Edward Hay, actively concerned in the rebellion, were of an ancient popiſh family, and were extremely well educated.

A barbarous murder committed by the former, with all the coolneſs of deliberation, proves how far fanaticiſm can extinguiſh all religious and moral principle. A proteſtant boy, known by the name of Grey Thomas, who lived at Newcaſtle, near the houſe of Mr. John Hay, was murdered by him on Vinegar-hill.*

Mr. Hay was thoroughly convinced that every true proteſtant was ſincerely attached to the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and would oppoſe the views of the united Iriſhmen, who were deſirous of ſeparating Ireland from England; of forming in it a republick under the auſpices of France; and of totally extinguiſhing the proteſtant religion, which they regarded as a peſtilent hereſy.

Thomas Smythſon, verified upon oath, on the trial of Edward Roche, a rebel general, at Wexford, the circumſtances attending the death of Grey Thomas; and that he heard John Hay declare, in the rebel camp, "That they never could have luck while there were proteſtants among them."

On the ſame trial, which began the ſeventeenth of December, 1798, Thomas Hatchell proved, that Mr. John Hay propoſed on Vinegar-hill the maſſacre of all proteſtants; and both theſe witneſſes proved that Edward Roche oppoſed his ſanguinary propoſal.

There were commonly twenty prieſts in the camp,‡ and they never interfered for the preſervation of proteſtant lives, except in behalf of a perſon who happened to be the peculiar object of their regard, or in whoſe ſafety they were deeply intereſted. On the contrary, it appears that numbers of them daily ſaid maſs at the head of the rebel lines, and exhorted the rebels to extirpate hereticks or orangemen, which appellations they gave to proteſtants.‖ Some perſons have endeavoured to palliate the atrocities committed by the rebels, by ſaying, "That their ſanguinary rage was not directed againſt proteſtants as ſuch, but merely againſt a political ſect of them called orangemen." This plea could be urged with much leſs colour in the county of Wexford than elſewhere; becauſe there were no orangemen there, nor was there even an attempt to inſtitute an Orange

* See Appendix, No. XIX. 7.

‡ The reader will find this verified by different affidavits in the Appendix.

‖ See the affidavits of Richard Sterne, Richard Grandy, William Fleming, and Andrew Sheppard, in Appendixes, No. XIX. and XX.

Orange lodge in it till the North Cork came into it, and they did not arrive there till the twenty-ſixth of April.

A few days after, a ſerjeant Jeffars attempted to make a few orangemen, among the loweſt mechanicks at Enniſcorthy; but as ſoon as captain Snowe diſcovered it, he checked and prevented him. The truth is, that the appellation of orangemen was adopted to diſguiſe the ſanguinary and intolerant principles of popery, againſt every other ſect of chriſtians,* and which has on moſt occaſions characterized it; but this thin diſguiſe was ſeen through; for on many occaſions, not only the infuriate ſavages, but even their prieſts denounced them as proteſtants, and the carnage of them was indiſcriminate. Not only thoſe of ſuperior rank, whoſe elevated ſituation might have excited their envy, and whoſe wealth might have tempted their rapacity, fell a prey to their fanatical fury; but the inhabitants of the humble abodes of induſtry were equally obnoxious to it; though they had never heard the word orangemen, till they were denounced as ſuch by their aſſaſſins.

I could not aſcertain the number of proteſtants who were maſſacred in the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill and its vicinity; but I have been aſſured that they exceeded five hundred. Among theſe there were men of landed property, magiſtrates, clergymen, merchants, farmers, labourers and mechanicks. I have obtained the names of as many as I could of the proteſtants, who were murdered in the county of Wexford, at large, but I could not procure the whole. It will be found with the pariſhes or townlands to which they belonged in Appendix, No. XIX. 9.

The doctrine of excluſive ſalvation in the Romiſh church, from which this ſanguinary ſpirit flows, is inculcated in the koran of Mahomet. Ockley, in his hiſtory of the Saracens,† tells us, that the Turks ſay, agreeable to this doctrine, that every perſon who is not of their religion, is an enemy to God; and that when they are fighting againſt ſuch, they are fighting in the cauſe of God.

The ſavage delight which the rebels took in the effuſion of human blood on Vinegar-hill, reſembles the conduct of Mahomet, when he conquered, and took poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, in the year 1452, as related

* See James Beaghan's confeſſion, Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

† Vol. I. pages 198, 228.

related by Knowles, in the following words of his celebrated hiſtory of the Turks:

" That he, as a proud conqueror, with great triumph, entered the city " of Conſtantinople, then deſolated, and void of all chriſtian inhabitants; " and there, after the manner of the Turkiſh kings, made a ſumptuous " and royal feaſt, unto his baſhaws and great captains; when, after he " had ſurcharged himſelf with exceſs of meat and drink, he cauſed divers " of the chief chriſtian captives, both men and women, (of whom many " were of the late emperor's line and race) to be in his preſence put to " death, as he with his Turks ſat banqueting, deeming his feaſt much " more ſtately, by ſuch effuſion of chriſtian blood; which manner of ex- " ceeding cruelty, he daily uſed, until ſuch time as he had deſtroyed all " the Grecian nobility, that were in his power, with the chief of the " late Conſtantinopolitan citizens."

The Celts, who covered a great part of the European continent, immolated human victims to the Deity; and the Iriſh, who are of that race, follow the ſame practice, and both on the ſcore of religion; but the former did ſo as Pagans, the latter as Roman catholicks. The Auto da Fés, which continued till within a few years in Spain and Portugal, were alſo regarded as offerings to the Deity.

The ſufferings of Mr. George Horneck and his family, a very reſpectable farmer, of Girrane, in the county of Wexford, merit a circumſtantial relation. From conſiderable opulence, he was reduced to very great indigence by the rebellion. He had three ſons, remarkably handſome, and eſteemed for their good deportment. One of the name of George, had been bred in the univerſity of Dublin, and was enrolled in Mr. Ogle's corps; another, called Robert, was bound to an apothecary, in Enniſcorthy. They ſhewed great valour in defence of that town, but were overtaken and ſeized in their retreat towards Wexford, by a party of rebels commanded by Robert Carthy, of Ballyhogue,* who put George to a cruel death. They conducted Robert to the camp at Vinegar-hill, as a priſoner. The rebels then ſent to his father, who, with other proteſtants, was keeping garriſon at the houſe of the reverend John Richards, of Grange,† a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed religion, to inform him, that, if he would

* A family diſtinguiſhed for their rebellious principles.

† See plate III. 2.

would ſurrender his arms, they would ſave the life of his ſon, who would be permitted to ſerve in their army. But the father refuſed to comply; having given as a reaſon, that he had taken an oath of allegiance, and ſwore not to ſurrender them to any perſon, but to the government. At the ſame time he implored them to be merciful to his ſon. Next day the rebels ſtripped him naked, and ſhot him in their camp. As he betrayed ſome ſymptoms of life, after he fell, they knocked him in the head, with the butt-end of a firelock; and yet this unfortunate young man recovered about midnight, and though quite naked, and covered with blood, and ghaſtly wounds, he crept to the foot of Vinegar-hill, waded over the river Slaney; and, though much exhauſted, he walked to his father's houſe, which was ſeven miles off; on approaching it, he was buoyed up with the fond hope of finding an aſylum there from the rebel blood-hounds; but, alas! how ſevere was his diſappointment, on finding it deſerted by his family, who had fled for protection to Roſs, whither he endeavoured to follow them; but was intercepted by a party of rebels, who murdered him, and threw his body into a gravel pit.

Mr. Charles Cooper, ſon-in-law of George Horneck, who, as a yeoman, had aſſiſted in the defence of Enniſcorthy, was ſeized with three other loyal fugitives, at Caſtle-bridge, and maſſacred. As many victims, whom the rebels apparently put to death, had afterwards recovered, and made their eſcape, they tied together with a rope the bodies of theſe four men. Philip Horneck, the brother of George, fell into the hands of the rebels at Alderſtown, the houſe of Mr. John Glaſcott, whence they conveyed him to their camp at Carrickbyrne, where they murdered him, and then quartered and burned his body. In his laſt moments they inſultingly aſked him, whether he remembered the white-boys, on the ninth of June, 1775? That banditti infeſted that year, not only the county of Wexford, but many other parts of Leinſter and Munſter.

On the night of the above day, a party of them attacked, and attempted to enter the houſe of George Horneck; when he and his brother Philip bravely defended it, repulſed the banditti, and killed one of them. That event excited the moſt implacable vengeance in the breaſts of thoſe ferocious fanaticks, againſt this loyal but unfortunate family.*

John

* Theſe facts relative to the Horneck family are ſubſtantiated by affidavit, ſworn by George Horneck, before Standiſh Lowcay, a magiſtrate, the third of October, 1793.

John Coffey, an old, ſickly man, was taken in a chaiſe, near Vinegar-hill, and led as a priſoner to the rebel camp. On being aſked, whether he was a Roman catholick? he anſwered in the affirmative; but he was alſo required to prove himſelf ſuch by croſſing himſelf, and ſaying ſome popiſh prayers, which very fortunately for him he could do, though a proteſtant: for they would have put him to death if he had failed.

Two or three days before the rebellion broke out, father Roche, the prieſt, who became afterwards a general, waited on the reverend Mr. Richards, of Grange, his neighbour, gave him ſome arms which he ſaid had been ſurrendered to him; and at the ſame time aſſured him, that nothing was to be feared, as the people were loyal and peaceable. When the inſurrection took place, ſixteen proteſtant families fled to the houſe of Grange,* and kept garriſon there. Father Roche, in two or three days after his pacifick aſſurances to Mr. Richards, went to his houſe, with two men more, and promiſed him, that neither his perſon or property ſhould be injured, provided he delivered to him the Horneck family, and the proteſtant tenants of captain Blacker; but if he refuſed, that his houſe would be immediately attacked by five thouſand men, with two pieces of cannon; but Mr. Richards rejected his infamous propoſal with laudable fortitude, and in about ten minutes after, he and his little garriſon, on ſixteen cars ſet out for Roſs,† where they arrived with ſafety; though they had a narrow eſcape from a body of rebels poſted on a neighbouring hill.‡

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 10, for the ſufferings of George Piper, and his family, and his aſſaſſination on Vinegar-hill, and the abominable conduct of father Redmond, of the pariſh of Ferns, who not only refuſed him a protection, when in the hands of the aſſaſſins, or to reſcue him from them, which he might eaſily have done; but, according to his wife's affidavit, he was inſtrumental in ſending him there.

It often happened that one proteſtant was compelled to kill another: Thus George Walker, pariſh clerk of Ballycanew church, was compelled to ſhoot John Cobourne, a butcher, of the proteſtant religion, and of the

* Plate III. 2. † Plate III. 5.

‡ Verified by Horneck's affidavit before quoted.

the ſame pariſh, on Vinegar-hill.* It is ſurpriſing how active and unremitting the popiſh prieſts are, in repreſenting the proteſtant religion as an abominable hereſy, which, they ſay, never fails to bring the divine anger on its profeſſors.

Samuel Hendrick was married to a popiſh wife by the reverend Mr. Handcock, rector of the pariſh of Kilcormuck, in which the nuptials were celebrated. On the twenty-ninth of May, having been taken priſoner by a party of aſſaſſins who were ſent from Vinegar-hill in queſt of proteſtants, he prevailed on them to conduct him to the reverend father Patrick Quigley, pariſh prieſt of Clone, hoping that he would ſave his life by giving him a protection; but he informed him, that his marriage was null and void; that it only ſerved the purpoſe of gratifying a brutal paſſion; and he refuſed to grant him a protection, until he was married by a prieſt. To preſerve his life then, he was under the neceſſity of being married a ſecond time by father Quigley, and of paying him one guinea for celebrating the marriage rites.†

The reader will ſee ſome ſhocking inſtances of rebel atrocity in the affidavit of Robert Whitrey, in Appendix, No. XIX. 11.

I ſhall refer him alſo, for ſpecimens of cruelty practiſed on Vinegar-hill, to extracts from the trials of Thomas Clooney, William Fenlon, Andrew Farrel, Nicholas Walſh, and James Beaghan, in the ſame Appendix, and No. 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17.

I ſhall now proceed to give an account of two attacks which were made by the garriſon of Vinegar-hill, on Borris, the ſeat of Mr. Kavenagh,‡ in the county of Carlow.

ATTACK ON BORRIS.

Mr. Kavenagh,‖ of Borris, having been diſtinguiſhed for his loyalty, and his activity as a magiſtrate, was peculiarly the object of rebel vengeance; and as his beautiful ſeat was but fourteen miles from Vinegar-hill, but ten miles from Lackan, and not far diſtant from the Roar,§ a

* This was verified by the affidavit of Cobourne's widow, in No. 390 of the archives of the houſe of commons, and quoted in Appendix, No. XIX. 9.

† Verified by affidavit ſworn the 25th day of March, 1799, before A. Jacob.

‡ Plate II. 6, 7.

‖ A gentleman lineally deſcended from the kings of Ireland, and firſt couſin to the earl of Ormond.

§ Plate VII. 3.

populous and rebellious diſtrict in the county of Kilkenny, his ſituation was ſerious and alarming.

The ſyſtem of free quarters had been enforced with conſiderable ſtrictneſs in the county of Kilkenny, in the month of May; and, by the orders of general ſir Charles Aſgill, it was ſoon to be extended to the county of Carlow, unleſs the deluded inhabitants precluded the neceſſity of it, by a ſpeedy ſurrender of their arms, of which they were well known to poſſeſs large quantities. The general's orders, and the exertions of the gentlemen of that county, had made the ſurrender of pikes rather general; but it was checked by an order from the directory in Dublin, which was printed and circulated by their captains and ſerjeants. It exhorted them, by no means to give up their arms, as an inſurrection was immediately to take place.

It providentially happened, that Mr. Kavenagh's corps of yeomanry, though not on permanent duty, was aſſembled early in the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, for the purpoſe of arreſting all the diſaffected blackſmiths in their diſtrict; and as their exertions in that ſervice was attended with conſiderable ſucceſs, it occaſioned a general ſpirit of commotion in the neighbourhood; which induced captain Kavenagh to keep his corps together, as he had every reaſon to think that his poſt would be attacked that night; and which the rebellious inhabitants were induced to undertake from the following motives: The orders of their directory for a general inſurrection: The great quantity of pikes and pike-handles ſurrendered to the captain, and known to be in their poſſeſſion: The plunder of his houſe, and the hopes with which the leaders inſpired their deluded followers, that they would not meet with reſiſtance.

The houſe of Borris was attacked on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, by a party of about five thouſand rebels, who were received with very great ſpirit by the Borris corps, who repulſed them; but not until they had broke open the lower windows of the houſe, which were but ſlightly barred, and reſcued the blackſmiths who were confined in it. It was believed that not leſs than fifty rebels were killed and wounded on that occaſion.

The exertions of the yeomanry corps of the neighbourhood, for three or four days, completely cleared the country of the moſt active rebels, and

and their leaders, who joined their aſſociates in the county of Wexford, where they carried every thing before them.

The poſt of Borris having been reinforced with thirty of the 9th dragoons, and twenty-four of the Donegal militia, and as captain Kavenagh's corps conſiſted of thirty-five mounted, and twenty-two diſmounted cavalry, the garriſon remained unmoleſted till the twelfth of June, though not far diſtant from ſome of the ſtrong rebel camps.

On the day before, ſir Charles Aſgill, by concerted movements of the troops in his diſtrict, ſurrounded the rebel camp formed in that diſaffected diſtrict, the Roar, oppoſite to Roſs, after having ſhot many of the aſſaſſins who compoſed it.

The events of that day, and the ſubmiſſion of the adjoining diſtrict, had lulled the garriſon of Borris into a ſecurity, which was near proving fatal to them; for about one o'clock on the next day, they received an account, that great multitudes of rebels were pouring down from the different paſſes through the mountains, which ſeparated that poſt from their camps in the county of Wexford.

At that time the ſmall garriſon was weakened by the abſence of every officer but one, as they were engaged with ſeveral of their men in different duties in the adjacent country. The rapid movements of the enemy allowed no time for calling them in; for in leſs than two hours after the notice of their approach, they filled the town of Borris, and ſet fire to all the houſes in it belonging to Mr. Kavenagh and his yeomen; they, however, met with a gallant reſiſtance at the manſion-houſe of Borris, though its garriſon was reduced to twenty of the Donegal, and ſeventeen of the yeomanry, including their ſerjeants, who commanded them. The rebels had a howitzer, which they brought to bear upon the houſe, but were unable to batter it. They were commanded by father Kearns, a prieſt, and a noted rebel leader, who was afterwards hanged at Edenderry. Seven rebels were found dead on the ſpot; but it has been ſince learned, that they carried off many of their killed and wounded on cars, and that they threw many of the former into the burning houſes; only one of the garriſon, a Donegal ſoldier, was killed, and two were wounded.

One of the rebels who was wounded, and could not retreat, proved to be a tenant of Mr. Kavenagh, who lived cloſe to his houſe, and to whom

he had been ſingularly kind. On being aſked why he embarked in this treaſonable enterpriſe, he confeſſed, that he was tempted to do ſo, by a promiſe of obtaining a portion of his eſtate.*

Several perſons who were engaged in this attack, aſſigned the following reaſons for it: That it was partly undertaken at the inſtigation of the rebels of the neighbourhood, who breathed revenge in conſequence of having been driven from their homes, and had fled to the Wexford camps: They had earneſt hopes alſo of ſeizing a large quantity of ammunition; for they had heard, that it was a depôt, in conſequence of ſome artillery cheſts which had been left there by a regiment who had marched through it; and it was their intention on ſeizing it, and the arms of the garriſon, to have proceeded acroſs the rivers Barrow and Nore, at Enniſteague, and to have aſſiſted in the projected renewal of an attack on Roſs, by advancing againſt it from the Kilkenny ſide, on Roſsbercon; a march in which they had little reaſon to doubt of being joined by the whole country through which they paſſed. From that day, the operations of the rebels were confined to the county of Wexford.

About the ſixteenth of June, a detachment of the garriſon of Roſs, proceeded by a circuitous march to Graignemanagh, in the county of Kilkenny, a moſt rebellious diſtrict, and blew up the bridge there.

The day after the rebels got poſſeſſion of Enniſcorthy, they formed a camp on the mountain of Forth, commonly called the Three Rock mountain, with a view of attacking Wexford, which is within three miles of it.

I have already delineated the proceſſion of a body of rebels from Enniſcorthy to that mountain, headed by father John Murphy, with a large crucifix in his arms.†

But previous to my entering on a deſcription of the events which took place at Wexford, I think it right to give the reader a ſhort hiſtorical and geographical account of that town.

Wexford‖ is a ſea-port, borough, market, and corporate town, and rather populous for its ſize. It is the chief in the county of the ſame name, and the third largeſt in the province of Leinſter. It is governed by

* See the affidavit of John Semple on this affair, in Appendix, No. XIX. 18.

† See Richard Sterne's affidavit, in Appendix, No. XIX. 2.

‖ Plate III. 6. and Plate VI.

A Plan of the Town of WEXFORD

On a Scale of 200 Feet to an Inch

By Peter Tannin

Master in the Navy

1800.

Reference to the Houses destroyed by the Rebels in June 1798.

1 The Custom House.
2 Capn Jas Boyd.
3 Mr Abraham Hughes.
4 Mr John Cullmore.
5 The Revd Mr Miller.
6 Mrs Edwards.
7 Keughs House.
8 Market House.
9 The Goal.
10 Mr Hatchells House.
11 The Prison Ship.
12 Lord Kingsboroughs Lodgings.
13 Bagt Herveys Lodgings.
14 Parsonage House.

Road from Ballaspriddy
Slipdy Green
To Wexford Bridge
To New Town
Windmill Hills
Ballykmaly
Spaw Well
John Street
Romish Chapel
St John's Church
Old Pound
THE TOWN WALL
Chapel Lane
High Street
Parish Church
St Mary's Church
Back Street
Selskar Street
Selskar Church
Com Market
Castle Street
Ellis Street
Keyser Lane
Georges Street
Stony Street
the Faith
The Main Street
Barrack Street
Stone Bridge
BARRACKS
Quay Lane
New Church
Bull ring
Main Street
Selskar
ARTILLARY PARK
Custom House Lane
Monk Street
Fish Market
Common Quay
New Quay
Cullmore Quay
Cardiffs Quay
Medows Quay
Custom House Quay
WEXFORD BRIDGE
Port Cullis
PART of WEXFORD HARBOUR

by a mayor, recorder, and bailiffs. It is the ſhire and aſſizes town, and gives the title of earl, as does Waterford alſo, to the noble family of Talbot, who are earls of Shrewſbury in England. It returned two members to parliament. It is ſeated on a bay in the Iriſh channel, at the mouth of the river Slaney. The harbour, though capacious, is ſhallow. It is formed by two necks of land, with an entrance half a mile broad, and was formerly defended by two forts, one at the extremity of each iſthmus, called fort Marget, and fort Roſslare; but as its entrance is obſtructed by ſand banks, ſhips drawing more than ten feet water ſeldom enter it. Ships of greater magnitude load and unload three miles from the town, near the ſouth ſide of the haven, where there is ſufficient depth of water, but no ſhelter from the ſouth winds. Wexford was originally fortified by the Danes, and improved and enlarged by the firſt Engliſh ſettlers in the twelfth century, who took it from the Eaſterlings, after a ſiege of four days, on the fourth of May, 1170. It was beſieged by Cromwell, the firſt of October, 1649, and having been betrayed by captain James Stafford, commandant of the caſtle, it was taken by ſtorm, and ſir Edward Butler, the governor, and two thouſand ſoldiers, were put to the ſword.

Large veſtiges of the town-walls are ſtill viſible, and the four gates which led to it remained, until lately, almoſt perfect. The town is irregularly built, and the ſtreets are narrow. There is a large and elegant new church in it. Four religious houſes were erected there at a very early period. Firſt, a priory of regular canons, ſuppoſed to have been founded by the Danes, and is called the priory of St. Peter, and ſaint Paul of Selſker. Its prior ſat in parliament, as a baron. The church ſtill remains, with a large ſteeple in the centre.

Second, the priory of St. John and St. Bridget, for knights hoſpitallers, founded in the twelfth century, by William Marſhall, earl of Pembroke. There remains yet part of the old church, without the walls, which has been ſince converted into a Roman catholick chapel.

Third, the grey friars had a convent there, in the thirteenth century, built in the reign of Henry III.

Fourth, St. Mary Magdalen, a leper hoſpital, erected in the year 1408, the tenth of Henry IV.

The

The trade of Wexford is not very extenſive. It conſiſts chiefly in barley and malt, of which it exports large quantities; and in beer, beef, hides, tallow and butter. In 1763 it contained one thouſand three hundred houſes, of which ſix hundred and fifty were ſlated. In 1788, it had one thouſand four hundred and twelve. But its chief boaſt and ornament is a magnificent wooden bridge, over the river Slaney, which was built by Mr. Samuel Cox, an American, who erected thoſe of Derry, Waterford, Portumna, and Roſs. It is one thouſand five hundred and fifty-four feet long, and thirty-four broad, ſtanding on ſeventy-five piers of piles, of ſix uprights each, with a portcullis, or draw-bridge, for veſſels to paſs through. It was begun June the twelfth, 1794, and was finiſhed in February 1795; and ſtands in twenty feet water. This magnificent bridge was built by a ſubſcription of 14,000 l.

The general riſing of the rebels, the defeat of the North Cork detachment at Oulart, and the taking of Enniſcorthy, had ſpread ſo great an alarm, that two hundred of the Donegal regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, arrived at Wexford, on the twenty-ſeventh day of May, to ſtrengthen the garriſon there, conſiſting of the remainder of the North Cork, which did not amount to three hundred effective men: the Healthfield and Enniſcorthy cavalry, captain Ogle's infantry, the Enniſcorthy infantry, and the Wexford infantry, commanded by doctor Jacob, and the Scarawalſh infantry, the Wexford and Taghmon cavalry. As an additional reinforcement to the garriſon, a detachment of the Meath regiment and four officers, under the command of captain Adams, and one corporal and ſeventeen gunners of the royal artillery, with two howitzers, commanded by lieutenant Birch, marched from Duncannon-fort for Wexford, on Tueſday the twenty-ninth day of May.

The firſt night they arrived at Taghmon,* where they expected to be reinforced by eighty of the thirteenth regiment, under major Scott, and four companies of the Meath regiment, commanded by the earl of Bective. Though theſe troops did not arrive in time to join them, the Meath detachment ſet out on their march, near two hours before day, having been encouraged to do ſo by the country people, who gave them the

* See Plate III. 6.

the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that they would not be moleſted on their march; though in doing ſo, they had no other deſign, but to expoſe them to a numerous body of rebels who lay in ambuſh for them.

When they arrived within four miles of Wexford, having ſeen ten or twelve men on an eminence near the road, they prepared for action; but after ſome time, not perceiving an enemy, they renewed their march. Having arrived near the mountain of Forth,‡ three miles from Wexford, where the rebel camp was formed, they were ſurrounded on all ſides by a great number of rebels, who raiſed a white flag, and ſoon after began a very ſevere fire, accompanied by the moſt dreadful yells.

The militia, panick ſtruck by the numbers of the enemy, and the darkneſs of the night, betook themſelves to flight; in conſequence of which, eighty-nine of the privates, and three officers, including captain Adams, who commanded, were cut to pieces; and of the artillery, four gunners were killed; a corporal and eleven men were taken priſoners, and the howitzers and ammunition fell into the hands of the rebels. As ſoon as they had taken the artillery men, they were proceeding to put them to death; but a rebel having aſked them of what religion they were, a gunner of the name of Dungannon, anſwered, that they were Roman catholicks, which ſaved their lives; though in fact, ſix of them were proteſtants. Dungannon being a papiſt, knew the object of the queſtion.‖

Lieutenant Birch, of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who commanded a detachment of that corps, gave an account of that diſaſtrous affair, in the following letter to major Stewart of his own regiment:

" Sir, Duncannon-fort, 23d of July, 1798.

" Some time ſince I related to lieutenant-general Stratton the circumſtances which produced the loſs of the howitzers, under my command, in the moſt collected manner I could.

" On Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, I left this, with two howitzers, one corporal and ſeventeen gunners, ſixty-ſix privates of the Meath regiment, and four officers, under the command of captain Adams. At Taghmon we underſtood we were to be reinforced by eighty of the thirteenth regiment, under major Scott, and four companies of the Meath, under lord Bective, from Waterford. Major-general Fawcett joined us, but

‡ Plate III. 6, 7.

‖ See Andrew Sheppard's affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 1.

but the other troops not arriving, we proceeded on our march to Wexford. We were given to underſtand by every one we met on our march that we ſhould meet with no oppoſition between us and Wexford; and having no ſuſpicion that the rebels were aſſembled ſo near us, we were not ordered to take any caution againſt a ſurpriſe. Within four miles of Wexford we perceived about ten or twelve men aſſembled on a hill, near the road, on which we prepared for action; but after remaining in that ſituation ſome time, perceiving no further appearance of oppoſition, we were ordered to limber up and proceed. Having proceeded ſome diſtance, at the foot of a high mountain, we were ſuddenly attacked by ſeveral thouſands of the rebels, who ſupported a ſharp fire, with loud ſhouts, on all ſides againſt us; before they opened their fire, they hoiſted a white flag, and two or three hats on very long poles, for a few ſeconds. After the firſt fire the militia betook themſelves to flight, having thrown down moſt of their arms. We in vain attempted to prepare again for action, but our horſes, which were not trained to fire, grew furious and unmanageable, ſo that it was impoſſible to do any thing; and they threw us into ſuch inſtant confuſion, that, with the ſudden flight of the infantry, we found it utterly impoſſible to ſpike the howitzers. Three of the Meath officers, with moſt of their men, were killed, and one taken. On our part, beſides the howitzers, four gunners killed; one corporal, eleven gunners taken, two of whom were afterwards killed at Roſs, the reſt have arrived here ſafe; two gunners and myſelf eſcaped."

This victory, and the acquiſition of ſo large a quantity of arms and ammunition, inſpired the rebels with boldneſs, and induced great numbers to flock to their ſtandard; but nothing contributed ſo much to this, as the fanaticiſm which the prieſts kindled in the ignorant multitude, by aſſuring them in their ſermons and exhortations which they conſtantly preached in their camps, that it was the will of God to root out hereſy; and to give their holy religion an aſcendancy, was manifeſt, by his enabling them, who were unprovided with arms, and ignorant of the uſe of them, to overthrow the ſoldiers of an heretical government, who were well-armed and diſciplined; and they frequently took muſket-balls out of their pockets, and aſſured them that they had been hit by them in battle; but that the balls of hereticks could make no impreſſion

on

on them, nor upon any true Roman catholick, who was fortified by faith. At the ſame time, they aſſured the miſguided multitude, that they could diſcomfit and diſperſe the heretick troops, by throwing chaff or ſand at them.* The gunners, whom the rebels took priſoners, were compelled to ſerve in their army.

Major-general Fawcett marched from Duncannon-fort† to Taghmon,‡ with eighty of the thirteenth regiment, and a party of the Meath, to ſupport the detachment under captain Adams; but on hearing of their defeat, he returned. As ſoon as lieutenant-colonel Maxwell was informed of that event, he marched out with two hundred of the Donegal regiment, and about one hundred and fifty yeomen cavalry, to ſupport the thirteenth regiment, who were expected that morning at Wexford. When he arrived at the foot of the Forth ‖ mountain, near the place where the detachment of the Meath regiment was cut to pieces, he was attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who maintained a heavy fire on his party, from behind rocks, hedges and houſes, which lay at the foot of the mountain; and they diſcharged ſome ſhots at them from the howitzers, which they had taken that morning. For the purpoſe of embarraſſing our troops, they drove a number of horſes along the road amongſt them, which, in ſome meaſure, produced the deſired effect; and the confuſion was very much encreaſed by the precipitate retreat of the cavalry, who, pent up in a narrow road, where they could not form or render any poſſible ſervice, and at the ſame time, expoſed to the enemy's fire, found it neceſſary, for their ſafety, to fly to Wexford. On this a great body of the rebels ruſhed down from the mountain, with a view of cutting off the retreat of the remainder of the troops, and which they would have effected, but that the Donegal regiment repulſed them by a heavy and well-directed fire. At laſt, colonel Maxwell perceiving that he would riſk much, and that no poſſible advantage could be derived from maintaining his poſt againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of numbers, ordered a retreat. In this action, lieutenant-colonel Watſon, formerly of the ſixty-fifth regiment, who had retired to Wexford, and who volunteered on this occaſion, loſt his life, and ſome privates of the Donegal were killed and wounded.

* Appendix, No. XX. See the affidavits of Fleming, Sheppard, Grandy, and Sterne.
† Plate III. 9. ‡ Ibid. 6. ‖ Ibid. 6, 7.

On Monday the twenty-eighth day of May, the military, and loyal inhabitants of Wexford, began to put it in a ſtate of defence, by forming barriers at the different avenues leading to it, through which no perſon was allowed to go, without a paſs obtained from the chief magiſtrate of the town, or one of the officers on guard. The barriers conſiſted of walls rudely made of large ſtones, with an interval in the centre, which was filled up with large blocks of timber, occaſionally removed, to let the cavalry, patroles and videttes, paſs and repaſs. On Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, a detachment of the Donegal regiment, and ſome yeomen corps, marched in. On Wedneſday the thirtieth of May, about four o'clock in the morning, the drums beat to arms, on receiving intelligence, that a detachment of the Meath regiment had been cut off; at which the people, being much alarmed, ran about the town in great confuſion, and numbers of them went on board veſſels in the river, ſailed out of gun-ſhot, and remained at anchor, waiting the event of an attack, which they expected would be made on the town. The conſternation was much increaſed by the following circumſtances: At a very early hour they beheld the remote end of the wooden bridge in a ſtate of conflagration, and the flames advanced ſo rapidly, that it would have been ſoon conſumed, if the inhabitants of Wexford had not extinguiſhed them. It was ſet on fire by a body of rebels, whoſe deſign in deſtroying it was, to prevent the garriſon from receiving a reinforcement of troops, and to cut off their retreat, when they ſhould be attacked by the rebel army encamped on the mountain of Forth.

Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, after he returned, held a council of war, when it was reſolved to evacuate the town, as not tenable, for the following reaſons: The rebels encamped on the Three Rock mountain, not leſs in number than ten thouſand, and emboldened by their recent victories, and the large quantity of arms and ammunition which they had acquired, meditated an immediate attack on Wexford, and had even put themſelves in motion for that purpoſe; and it was well known, that its rebellious inhabitants, who had been ſometime organized, and were well ſupplied with arms and ammunition, would have fired on the garriſon from the windows, while they were defending themſelves from the rebels outſide; of which they had ſome convincing proofs.

Two

Two perſons were diſcovered with arms and ammunition in a houſe near one of the barriers, where a cannon was planted, ready to fire on the gunners. A perſon who was ſent out of town to reconnoitre, the evening before it was evacuated, was fired at from a houſe in John-ſtreet, as he was returning. The garriſon were ſo much afraid, that the diſloyal inhabitants, following the example of thoſe at Enniſcorthy, would ſet fire to the town, while they were engaged in its defence, that the mayor would not permit the bakers to heat their ovens, in conſequence of which the troops were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of bread: Proviſions were apparently ſo ſcarce, that the king's troops were almoſt ſtarved; and yet as ſoon as the rebels entered the town, long tables, well ſerved with food, were laid for them in the ſtreets.

Many of the ſoldiers, who compoſed the garriſon, were diſpirited by the repeated advantages obtained by the rebels, particularly over the Meath regiment, and by the retreat of the Donegal regiment that morning from the mountain of Forth. Some of them were mutinous, and refuſed to do duty. The conſternation began to grow general through the garriſon.

Some gentlemen of conſequence went to the gaol to liberate Mr. Bagenal Harvey; but he, perceiving that the rebels, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed, were on the point of gaining the town, refuſed to accept their offer.

On the evacuation of the town by our troops, and before Bagenal Harvey had quitted the gaol, or had taken an open and decided part in ſupporting the rebellion, he conſulted Gladwin the gaoler, whom he conſidered a man of integrity, what line of conduct he would adviſe him to purſue; and he propoſed, that they ſhould both ſteal privately out of town, and go to Duncannon fort; and at the ſame time he aſſured him, that if he would ſurrender himſelf to the general officer who commanded there, and make a complete and unequivocal renunciation of his errors, it would remove every ſtain and ſuſpicion which his former conduct had brought upon his character; but unfortunately for him, Mrs. Dixon entering the gaol at that moment, he related to her what Gladwin had ſaid; on which ſhe declared, "That as he had begun the buſineſs with them, he muſt go through with it;" which induced him, wavering at that moment, to preponderate on the ſide of rebellion.

As this gentleman made a conſpicuous figure in the rebellion, in conſequence of which his life and property were forfeited to the laws of his country, I ſhall ſay ſomething of his character and ſituation in life.

He was of a very reſpectable proteſtant family in the county of Wexford, and inherited an eſtate of above 2000l. a year from his father, which he had increaſed conſiderably by his œconomy. He received the rudiments of his education in Trinity College, Dublin, and was afterwards called to the Iriſh bar, which he attended during his father's life. His figure was ſmall, and his countenance, though ugly and rather mean, was expreſſive. He was univerſally allowed to be a man of humanity, and of the ſtricteſt honour and integrity. His firſt couſin was married to general Keugh, another rebel chieftain, whoſe friendſhip he warmly cultivated, and to whoſe houſe he reſorted whenever he went to Wexford. His political opinions, like thoſe of his friend, were founded on principles of metaphyſical abſtraction, which often end in the deſtruction of thoſe who cheriſh them, in the ſubverſion of all ſocial order, the degradation of greatneſs, and the plunder of wealth. He naturally had a diſcontent and a gloomineſs of mind, which made him prone to find fault with the forms of our excellent conſtitution, which he wiſhed to reform. Conſtantly aſſociating with men who openly profeſſed ſimilar principles, but who, different from him, were actuated by the malignant hope of riſing to wealth and conſideration, from obſcurity and poverty, during a ſeaſon of general confuſion; from a moderate reformiſt, he gradually became an inveterate anarchiſt and a rebel.

In conſequence of information given by Anthony Perry, of Inch, to the magiſtrates at Gorey, on the twenty-third of May, Mr. Harvey was taken and committed to the gaol of Wexford, on the Saturday night following, at eleven o'clock; and in conſequence of charges made by the ſame perſon, Mr. James Boyd arreſted at day-break, on Whitſunday, Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark,* eight miles from Wexford, and lodged him in the county gaol.

When Mr. Boyd firſt appeared, Fitzgerald laid his hand on his breaſt, and made the moſt ſolemn aſſurance of unfeigned loyalty; yet a great quantity of pikes were found in his parlour, ready mounted, and fit for ſervice. Edward Hay ſlept in the ſame bed-chamber with him.

After

* Plate III. 4.

After his arreſt, he affected many delays, in hopes of being reſcued by the rebels, who had riſen, and were approaching his houſe in great numbers; but Mr. Boyd compelled him by menaces to ſet out for Wexford.

On the ſame day Mr. Boyd arreſted and committed Mr. John Colclough, of Ballyteigue,* in the barony of Forth, eleven miles from Wexford. They were all bailed the day before the evacuation of that town; but it was at the ſame time agreed, that one of them ſhould remain in priſon, as a hoſtage for the reſt, and that fell to the lot of Mr. Harvey.

But to return to the evacuation of Wexford, which took place the thirtieth of May. The neceſſity of that meaſure was fully proved by the following circumſtance: That all the popiſh inhabitants of Wexford, with but few exceptions, diſplayed their rebellious principles in the moſt ſanguine manner, as ſoon as the king's troops left it, and produced great quantities of arms, which they would have turned againſt them, if the town had been attacked.

Such was the zeal of the rebels, that ſome of them endeavoured to ſeduce the ſoldiers of the Donegal regiment, during the ſhort time they were in Wexford;† and one of them in the ſuburb through which they retreated, brought to his door two loaded muſkets, to fire at the column when they were at ſome diſtance; but a Donegal ſoldier, whom he did not perceive, happened to be near, and ſhot him.

The evacuation of the town, which for prudential reaſons was not announced till the troops began their march, threw its loyal inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation. Thoſe who foreſaw that the event muſt have taken place, embarked a day or two before, in ſuch veſſels as they could procure; but thoſe who had no intimation of it till the retreat began, got on board, precipitately, any veſſels, even without decks, which happened to be near the ſhore. Some proteſtants, of active and approved loyalty, dreading the immediate vengeance of the rebels, waded up to their middle, to ſmall boats, in which they were to be carried to ſhips or ſloops; and the boatmen, in many inſtances, exacted three or four guineas, for conveying them but one or two hundred yards. Thoſe whom infirmity

* Plate III. 10.

† Matthew Murphy, and others, were tried by a court-martial the 31ſt of March, 1800, for having tried to ſeduce the Donegal regiment at Wexford.

infirmity or the want of money precluded from the hope of eſcaping by ſea, abandoned themſelves to deſpair, dreading the fate of the Enniſcorthy loyaliſts.

Part of the garriſon marched out of the barrier rather irregularly, and with precipitation, about an hour before the main body, conſiſting of the following troops: The Scarawalſh infantry, commanded by captain Cornock; the Enniſcorthy, by captain Pounden; and ſome loyaliſts in coloured clothes. Part of the North Cork who were at the barrier, perceiving them, exclaimed, "What! the yeomanry and loyaliſts, who fought with us at Enniſcorthy, are retreating; and ſome of the yeomen of this town have united with the rebels: We won't ſtay here to be ſacrificed;" on that they ſuddenly joined them. Captain Snowe, of the North Cork, endeavoured to make them return; but finding that he could not influence them, thought it his duty to head them, not only to prevent them from committing outrages, but for their own preſervation, to keep them in a ſtate of ſubordination.

This party amounted to about two hundred, including the ſoldiers of the North Cork. The main body of the garriſon, conſiſting of the Donegal militia, part of the North Cork, and many corps of yeoman infantry and cavalry, followed in about an hour after, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maxwell.

When the firſt party had advanced about four miles, they were informed that a large body of rebels lay in wait for them, at a ſmall village called Mayglaſs,* in the barony of Forth, about two miles further on. They, therefore, by the advice of captain Cornock, took a circuitous road towards the ſea, and avoided them, which was very fortunate, as they might have been overpowered by the ſuperiority of their numbers.

Diſappointed of their object, the greater part of the rebels diſperſed; however, about five hundred of them, who remained in a ſtrong poſition at Mayglaſs, attempted to oppoſe colonel Maxwell's party, who routed and killed a good many of them.

About ſeven miles from Wexford, captain Snowe overtook Mr. John Colclough and his wife in a phaeton; and as he, from reſiding in that country, and from being a rebel chieftain, had great influence there, the captain reſolved to detain him as a hoſtage, to prevent any attack from

* Plate III. 8.

from being made on his detachment in their retreat. During their march, large bodies of rebels frequently appeared behind the hedges, ready to oppoſe them; and whenever that happened, captain Snowe obliged Mr. Colclough to ſtand up in his phaeton, as a token of amity; at other times, Mr. Colclough waved his hat in the air; on which the rebels diſperſed, which evinced the great reſpect they bore him.

He had been liberated the day before at Wexford, and ſaid, he was going to his houſe at Ballyteigue, in the barony of Forth; though in fact, he was proceeding to join the rebels; yet, with ſingular diſſimulation, he, ſtanding in his phaeton, drank the king's health, and ſaid, "Captain Snowe, remember that I am a loyal ſubject: I was committed on a charge grounded on the malicious information of a villain."

Next day Mrs. Colclough triumphantly entered Wexford, which was in poſſeſſion of the rebels, in her phaeton, adorned with green emblems.

They compelled Mr. Colclough to accompany them to the river Scar,* where the tide being full, which made it impaſſable, they were under the neceſſity of making a detour of at leaſt ten miles.†

About ſix miles from Duncannon fort, when it was extremely dark, they were attacked and fired on in the rear, by a body of rebel horſe, commanded by John Murphy, of Loughnageer, who afterwards headed the Roſsgarland corps of rebels, and was concerned in burning the barn at Scullabogue. The ſoldiers, after firing a few random ſhots, were panick ſtruck, and fled to Taylor's-town bridge; on which having thronged in great numbers, they were very much expoſed to a heavy fire from the rebels, who were poſted in an adjacent furze brake on a hill.

Many perſons were killed on the bridge, and among them two women, one a ſoldier's wife, the other a beautiful young girl, extremely well dreſſed, who was the daughter of an Enniſcorthy loyaliſt, and had retreated with them from that town.

About fifty of the North Cork, and the yeomanry, were taken priſoners, and a good many were killed. James Neale, one of the band of muſick, his wife, and another woman, who became their priſoners, were perforated with pikes in a moſt barbarous manner. After having ſtripped them of the principal part of their clothes, their bodies were conveyed to a newly-ploughed field, and covered lightly with ſods.

Neale's

* Plate III. 8. 9.

† They retreated by Bridgetown, Baldwinſtown, and Dunarmuck, Plate III. 9.

Neale's wife, in whom life was not quite extinguiſhed, recovered in the night, and removed the ſods; and finding her huſband's bloody ſhirt and waiſtcoat, ſhe covered herſelf with them, and crept to Tintern, from whence ſhe was ſent on a car to Duncannon-fort, and from thence to Waterford, where ſhe was completely cured in the hoſpital. Her legs, thighs and arms had many pike wounds; and her head was ſwollen and ulcerated with them.‡

As captain Snowe's party, attacked in a ſtrange country, and during a dark night, were panick-ſtruck and diſperſed, he was left quite alone, and arrived at Duncannon-fort about ſeven in the morning, after having experienced various dangers and diſtreſſes, and overcome with fatigue and hunger. Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell's party retreated by Mayglaſs, Bridgetown, Baldinſtown, and Dunarmuck, and the paſs of the river Scar, at Barry's-town; where, having been obſtructed by the tide, they halted ſome time to refreſh the troops; and thence to Duncannon-fort, by Foulkes's mill. Thus the retreat of the garriſon of Wexford was in a great meaſure performed, during a dark night, in a country whoſe inhabitants were hoſtile, and in a ſtate of inſurrection; yet in the courſe of their march of eighteen hours, they had not received any nouriſhment.

Before I proceed to give the reader a deſcription of the entry of the rebels into the town of Wexford, of which they got poſſeſſion the thirtieth of May, and of the events which occurred there, I ſhall endeavour to give him an idea of their different ſtrong poſts and encampments, and of the objects which they were deſirous of attaining; and in this, their plans appear to have been ſyſtematick, and guided by policy and foreſight.

Confident of ſucceſs, from their recent victories, and the numerous hordes aſſembled on the mountain of Forth and Vinegar-hill; and as multitudes were hourly flocking to their ſtandard, they divided their army into three diviſions.*

One

‡ She was far gone with child; yet ſhe was delivered at the uſual time, and the child is living.

* The zeal and policy, with which the rebellion in the county of Wexford was conducted, aroſe from a plan, which lord Edward Fitzgerald had formed, of landing there a few troops from France, with a number of good officers, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, in a few remarkably faſt-ſailing frigates.

Report of the Secret Committee, Appendix, XVI. p. 136.

One under the command of Bagenal Harvey, and father Philip Roche, of Poulpearſy, in the pariſh of Killan, was to form a camp on Carrickbyrne-hill,* for the purpoſe of attacking the town of New Roſs. Another, under father Kearns, captain Doyle, and captain Redmond, nephew of father Redmond, pariſh prieſt of Ferns, marched to Vinegar-hill, from whence they were to proceed to take Newtown-barry.† The third, commanded by Anthony Perry of Inch, father Michael Murphy of Ballycanor, and father John Murphy of Boolavogue, was deſtined to attack Gorey; and having taken it, to march to Dublin.

By taking Newtown-barry, they would completely command the river Slaney, having previouſly gained Enniſcorthy and Wexford, ſituated on it; beſides the advantage of poſſeſſing the harbour of the latter.

Newtown-barry is in a defile ſurrounded with very high and ſteep mountains; and, being on the principal road which leads to the counties of Carlow and Kildare, it would open a communication, and afford a perfect co-operation with the rebels in thoſe counties, and enable them to prevent the arrival of reinforcements, or the conveyance of ammunition to the king's troops from that quarter. The acquiſition of Old Roſs,‡ would give them the command of a very fine navigable river, and open a communication with the county of Kilkenny rebels; beſides, it is now well known, that moſt of the diſaffected inhabitants of Munſter would have riſen in maſs, as ſoon as that town had fallen into their hands.

The towns of Gorey,‖ Arklow,§ and Wicklow, were ſo thinly garriſoned, that the leaders of the third column were confident of proceeding to Dublin, without any material impediment. They knew alſo that immenſe numbers would flock to their ſtandard in their progreſs; and that the rebels in the metropolis, (with whom they held a conſtant communication) bold, numerous, well-armed, and organized, would riſe on their approach.

Government having received intelligence of the intended attack on Newtown-barry, colonel L'Eſtrange was ſent to defend it on the thirtieth of May, with a detachment of the King's-county militia, a few dragoons, and two battalion guns; the whole, including two corps of yeomen, one infantry, the other cavalry, amounting to about three hundred and ſixty. As the inhabitants had been in conſtant expectation for ſome days of an attack from the rebels encamped on Vinegar-hill, all the avenues to the town had been occupied by patroles, both day and

* Plate III. 5. † Plate II. 5. ‡ Plate VII. 5. ‖ Plate II. 4. § Ibid. 1.

night, to prevent a ſurpriſe. On the evening of the thirty-firſt of May, they were ſuddenly alarmed by the arrival of a young woman in the town, with the utmoſt precipitation, and crying out, "Here they are! here they are!" She had been a priſoner to the rebels on Vinegar-hill, where ſhe was ſo unfortunate as to ſee her two brothers put to death, with extreme torture. In the frenzy of grief, ſhe, at the riſk of her life, ſeized and mounted a horſe, and was ſo lucky as to make her eſcape, though cloſely purſued.

Next day, the firſt of June, colonel L'Eſtrange went out with a party of dragoons to reconnoitre, in the direction of Vinegar-hill. When he advanced about three miles, he perceived the rebels advancing in great force, and ſo concealed by a thick wood, and large hedge-rows, that he ſuddenly found himſelf in the midſt of them. After exchanging a few ſhots, he returned to the town, and made the beſt diſpoſition he could for its defence. Soon after the enemy began to advance in two large columns, one at each ſide of the river, and under cover of very thick woods, which are on high hills that ſurround the town. As they approached, they communicated with each other, by loud ſhouts and yells, which ſerved as ſignals to announce the moment of attack.

About three o'clock, the rebels fired ſome round and ſome canniſter ſhot into the town, which obliged the out-poſts to retreat into it. As colonel L'Eſtrange perceived a deſign in the rebel column at the oppoſite ſide of the river to get on his rear, and to ſurround him; and as his ſmall force would be inſufficient to guard the different avenues leading to the town, after conſulting with his officers, he reſolved to abandon it, and to take poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, which commanded it; and by doing ſo, he ſtrengthened his force by its concentration.

The rebels, imagining that the king's troops, intimidated by their numbers, had fled, ruſhed into the town, and proceeded to plunder and burn it. The yeomen, enraged at ſeeing their families and their property in ſuch imminent danger, applied to captain Kerr, who commanded the yeomen cavalry, to lead them on; ſaying, that they would conquer or die. He aſked permiſſion to do ſo, and obtained it.

Aſſiſted by lieutenant-colonel Weſtenra, and major Marley, they immediately advanced into the town, which was full of rebels, who were plundering and burning it; and who would have completely demoliſhed it,

it, but that a few loyal ſubjects, by keeping up a conſtant fire from their houſes, retarded and checked their deſtructive progreſs. While the rebels were thus engaged, our troops attacked them with a heavy fire of grape-ſhot and muſketry, which routed them ſo completely, that they fled in every direction; on which the cavalry charged, and killed great numbers of them; having purſued them about three miles on the Enniſcorthy road. Another large body of them, who took a different direction, re-aſſembled on a hill over the town, but were charged and routed by the cavalry, who cut down great numbers of them in the fields adjacent to it. On that occaſion the yeomen acted with ſingular valour. The number killed was about four hundred, and among them two prieſts, who were dreſſed in their veſtments. This defeat was peculiarly mortifying to the rebels, from the great numbers which they had in the action; for father Roche, the general, who commanded there, owned afterwards, when a priſoner at Wexford, that moſt of the men encamped at Vinegar-hill were engaged in the attack on Newtown-barry.

Father Redmond, pariſh-prieſt of Ferns, led his pariſhioners to that action, in which numbers of them were killed. He was tried for it, but acquitted, becauſe people were afraid to proſecute; of which colonel St. Leger, preſident of the court martial, aſſured me; and ſome perſons, who ſaw him at their head, informed me of it.

An immenſe body of rebels marched from the camp on the mountain of Forth, near Wexford, on the thirtieth of May, to aſſiſt thoſe who were in the vicinity of Gorey,* in attacking it. They encamped the firſt night at Oulart,† with an intent the next day to take poſt in two diviſions, one on Ballymore‖ mountain; the other, on Ballymenane-hill;‡ and after having formed a junction, to have attacked that town. Captain White, of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, who commanded the garriſon of Gorey, having heard of their approach, marched out on the morning of the firſt day of June, with twenty-five of the Antrim, twenty-five of the North Cork, twenty diſmounted yeomen of the Gorey corps, and detachments of the Ballaghkeene, Gorey, and Camolin cavalry, and attacked the Ballymenane diviſion, about three miles from Gorey, on the Ballycanoe-road.§ After ſuſtaining the fire of the infantry for about a quarter of

* See Plate II. 4. † Ibid. III. 2. ‖ Ibid. II. 6, 7. ‡ Ibid. II. 5. § Ibid. II. 6.

an hour, they were broken and fled; on which the cavalry charged and killed about two hundred of them.

It was very fortunate, that the action took place before a junction could be formed. As ſoon as it began, Fitzgerald, Perry, and Roche, rebel generals, who commanded the Ballymenane diviſion, rode off to call up the other; but the deroute took place before it could arrive. On being diſperſed, they joined the other party on Ballymore-hills, meditating an attack on Gorey.

On Whitſunday, a horſe patrole from Gorey took three rebels in arms in the adjacent country, and hanged them in the town. They owned in their laſt moments, that they were incited by their prieſt to enter into the rebellion.

Intelligence having been communicated to government, that the ſame body of rebels, with a large reinforcement from Vinegar-hill, meditated another attack on Gorey, to oppoſe them, general Loftus was ordered to proceed from Dublin to Rathdrum, in the county of Wicklow, the twenty-ninth of May, with two hundred of the Dunbarton fencible infantry, and fifty of the 5th dragoon guards, which detachment was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Scott, who, on the following day, cleared the woods of Donane and the Devil's-glynn, of the banditti which had attacked Newtown-mount-kennedy the preceding day.

General Loftus, after having made ſuch arrangements as the nature of the circumſtances would admit, for the defence of Wicklow and Rathdrum, proceeded to Arklow, agreeably to ſubſequent orders received from general Lake.

On the ſecond of June, he was informed by letter from general Lake, that general Euſtace and colonel Walpole would join him with ſome troops for the purpoſe of co-operating with him.

On the evening of the ſecond of June, general Loftus, having been informed that colonel Walpole was actually arrived at Carnew,* ſent an expreſs to him with orders to join him next morning at Gorey.

I think it right to inform the reader, that lieutenant-colonel Walpole was ſent from Dublin with orders to join general Loftus with what troops he could procure from general Dundas at Naas, Kilcullen, and Baltinglaſs; and that he marched with eight hundred men obtained from him,

* Plate II. 4.

him, with two ſix-pounders and a howitzer, by Baltinglaſs and Tinahely,* to Carnew. He was not veſted with any command, and received no other orders but to march the troops to Gorey, and to leave them under the command of general Loftus.

When colonel Scott's detachment, conſiſting of two hundred fencible infantry, fifty dragoons, one hundred men drawn from the Antrim regiment, and two curricle guns, were moving from Arklow on the morning of the third of June, general Loftus received a letter from colonel Walpole, ſtating, that he thought Carnew a much better place to attack the rebels, poſted on Ballymore-hill, from, than Gorey;‡ that he had reconnoitred them twice, and had got the beſt information of their deſigns; that his force was able to beat the whole rebel army; and that therefore he would not move his troops from Carnew, but that he would himſelf meet general Loftus at Wicklow.

The general having conſulted with colonel Scott and captain Ormſby, it was agreed, that he muſt have meant Arklow. Colonel Scott therefore moved forward with his detachment towards Gorey; general Loftus having ſent an expreſs to colonel Walpole to meet him at that town, leaving Arklow in charge of the yeomen.

General Loftus received a ſecond letter from colonel Walpole, excuſing himſelf for not coming, and ſaying, that he had received the beſt information concerning the rebels, and had reconnoitred them himſelf; however, on the evening of the third of June, colonel Walpole arrived at Gorey, with part of his troops; for, notwithſtanding the peremptory orders he had received to bring the whole of them, he left two companies of infantry at Carnew.

Colonel Walpole, though not veſted with any command, being too eager for fame, and deſirous of enjoying the principal merit of any action that might be achieved, was rather forward and decided in giving his opinion; and though the officers who were his ſuperior, not only in rank and authority, but in knowledge and experience, did not implicitly yield to it, they paid ſome deference to him, on account of his confidential ſituation in the caſtle of Dublin, and the opportunity it afforded him of acquiring the beſt information. He ſaid, he had obtained orders to collect

* Plate II. 3. ‡ Ibid. 4.

left the troops which he had under his command, and to proceed to the county of Wexford, to co-operate with him, and general Euſtace, who, he ſaid, was in the front of Gorey, towards Wexford; but unfortunately for general Loftus, it happened that general Johnſon, finding himſelf in an alarming and critical ſituation at Roſs, detained general Euſtace there, for the purpoſe of availing himſelf of his aſſiſtance.

At their firſt interview, colonel Walpole ſaid, that he ſuppoſed general Loftus would attack the rebels next morning; and that he hoped he would afterwards march, or permit him to march, to Enniſcorthy; and after having taken that town, to proceed to Wexford.

In conſequence of this extraordinary converſation, general Loftus took colonel Scott and captain Ormſby of the Wexford regiment aſide, and lamented to them, that ſuch a man as colonel Walpole was ſent to act with him, as he was known to poſſeſs the confidence of the lord lieutenant, but ſhewed a downright unwillingneſs to obey general Loftus's orders.' It was then ſettled, that colonel Walpole ſhould not be permitted to march to Enniſcorthy, until they had received ſome information from general Euſtace; but that, as colonel Walpole ſeemed ſo decided on attacking the rebels on Ballymore-hill, from his knowledge of their poſition, he agreed, that they ſhould do ſo in conjunction next morning, provided it appeared feaſible on reconnoitring them.

General Loftus then made the following arrangements for that purpoſe:

At nine o'clock on the morning of the fourth of June, lieutenant-colonel Walpole was to march with the main body of the troops, two ſix-pounders and a howitzer, towards Ballymore, by Clough,* where he was to be joined by one hundred men whom he had left at Carnew. The garriſon of that town were to take poſt at Camolin,† three miles from Gorey, and to wait for further orders.

Lord Ancram was directed to march from Newtownbarry, fifteen miles diſtant from Gorey, with two hundred and fifty of the King's county militia, and his own detachment of dragoons, and to take poſt at Scarawalſh-bridge, twelve miles from Gorey, there to obſerve the motions of the enemy on Vinegar-hill; and if he received no orders before the afternoon, he was to meet colonel Walpole at Ferns.‖

Lieutenant-

* Plate II. 5. † Ibid. ‖ Ibid. 6, 7.

Lieutenant-colonel Scott, with two hundred of the Dunbarton fencibles and fifty of the 5th dragoons, under the command of general Loftus, moved towards Ballymore, by Ballycanew,* to the left of colonel Walpole, in a ſouthern direction. Theſe two roads diverge ſoon after you leave Gorey; and at the diſtance of about five miles from that town, there is a communication between them by a croſs road running from eaſt to weſt, and not far from Ballymore, where the two detachments were to have united and to have reconnoitred the rebels.

Captain Mc. Manus, with one hundred of the Antrim militia regiment, was poſted between Gorey and Ballycanew, near a croſs road which led to Clogh, to be ready to protect Gorey, or to ſupport colonel Scott or colonel Walpole, as the occaſion might require. Colonel Walpole was protected on the left by the general himſelf, with colonel Scott and his party, a little more than a mile and a half diſtant from him. On his right, within a mile and a half, he had upwards of one hundred light infantry ordered from Carnew, who were to wait his further orders. General Loftus gave him twelve yeomen gentlemen, as guides, and took ten himſelf for the ſame purpoſe.

General Loftus deſired him to proceed with the utmoſt caution, and to let him know how he went on. The two roads, on which general Loftus and colonel Walpole were to proceed, towards Ballymore, were nearly parallel, and there was a croſs road between them at Clogh, which afforded an eaſy communication.

At a road to the right, leading to Camolin, ſome rebels appeared at a diſtance, on which ſome of the officers, under the command of colonel Walpole, ſuggeſted to him the propriety of forming, or of marching with advanced guards, and flankers; which advice he rejected, and replied, that he was commanding officer. On advancing to the croſs roads near Clogh, ſome more rebels appeared; and captain Duncan, of the artillery, having advanced about two hundred yards before the party, to have a good look out, returned, and informed colonel Walpole, that he had ſeen a man on horſeback with a gun. At the ſame time there was an appearance of rebels in front, and to the right of the road leading to Ballymore-hill.

Had

* Plate M. 6.

Had he any degree of prudence or military ſkill, he would have inſtantly deployed, and formed, which he might eaſily have done, as the adjacent fields were flat and ſpacious; and having done ſo, he ſhould have communicated his ſituation to general Loftus; and having been aſked to do ſo, by ſome of his officers, he replied, by ſaying, that it ſhould be colonel Walpole's, and not general Loftus's action.

On being repeatedly preſſed to ſend an expreſs to general Loftus, he expreſſed his fears that the rebels would eſcape from him. Actuated with the vain glory of arrogating excluſively to himſelf the merit of defeating the rebels, he quitted this very advantageous poſition, and advanced to Tubberneering, a little beyond Clogh, where the road was deep and narrow, and the clay banks on each ſide, with deep trenches, and buſhes on the top were very high. The adjacent fields which were ſmall, with high and thick quick-ſet hedges, had potatoes, corn, and uncut graſs in them, all which afforded ample means of concealment for the rebels, who were advancing towards Gorey; and on ſeeing at a diſtance the king's troops marching, formed an ambuſcade at Tubberneering, to which place colonel Walpole advanced, in a moſt irregular manner. The rebels, taking advantage of his diſadvantageous ſituation, ſuddenly roſe from the adjacent hedges in which they were concealed, and directed a tremendous fire on the king's troops, who were put in the utmoſt confuſion, as great numbers of them fell, without a poſſibility of forming for their defence.

Colonel Walpole, dreſſed in a full uniform, and mounted on a tall grey horſe, formed a conſpicuous object for the rebels, and fell in the firſt onſet. The column was now actually ſurrounded, in a place, which from the height and number of its incloſures, was favourable for the irregular and deſultory warfare of ſavages; at the ſame time that it baffled the efforts of valour and diſcipline.

An attempt was made by a detachment of the 4th dragoon-guards to turn the enemy's right flank, but the cloſeneſs of the country made this impracticable.

Colonel ſir Watkin Williams Wynne, at the ſame time, advanced with the Ancient Britiſh ſencible cavalry, which he commanded, to the front of the infantry, and retook a gun which had fallen into the hands of the rebels; but the gunners having been killed or forced to fly, and the

the artillery horſes having gone off with the limber, he was obliged to abandon it to the enemy.

After having ſuſtained the attack for about three quarters of an hour, with conſiderable diſadvantage on the part of the king's troops, and having loſt their commander, and three pieces of artillery, which were immediately turned againſt them, they began to retreat in great confuſion, as might be expected from raw and inexperienced troops.

The rebels having preſſed hard on them, a general diſmay inſtantly took place, which would probably have been fatal to the whole of the column, had not lieutenant-colonel Cope, of the Antrim militia, been poſted at a ſmall diſtance, with a detachment of his own regiment, and rallied and formed them on the road, to impede the progreſs of the enemy. To this ſmall band of brave men, under the command of that cool and gallant officer, the ſafety of thoſe who eſcaped on that day is in a great meaſure to be imputed.

The column retreated in the utmoſt diſorder to Gorey, colonel Cope diſputing every inch of ground, and covering their retreat. When they arrived there, moſt of the windows were occupied by the rebels, who kept up a heavy fire, and killed many of them; however, they effected their paſſage through the town.

Colonel Cope found great difficulty in leading his men through it; for whenever the rebels fired at them from the windows, they imprudently ruſhed into the houſes whence the ſhots were fired, and obtained revenge by bayoneting the aſſailants.

Of his corps, amounting to one hundred and thirty, he loſt between thirty and forty; and his horſe was wounded in ſuch a manner as to be rendered uſeleſs.

Captain Stark of the Londonderry militia, captain Duncan of the artillery, and captain Armſtrong of the King's county militia were carried into Gorey very badly wounded; but were obliged to retreat to Wicklow, on having their wounds dreſſed, as the rebels were advancing into the town.

As colonel Walpole had made no communication of his ſituation to general Loftus, he remained totally ignorant of it, till he heard a ſmart firing on his right near Clogh; on which he ſent an expreſs to

captain Mc. Manus, who had been conducted by Mr. Hunter Gowan, to go over by the croſs road to ſupport colonel Walpole; but the iſſue of this unfortunate affair was decided ſo quickly, that the main body of our troops having been routed before his arrival, the captain and his detachment were ſurrounded and taken priſoners, after many of them had been killed.

General Loſtus, who was near the village of Ballycanew,* when he heard the firing, puſhed forward with his detachment to Tubberneering; but on his arrival there, had the mortification of ſeeing colonel Walpole and many of his ſoldiers lying dead and naked.

Sir Watkin William Wynne, having ſeen captain Mc. Manus, with a company of the Antrim, advancing to ſupport colonel Walpole, ſent captain Wynne, with a troop of his regiment, to cover them; but the ſurpriſe was ſo ſudden, that his efforts proved ineffectual.

Captain Wynne, on his arrival at the town, after the retreating column had paſſed through it, found that the enemy, who were purſuing them, had attained the entrance of it, and had actually brought one of the guns which they had taken, to bear on the main ſtreet. Thus captain Wynne, cut off from his corps, determined inſtantly on forcing his paſſage by the town, and on cutting his way through the rebels who ſurrounded the gun; and he gallantly effected it, but with the loſs of five yeomen killed, and a few men and horſes wounded.

Several bodies of people having been diſcovered on the hills at the Arklow ſide of Gorey, it was apprehended that freſh parties of rebels were aſſembling to oppoſe the retreat of the column towards Arklow. Sir W. W. Wynne therefore preſſed forward with the cavalry to diſperſe them, but he ſoon diſcovered that they were the proteſtant inhabitants of the town and its vicinity, who, in deſpair, had abandoned their houſes and their property, well knowing that they would have fallen a prey to the cruel and ſanguinary ſpirit of the rebels.

Above one thouſand and ſeventy of them fled on the fourth of June to Arklow, and next day to Wicklow, carrying their wives and children, on above three hundred cars, with which they formed booths or tents on the ſtrand near that town, where they remained near a month, without any means of ſubſiſtence but what they received from charitable contributions.

Sir

* See plate II. 6.

Sir Watkin having got the rear of his command clear of the town, uſed every effort to induce the troops to halt and form; but the panick was ſo great, that all his efforts were fruitleſs, and they ruſhed on precipitately, and in diſorder, even to Arklow. In theſe circumſtances, a council of war was held, and it was determined (probably judiciouſly) but certainly much contrary to the feelings and inclinations of the yeomanry, to retreat to Wicklow, as their houſes and families were expoſed to deſtruction by this meaſure, which however was effected in the courſe of the following night. The town of Arklow ſuffered much leſs than might have been expected during an interval of thirty-ſix hours, between the evacuation of it by the retreating army, and the arrival of major-general Needham there, on Wedneſday the ſixth of June. The main body of the rebels had not approached it; and but a few petty depredations were committed by ſome home inſurgents, who, after having plundered ſome houſes, went off to their aſſociates at Gorey.

The ſecurity of Arklow is to be imputed to the wiſe precaution of the officers commanding the army which retreated to Wicklow; who carried with them, as hoſtages, a great number of its principal diſaffected inhabitants, and whoſe lives would have anſwered for any wanton act of miſchief or barbarity committed by the others.

The defeat of colonel Walpole left general Loftus with but two hundred and fifty men, in a moſt alarming ſituation, and it required not only addreſs, but the moſt prompt and vigorous exertion to extricate himſelf; for, it has been ſince diſcovered, that the rebel army at Vinegar-hill had formed a junction with that which was poſted on Ballymore, making in the whole above twenty thouſand men, for the purpoſe of taking Gorey; and this plan was connected with their main object of attacking the metropolis, which they endeavoured to accompliſh five days after.

The general advanced within three quarters of a mile of Gorey, which he found to be in poſſeſſion of the rebels. He had then no other reſource to ſave his ſmall detachment, but to force his way through that town, or to form a junction with lord Ancram. Large bodies of rebels were ſeen in motion on the adjacent hills, juſt over their heads; and who often fired on them, not only with the guns which they had taken, but with their ſmall arms. In this critical ſtate, any, even the ſmalleſt delay, would have been attended with the loſs of the detachment. He

made his men advance rapidly without returning the enemy's fire, and conſidered himſelf as very fortunate in having the aſſiſtance of ſo able and judicious an officer as colonel Scott. He, general Loftus, and captain Corry, having examined the poſition of the rebels, found that their numbers were immenſe; that the hedge-rows, leading to Gorey, were lined with them; and that all the adjacent hills were occupied by conſiderable numbers, who fired on them with the two ſix-pounders and the howitzer taken from colonel Walpole.

The general, therefore, prudently reſolved to join lord Ancram, at Carnew,§ which could not be effected but by marching round the enemy's right, and by croſſing Slievebuoy* mountain. Lieutenant-colonel Scott moved off on the Camolin† road, while the general remained with the fifty dragoons, to watch the motions of the enemy; and captain Corry, who commanded them, endeavoured to engage the attention of the enemy, and to make them believe that he was moving towards Gorey, by the croſs road leading to the Ballycanew road; and had not captain Corry made this feint, lieutenant-colonel Scott could not have marched unmoleſted to form a junction with lord Ancram, which was effected near Slievebuoy mountain, and by perſevering in not waiting to return the enemy's fire. Carnew was occupied early next morning.

The difficulty of conveying the guns and the tumbrils over that mountain was very great, and could not have been effected, as there was no road for a four-wheel carriage, but for the advice of Mr. Brownrigg of Barndown, who had a perfect knowledge of the country. Thus this ſmall body fairly marched round twenty thouſand rebels; and by the good countenance which they kept, and by preſerving their fire, though conſtantly fired at, they eſcaped without any injury. At midnight general Loftus reached Carnew, where he learned that the light infantry ordered to Camolin to act with colonel Walpole, had, upon his defeat, retreated to Newtownbarry, and that general Euſtace was detained at Roſs to ſupport general Johnſon. Thus he had only the additional ſupport of lord Ancram's party; viz. two hundred and fifty men of the King's county regiment, and eighty Mid Lothian dragoons; but upon lord Ancram's report, that a detachment of the Meath and Donegal regiments had arrived at Newtown-

barry

§ Plate II. 4. * See Plate I. 5. † Ibid. 6.

barry the day before, eſcorting ammunition from general Johnſon, he ordered that detachment to join him; by which he was enabled to ſend detachments for the defence of Arklow and Hacketſtown; and the important poſt of Newtownbarry was well defended.

Had the rebel army taken advantage of their victory, and proceeded to Arklow and Wicklow, thoſe towns muſt have fallen into their hands, and they would probably have marched to, and attacked the metropolis; but, incited by the hope of plundering Gorey and its vicinity, they continued for five days to commit every exceſs and enormity, that the love of rapine and ſavage cruelty could inſpire. The proteſtant church, which was the firſt object of their fanatical rage, they completely diſmantled. They pillaged and deſtroyed the houſes of all the proteſtants, and murdered many of their inmates, who could not make their eſcape. They alſo plundered and demoliſhed the town of Carnew; having harboured inſatiable revenge againſt its inhabitants, for the victory which they obtained over them on the twenty-ſeventh of May.*

A drummer of the name of Hunter, of the Antrim regiment, of the age of twelve years, fell into the hands of the rebels, in the unfortunate affair in which colonel Walpole loſt his life. He carried his drum with him, and when he was conducted to the town of Gorey, with ſome other priſoners, they deſired him to beat it, having intended to make him ſerve them as a drummer; when he, actuated by a ſpirit of enthuſiaſtick loyalty, exclaimed, "That the king's drum ſhould never be beaten for rebels;" and at the ſame inſtant, he leaped on the drum, and broke through both its heads. The inhuman villains, whoſe relentleſs hearts were not ſuſceptible of thoſe refined ſentiments, which would have excited a generous admiration of ſo heroick an act even in an enemy, inſtantly perforated his body with pikes.

In this action, a prieſt attacked captain Duncan of the Royal Iriſh artillery, and wounded him with a piſtol ball, as he was mounting his horſe; but his temerity was ſoon puniſhed, for the captain drew a piſtol from his holſter and laid him proſtrate.

The following anecdote of the Royal Iriſh artillery, whoſe valour has been conſpicuous on all occaſions, deſerves to be recorded: During the confuſion and diſmay which took place among the troops, when they were ſurpriſed in the road at Tubberneering, the gunners of the artillery, with the

* They plundered and burned Ramfort and Clonaltin, the two elegant ſeats of the Meſſrs. Ram.

the moſt deliberate coolneſs levelled one of the hedges of the road, dragged the cannon into the adjacent field, and fired many ſhots at a numerous body of rebels, who were poſted on a high rock, from whence, with their muſketry, they had killed many of our ſoldiers. They drove the rebels from that advantageous poſition, after having killed a great number of them, which contributed materially to prevent the complete deſtruction of the army.

I ſhall refer the reader to the affidavits of Andrew Sheppard, George Taylor and Blakely Ormſby, Appendix, No. XX. 1, 2, 3, for an account of the brutal treatment which they gave their proteſtant priſoners in the town of Gorey. They murdered many perſons of that perſuaſion in the adjacent country. The following occurrence happened there: A proteſtant tenant of Mr. Stephen Ram, of the name of Poole, who bears an uncommon good character, fled from his houſe near Gorey when the rebels got poſſeſſion of it; ſome of his popiſh acquaintances perſuaded him to return, as perſons of his religious faith were not moleſted; but on doing ſo, he found that they meant only to lead him into danger, by putting him in the power of the Romaniſts. He was adviſed to repair to the rebel camp at Gorey, and to procure a paſs there; but he could not obtain it. He was then adviſed to go to father Francis Kavenagh, a prieſt, who had ſupreme power at Gorey, and had a guard of pikemen at his door, to prevent more than one perſon at a time from entering it. On addreſſing him for a protection, he ſaid, "After ſerving the devil all your life, you come to me for a protection," meaning that he had been all his life of the proteſtant perſuaſion. However, he gave him a protection; but in this he acted with diſſimulation, as it was not meant to protect him; for he was arreſted and impriſoned, and narrowly eſcaped with his life. This prieſt was the oldeſt, the beſt beneficed, and reputed one of the moſt reſpectable prieſts in the dioceſe. By his apparent candour and liberality he had inſinuated himſelf into the eſteem and good opinion of the nobility and proteſtant gentry of the country, whoſe houſes he reſorted to conſtantly, and was well received there; and yet his conduct was ſo exceptionable, that general Needham* would have had him tried by a court-martial, and he probably would have ſhared the fate of his coadjutor, father Redmond who was hanged; but that ſome reſpectable perſons, in conſideration

* I heard this from the general and many perſons preſent.

A MAP of NEW ROSS

A MAP
of part of the Country round
ROSS.

ration of his age, and led by their partiality for him, perſuaded the general to diſcharge him. This old hypocrite was very active in the rebel camps.

Being unwilling to break the thread of my narration of the events which took place at Wexford, during three weeks that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of it, before I enter upon that ſubject, I will finiſh the relation of many other tranſactions which happened during that period.

I mentioned before that an immenſe body of rebels had encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill,* for the purpoſe of taking poſſeſſion of Roſs, which is ſix miles diſtant from it.

BATTLE OF ROSS.

Roſs† is a corporate, a poſt, and a borough town, which returned two members to parliament. It is ſituated on a large river, formed by the junction of the Nore and Barrow,‡ which unite about one mile above it, and meeting the river Suir at Dunbrody, runs in a ſouth-eaſt direction by Paſſage, and diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at Hook-tower, from which it is about twenty-five miles diſtant. The navigation to it is very good, and veſſels of near four hundred tons burden can lie cloſe to the quay; for which reaſon it was a place of conſiderable trade, ſo early as the reign of Henry V. and large quantities of corn and proviſions are now annually exported from it. It obtained charters from Henry IV. Richard II. Henry V. and VI. James I. and II.

It was formerly a place of great ſtrength, being ſurrounded with high walls, with towers and baſtions, of which there are conſiderable remains: However, it made but little reſiſtance to Cromwell; though it was defended by lord Taaffe, an able general, who had a numerous garriſon in it. It had many religious houſes, of which there are ſome remains. The whole of the town, except Friary-ſtreet, South-ſtreet, North-ſtreet, the quays, and the ſpace between them and the river, is on a very ſteep deſcent. It is ten miles from Waterford, nineteen from Wexford, and ſixteen from Enniſcorthy.

In conſequence of the encampment at Carrickbyrne, the Donegal, Clare, and Meath regiments of militia, detachments of the Engliſh artillery, the 5th dragoons, and Mid Lothian fencibles, marched into Roſs; and on the fourth of June, the county of Dublin regiment afforded a very

* See Plate III. 5. † Ibid. ‡ Plate II. 5.

very ſeaſonable reinforcement to the garriſon, as the rebels on that evening, with dreadful yells, moved from Carrickbyrne to Corbethill, an eminence about a mile and a half from the town, and from which there is a gradual and uninterrupted deſcent, after having driven in our out-poſt, which had been ſtationed on Lacken-hill.

A perſon, who was forced to attend them in their march, informed me, that they moved by pariſhes and baronies, each having a particular ſtandard; and that in their way they ſtopped at a chapel, where maſs was ſaid at the head of each column, by prieſts who ſprinkled an abundance of holy water on them.

The garriſon, conſiſting of about twelve hundred effective men, and about one hundred and fifty yeomen, under the command of general Johnſon, continued on their arms all night. The infantry and artillery were moſtly in a line outſide the walls of the town, to the eaſt and ſouth ſide of it; the cavalry on the quay, the yeomen infantry on the bridge.

About four o'clock, one of the centinels at an out-poſt ſhot a man who was galloping towards him with a white handkerchief, which he waved in the air as a flag of truce. On examining him, it appeared that his name was Furlong, and that he was ſent by Bagenal Harvey, the rebel general, to propoſe to general Johnſon to ſurrender the town to him, as the following ſummons was found in his pocket:

"Sir,

"As a friend to humanity, I requeſt you will ſurrender the town of Roſs to the Wexford forces, now aſſembled againſt that town; your reſiſtance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the moſt innocent. Fluſhed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irreſiſtible, will not be controled, if they meet with reſiſtance: To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a ſpeedy ſurrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loſs and bloodſhed, as you are ſurrounded on all ſides. Your anſwer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the anſwer.

Camp at Corbethill, I am, Sir,
half paſt three o'clock morning, B. B. HARVEY,
June 5th, 1798. General commanding, &c. &c. &c."

I give the reader a copy of Bagenal Harvey's appointment as commander in chief, which fortunately fell into my hands:

"At

" At a meeting of the commanders of the united army held at Carrickbyrne camp, on the firſt of June, 1798, it was unanimouſly agreed, that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey ſhould be appointed and elected commander in chief of the united army of the county of Wexford, from and after the firſt day of June, 1798.

Signed by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,
NICHOLAS GRAY, ſecretary."

" It was likewiſe agreed, that Edward Roche, ſhould from and after the firſt day of June inſtant, be elected, and is hereby elected a general officer of the united army of the county of Wexford.

Signed by the above authority,
N. GRAY."

About five o'clock in the morning, not leſs than thirty thouſand of the rebels approached the town, ſome in columns, others in intermediate lines, with terrifick yells, having four pieces of cannon, beſides ſwivels.

A great number of prieſts, with their veſtments on, and crucifixes in their hands, by moving through the ranks, and animating them by their harangues, kindled a degree of enthuſiaſtick ardour in them, which nothing but fanaticiſm could inſpire.

They moved with ſlow but irreſiſtible progreſs, like an immenſe body of lava, which iſſuing from the bowels of Veſuvius, ſpreads deſolation over the plains of Calabria, and from which man alone can eſcape, and that by flight only.

It is ſuppoſed that one-fourth of them had muſkets, the remainder were armed with pikes. Their ſuperior force ſoon made our advanced guard retire to the main body, and they took poſſeſſion of our alarm poſts. The ſtruggle there became ſerious, and matters wore a very unfavourable aſpect, particularly at the Three-bullet gate, which poſt was at laſt forced by an immenſe column of rebels, who, regardleſs of danger from fanaticiſm and ebriety, made a moſt formidable attack, and carried one of our guns, which they immediately turned againſt us.

In the firſt onſet which they made at the Three-bullet* gate, they were repulſed; on which general Johnſon ordered captain Irwine to advance and charge them with a detachment of the 5th dragoons, in a field

*See Plate VII. 5.

where they ſeemed doubtful whether to advance or make good their retreat. Seeing the cavalry advance briſkly on them, they fled precipitately, leaped over ſome very high ditches, and fired from behind them on the dragoons, who had approached very cloſe to them, and attempted to leap over them, but in vain. The very ſame circumſtances happened in two other fields where they charged. They loſt in the courſe of theſe charges cornet Dodwell, one ſerjeant, one corporal, twenty-four privates, and twenty-ſix horſes. The gallant general Johnſon was in each field where theſe charges were made.

When captain Irwine was approaching the Three-bullet gate from the laſt field, a twelve-pounder poſted there was fired, and killed his horſe, which fell on his leg, and prevented him from moving, at the ſame time that our troops in that quarter had retired within the gate, and were retreating towards the bridge, and the rebels had advanced within a few yards of him, and would have killed him, but that they were engaged in taking poſſeſſion of the gun. In that critical moment an artillery horſe happened to paſs by, and ſo near him, that he laid hold of one of the traces, and was dragged into the town, by which his life was ſaved.

The rebels, in great numbers, having entered the town in that point, part of them were engaged in ſetting fire to the houſes, in which ſome of the popiſh inhabitants aſſiſted them, whilſt others puſhed for the bridge.

General Johnſon perceiving this, planted guns at the ſeveral croſs lanes, leading from Church-lane* and Nevill-ſtreet, and one at the old market place,§, to which for ſome time he attached himſelf. By theſe the rebels were repulſed with great ſlaughter. Such was their enthuſiaſm, that though whole ranks of them were ſeen to fall, they were ſucceeded by others, who ſeemed to court the fate of their companions, by ruſhing on our troops with renovated ardour.

One rebel, emboldened by fanaticiſm and drunkenneſs, advanced before his comrades, ſeized a gun, crammed his hat and wig into it, and cried out, "Come on, boys! her mouth is ſtopped." At that inſtant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and blew the unfortunate ſavage to atoms. This fact has been verified by the affidavit of a perſon who ſaw it from a window.

The

* Plate VII. 5. § Ibid.

The main body of our troops, overpowered and terrified by the immenſe body of rebels who entered the town at the Three-bullet gate, fled over the bridge to the Kilkenny or Roſbergen ſide of the river, and the enemy being in poſſeſſion of the greater part of it,* (except where they were checked by one gun at the old market-place, and two more ſupported by ſerjeant Hamilton, at the main guard, which ſtood at the croſs formed by the junction of Mary-ſtreet, Quay-ſtreet, North and South-ſtreets) proceeded to plunder and burn. The gallant general Johnſon (whoſe ardour and activity could be equalled by nothing but his cool preſence of mind,) ſeeing them in that ſituation, followed our troops to the Kilkenny ſide of the river, rallied and brought them back to their reſpective poſts, by which the rebels within the town were completely ſubdued. He often exclaimed to the fugitives whom he rallied, "Will you deſert your general?" without any effect; but when he added, "And your countryman?" they gave three cheers, and followed him. Having ſucceeded in rallying the fugitives, he rode before them to a part of our troops, who, much to their honour, had kept their poſt near the Three-bullet gate, and informed them that a reinforcement of freſh troops had arrived from Waterford, which deluſion produced a very good effect in animating them; however, he reinforced them with ſome of thoſe whom he had rallied, as there was a rebel column oppoſite to them, which ſeemed, by its advancing towards them, determined to make one deſperate effort. At this moment the fortune of the day hung in a balance; but it was ſoon turned by the ſteady fire of our troops, who repulſed the rebels with great ſlaughter.

Then, by turning the rear of the rebels who had entered the town at the Three-bullet gate end of it, not one of them eſcaped; and by manning the ditches outſide, he prevented them from receiving a reinforcement.

From the arts of ſeduction practiſed on the Clare regiment, while at Waterford, where it had been quartered ſome months, the rebels being ſure of their aſſiſtance, frequently exclaimed during the action, "Clare regiment, don't fire on your religion!" Prudence would not admit, that a handful of men, almoſt exhauſted by hunger and fatigue, ſhould purſue an enemy ſo ſuperior in number to a conſiderable diſtance. The utmoſt extent of the purſuit, and that only by a ſmall part of the army, was to a ravin under Corbet-hill, and Roſſiter's ſtores; from whence general Johnſon perceived

 them

* It was ably ſerved and defended by captain Bloomfield.

them retiring, every man making the beſt of his way to Carrickbyrne.* The enemy left dead two thouſand ſix hundred, beſides numbers whom they carried off on cars. The loſs of the king's troops was one colonel, one enſign, four ſerjeants, three drummers, eighty-one rank and file, and fifty-four horſes killed; one captain, one drummer, fifty-four rank and file, and five horſes wounded; one captain, three lieutenants, one enſign, two ſerjeants, two corporals, ſeventy-two rank and file, and four horſes miſſing. Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin regiment, who fell in the firſt onſet, at the Three-bullet gate, was univerſally lamented, as his publick and private virtues made him an object of general eſteem. He was poſſeſſed of high mental endowments, being an elegant ſcholar and a good publick ſpeaker. He had the gentleſt manners, and the mildeſt affections, warm and ſincere in friendſhip, and ſo benevolent and humane, that he never harboured revenge.

Great great part of the rebels after the action encamped on Slievehilta,† a ſteep and high mountain, about four miles from Roſs, where they remained, regularly anſwering our morning gun; and thence they went to Lacken-hill,‡ where they continued, till they were diſlodged by general Johnſon, when he marched to Vinegar-hill.

It is probable that the whole province of Munſter would have been deſolated as much as the county of Wexford, if the valour and activity of general Johnſon had not preſerved Roſs; for it has been diſcovered, that the inhabitants of moſt parts of that province were to have riſen by a preconcerted plan, if that town had fallen into the hands of the rebels; and it was proved, that meſſengers were on the point of being ſent from Waterford by the treaſurers of the united Iriſhmen, to ſummon the people of the South to riſe. General Johnſon was ſeen in every part of the battle, giving orders and animating the troops. It is aſtoniſhing how he eſcaped, as he was often in the moſt perilous ſituations, and had two horſes ſhot under him. He received very material aſſiſtance from general Euſtace, whoſe valour and activity were very conſpicuous during the action.‖

About

* Plate VII. 6. † Plate VII. 7. ‡ Ibid. 5.

‖ I cannot paſs unnoticed the valour and loyalty of Michael M'Cormick, on that day. He had been formerly a quarter-maſter of dragoons, and having retired, was in the mercantile line at Roſs. Conſpicuous by his huge ſtature and a braſs helmet, he was conſtantly ſeen in the warmeſt part of the action, animating the troops, and rendered the moſt eſſential ſervice to general Johnſon.

About ten o'clock in the morning of the fifth of June, the Roſcommon regiment, in two diviſions, one led by the honourable colonel King, marched from Waterford, to reinforce the garriſon of Roſs, which is ten miles diſtant from it. When the firſt had advanced about two miles on their march, they were met by ſome of the fugitive ſoldiers from that town, who informed the colonel, that our troops, overpowered by numbers, and exhauſted by fatigue, had been beaten with great ſlaughter, that they had fled to Thomaſtown, and that the town of Roſs had been burnt. However the colonel, determined to do his duty, marched to a high hill over a deep defile called Glynmore,* in a ſtraight line about two miles and a half from Roſs; whence, with the aſſiſtance of a good glaſs, he ſaw a ſmoke iſſuing from the town, but could not diſcern any troops in it; from which he concluded that his intelligence had been well founded. He, therefore, thought it prudent to retreat, and the many important conſequences which flowed from his determination, (though cenſured at the time,) ſtrongly prove the vanity of human wiſhes, and how great and inſcrutable are the mercy and wiſdom of Providence!

The enemy, when repulſed, retired at firſt to Corbet-hill, whence they ſaw the Roſcommon regiment; and as they were ignorant of their retreat, and as the diſtance, obſcuring the diſcernment of the rebels, had magnified their number, they imagined that our troops had received a large reinforcement, which deterred them from renewing the attack that evening as intended; and it is to be feared, that it would have been fatal to the garriſon, who were overcome with hunger and fatigue, and many of them had ſunk into a ſtate of ebriety and ſomnolency.

It was alſo very fortunate that the Roſcommon regiment returned to Waterford that night, as the rebels, who were numerous, and well organized there, meditated an inſurrection, imagining that Roſs had been taken.

Next day, colonel King marched with his regiment to Roſs, with two battalion guns and a piece of flying artillery. He found the people of the county of Kilkenny in a ſtate of general inſurrection.

* See Plate VII. 6.

When

When he approached Glynmore,* a deep valley, with a river which is croſſed by a bridge, he perceived great numbers of people on all the adjacent hills who fired ſignal guns. The rebels had made the bridge impaſſable, by breaking down one of the arches; but the colonel ſoon made it paſſable, by laying beams and planks on it. He ſent before him his grenadier company, with a piece of artillery, who, with a few diſcharges of it, diſperſed a body of rebels poſted on the oppoſite hill, who meant to diſpute his paſſage.

That body had taken the preceding day twenty-five ſoldiers, and captain Dillon of the Dublin regiment, who had fled from Roſs; and on the firſt diſcharge of the artillery, they maſſacred fifteen of the ſoldiers, and captain Dillon, whoſe head they converted into a foot-ball.

One Gaffney, the leader of theſe aſſaſſins, was taken and hanged next day at Roſs.

It has been diſcovered that the Kilkenny rebels were to have co-operated with thoſe who attacked Roſs; but that they miſtook the day, which was very fortunate; for they would have cut off a great part of the garriſon of that town, when they fled over the bridge, overcome with hunger and fatigue.

The following barbarous murder was committed at the Roar,§ in the county of Kilkenny, about four miles from Roſs, the day before the battle. Mr. Bartholomew Cliffe, Mr. Richard Anneſley, and Mr. Richard Elliott, being unable from bad health, and the delicacy of their conſtitution, to aſſiſt in the defence of that town, retired to the Roar on a car, which was ſent for them by a tenant of Mr. Elliott, who was his foſter brother, and to whom he had been ſingularly kind.

When they had arrived at the church of that village, three ruffians attacked them with pikes, and continued for ſome time to torture them, until they were dead, in the midſt of a number of ſpectators, who unmoved, and with indifference, beheld this barbarous ſpectacle.

Mr. Cliffe, who was univerſally loved and eſteemed for the mildneſs of his manners and the benevolence of his diſpoſition, was thrown into the gripe of a ditch, mangled and covered with wounds, where they meant to bury him. He had ſtrength enough to raiſe himſelf a little, and

* Plate VII. 6. § Ibid. 3, 4.

and to cry out for mercy; when a ſavage woman, a diſgrace to her own ſex and to human nature, gave him a violent blow of a large ſtone in the breaſt, and put a period to his exiſtence.

Mr. Elliott called out to his tenant, who had ever experienced the moſt ſtriking inſtances of his regard, and ſaid, "Sure, Ned, you won't ſee me murdered?" but the unfeeling ſavage replied, "No;" and turned his back to him, while the ruffians continued to torture him. Mr. Elliott's tenant was a man of ſuch influence there, that he could have eaſily prevented theſe barbarous murders.

The man who led the car to the Roar, and was eye-witneſs of theſe ſhocking enormities, ſubſtantiated them by affidavit. It muſt give the reader pleaſure to learn, that Mr. Elliott's tenant, and two more of the aſſaſſins were ſoon after ſhot; and that the third has fallen a victim to the vengeance of the law. The inhabitants of the Roar and its vicinity were remarkable for their diſaffection and rebellious ſpirit, for which they were ſeverely puniſhed.

I ſhall now relate ſome of the incidents which occurred in the courſe of this very extraordinary action, which laſted from five in the morning till three in the evening. The main body of the rebels entered the town by the Three-bullet gate, and many alſo by the priory or ſouth-gate, where one of the field pieces, that the rebels had taken ſome days before near the mountain of Forth, was retaken by the king's troops; but this took place after they were driven out of the town. They burnt all the thatched houſes, and many of the ſlated ones in Neville-ſtreet, which runs in a direct line from the Three-bullet gate; every thatched and ſome ſlated houſes in Michael-ſtreet and Mill-lane, which are at right angles with Neville-ſtreet; all the houſes in the upper part of Mary-ſtreet, which croſſes the end of Neville-ſtreet; all the houſes in Church-lane and the Chapel-lane, both which communicated with Mary-ſtreet. On the whole, the number of houſes ſuppoſed to be burnt amounted to two hundred and eighty-ſix.

There was very great deſtruction of the ſavages in Chapel-lane, where they lay in heaps. They had poſſeſſion of it, and of the upper part of Mary-ſtreet, for a conſiderable time.

A numerous body of them, ſuppoſed to amount to five hundred, went down a great part of Mary-ſtreet, which is on a declivity, to attack the

main

main guard, ably defended by ſerjeant Hamilton of the Donegal, and ſixteen men only, with two ſhip guns, which were very badly mounted, and yet they were ſerved with ſuch effect as to occaſion a prodigious ſlaughter. He had a large quantity of ammunition under his protection, and as he remained almoſt entirely unſupported, when the troops were driven over the bridge, an officer, from an idea that he muſt be overpowered, recommended to him to remove it to the Roſsbergen ſide of the water; but he replied, "That he never would quit the ſpot whilſt he had life." He made lanes through the body of five or ſix hundred with diſcharges of grape ſhot, and completely repulſed them. This was the laſt great effort which they made to overpower him.

Parties of from twenty to thirty made different attacks on him, but they were always knocked down by the Dowſeley family. William Dowſeley, his brother Samuel, both very old, two of his ſons, and three other men, took poſt in the houſe of the former, which is in Mary-ſtreet, oppoſite to a lane called Bakehouſe-lane, and near the main guard, at the lower end of Mary-ſtreet. As the ſavages were perfectly ſecure in that lane from the guns of ſerjeant Hamilton, they made many attempts to collect there in great numbers, for the purpoſe of ſurpriſing and ſtorming his poſt; but Dowſeley's party plyed them ſo well with conſtant vollies, and were ſo near them, that every ſhot took place, and they killed no leſs than ſixty in one ſpot. They had an old ſoldier with them, who charged for them with great celerity, and put in each cartridge one large and four ſmall balls. The lane was filled up with the dead.

A party of rebels got into a very good ſlated houſe at the upper end of Mary-ſtreet, which the ſoldiers having ſet fire to, the ſavages were roaſted alive; and when their bodies were brought forth, preſented a moſt hideous and diſguſting ſpectacle.

Half the houſes in the Croſs-lane, and almoſt every one in the Friary-ſtreet were conſumed. Three of them were recently built and were very commodious.

Great numbers of the ſavages were killed outſide the town, between the Three-bullet gate and the Bunnion gate, which lies at the upper end of it.

Mr.

Mr. Tottenham, the proprietor of Roſs, employed ſix carts and a great many men for two entire days, in collecting the bodies of the ſlain. Moſt of thoſe found in the town were thrown into the river, and were carried off with the tide. The remainder were thrown into a foſſe outſide the town wall, and were buried there.

The main body that entered at the Three-bullet gate, and contiguous to it, having divided, ſome went down the Croſs-lane, others down Michael-ſtreet, and others down Neville-ſtreet and Mary-ſtreet, ſetting fire to the houſes in their progreſs. Another body burned half of Iriſhtown,* which was near half a mile long; both ſides having been burnt as far as they went. But there were not many employed in that ſervice, as a party of ſoldiers that were ſtationed at the end of a lane called Boreenaſlane, that communicates directly with Iriſhtown from Corbet-hill, killed a great number in the lane, and prevented them from getting into Iriſhtown in any conſiderable force. Major Vandeleur, of the Clare, was of very great ſervice there.

The rebels brought one of the fieldpieces, which they had taken at the mountain of Forth, as far into South-ſtreet as major Cliſe's houſe, and one of the artillery men, taken at the ſame time, was tied to it for the purpoſe of ſerving it. A fellow of the name of Forreſtal, made him diſcharge it, once with grape, and twice with round-ſhot, at the main guard. The poor artillery man, whoſe loyalty was unabated, elevated the gun in ſuch a manner as not to do execution; for with the laſt ſhot he knocked off the quoin of a houſe, (but almoſt cloſe to the eves,) oppoſite to the court-houſe, where the main guard was ſtationed. The poor fellow boaſted of what a fine ſhot he had made; but Forreſtal drew out a piſtol, and ſhot him through the head, ſaying, "That is a much better ſhot."

This was related by two perſons who were in a window over where the tranſaction happened. Forreſtal was convicted of having committed fourteen murders, for which he was hanged. The two loyaliſts, who were witneſſes of this tranſaction, had but one piſtol, and but one charge for it, which one of them would have fired at Forreſtal, but that the other prevented him; for if he had not ſucceeded in killing him, he

* Plate VII. 3.

would have demoliſhed his houſe with the cannon in a few ſeconds. It is very ſingular that the rebels never ventured to ſend a force round to penetrate at the North gate* end of the town, where they muſt have ſucceeded, as the main body of our troops were employed in defending it in the oppoſite direction.

The following curious incident occurred in the town of Roſs: When the rebels entered the town, they dragged a man of the name of Dowſely, a proteſtant, from his houſe, and his next door neighbour, a Roman catholick, denounced him as ſuch, for the purpoſe of having him aſſaſſinated; on which the rebels gave him three ſtabs of a pike. A woman of the name of Catherine Whelan, a Romaniſt, his neighbour, and as, he thought, his friend, clapped her hands with joy on ſeeing the rebels enter the town, and welcomed the boys (as ſhe called them) to Roſs, and ſaid, "They ſhould kill Dowſely, as he was a proteſtant." They had at that time left him, as he had ſaid that he was a Romaniſt; but on her ſaying the contrary, they returned to him while lying on the ground on his ſide, and having turned him on his back, deſired him to bleſs himſelf, and on not doing it right, they ſtabbed him again, which was occaſioned by her malevolent obſervation; on the whole, he received ſixteen pike wounds. A woman of the name of Mary Foley, ſaw the rebels approach him again, take him up by the hair of the head, and aſk him to ſay ſome popiſh prayers; ſhe then humanely whiſpered ſome of them into his ear, which he repeated, on which the rebels pardoned and left him. A young man of the name of Richards, who ſaw this barbarous tranſaction, carried Dowſely into his houſe, and he afterwards recovered by medical aſſiſtance. All theſe circumſtances were proved by the concurrent teſtimony of Dowſely, Mary Foley and Richards, before a court-martial, held at Roſs the eleventh of Auguſt, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulſe, for the trial of Catherine Whelan, who was caſt for tranſportation.

A gang of aſſaſſins, armed with pikes, and headed by Richard Long, was ſent in queſt of proteſtants the firſt of June, 1798, from Carrickbyrne camp; and they ſeized Francis Plunket and his ſiſter, both proteſtants, between Robinſtown and Palace, and conveyed them to the camp.

Long

* See plate VII. 6, 7.

Long ſtationed a great number of male and female rebels on the road leading to Roſs, with orders to intercept any proteſtants that they might find going there, as numbers of that perſuaſion ſought an aſylum in it from rebel vengeance. Plunket's ſiſter beſought the rebels in the camp to permit her to go home to her children; but they refuſed, having ſaid, ſhe was taken there to ſuffer death. Long aſſigned as a reaſon, why he was ſo active againſt him and his ſiſter, that he was an orangeman's ſervant, and his ſiſter was an orangewoman. Long's brother deſired Francis Plunket to deny that he was related to his ſiſter, who was to ſuffer death for being a proteſtant, and that probably he might eſcape; this poor unfortunate woman died of fear.

Theſe circumſtances were proved before a court-martial, held at Roſs the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulſe, when Richard Long was caſt for tranſportation.

When the rebels got poſſeſſion of the town, one of them who entered the houſe of a proteſtant woman, gave her twenty-four wounds of a pike, notwithſtanding which ſhe leaped out of a window, and in doing ſo broke her leg; and yet ſhe recovered, and is now living.

Notwithſtanding the complete overthrow of the rebels at Roſs, and the ſlaughter of them which took place on the fifth of June, they, encouraged by the thinneſs of the garriſon, which conſiſted of but one hundred and fifty of the Dublin militia, formed a ſecond conſpiracy for attacking and burning the town, and murdering all its loyal inhabitants, and then marching to Waterford, for the purpoſe of taking it. The leaders of the conſpiracy uſed to aſſemble at the houſe of one Malone, a publican, where they made different attempts to ſeduce the ſoldiers of the Dublin militia. One of them, who was very loyal, pretended to accede to and promote their deſigns, and informed them that many of his comrades would co-operate with them; but he communicated the whole of what had paſſed between them to captain Latouche, who, the better to develope their ſchemes, aſſumed the habit of a common ſoldier, and was introduced by the loyal one to the band of traitors at Malone's, as one of the fraternity, and pretended to be warmly attached to it.

In the courſe of converſation he diſcovered, that they were quite ſure of the co-operation of many of his ſoldiers, who were to deliver up the

ammunition to them; and that the maſs of the people from all the adjacent country, aided by a numerous band of well-armed traitors who frequented the woods of Killoughrin, were to attack the town on the Friday following. They then attempted to adminiſter an oath to him, on which he had them arreſted and committed.

Malone, at the head of the conſpiracy, had lived twenty-five years with the father of Mr. Tottenham, had become rich, and ſet up a publick houſe. Major Cliffe's ſervant, another of the conſpirators, had long enjoyed his eſteem and confidence; and two of Mr. Deane's ſervants, deeply implicated in the plot, had been reputed men of good character. Such was the return which government received for their mild and conciliatory conduct which the rebels ſo recently experienced!

The rebels having ſecured the navigation of the Slaney, by getting the towns of Wexford and Enniſcorthy into their hands, their next object, for the purpoſe of gaining the town of Roſs which they reckoned certain, was to ſecure the navigation of the river on which it ſtands, by which they would have opened a complete communication between the rebels of the counties of Wexford, Waterford, and Kilkenny, have procured a conſtant and copious ſupply of proviſions, and have had the moſt opulent and populous part of the county of Wexford completely in their power; and they would have prevented any ſupply of ammunition from being brought up from Duncannon fort, the chief depôt of the king's army in that quarter: They would alſo have cut off all communication between Roſs and Waterford, which was the chief place where general Johnſon could expect to procure proviſions for his army.

As all the inhabitants of the county of Wexford were in a ſtate of inſurrection, and conſequently the general could not ſend any intelligence to, or receive any orders from government, he would have been completely inſulated with his ſmall army, if the rebels commanded the navigation of the Roſs river. He would alſo have been prevented from ſending the ſick ſoldiers to Waterford, as the inhabitants of the country between Waterford and Roſs, ten miles aſunder, were for many days on the point of riſing.

To obviate this, general Johnſon, who ſhewed as much ſagacity as courage during the rebellion, ordered captain Hill of the navy, with ſome gun-boats, which he commanded, to deſtroy all the boats on that river,

river, which he accordingly did, to the number of one hundred and seventeen. Though the gun-boats employed in that ſervice were well baricadoed, and had on board each of them a party of ſoldiers, who were commanded by the brave ſerjeant Hamilton, the rebels never ſuffered one of them to paſs without keeping up a conſtant and ſevere fire upon them; for which purpoſe, they kept ſtrong piquet guards along the banks of the river; and they uſually began this practice at Camolin wood, only a mile from the town. As it happened that one of the gun-boats ran a-ground, an immenſe body of rebels ruſhed down from Slieve Kilta,* where they were encamped, and made ſeveral daring attempts to take poſſeſſion of her; and it was not without the greateſt difficulty, that the other gun-boats, who ſeaſonably came to her aſſiſtance, reſcued her from them. In this conflict, four men belonging to the gun-boats were killed, and ſeveral of them were wounded.

Another great object of the rebels, after they had got poſſeſſion of Wexford, was, to eſtabliſh a naval force upon the coaſt.

They had already manned and armed two or three veſſels in that port, one of them a Liverpool letter of marque, which mounted ten guns. By theſe means they ſecured lord Kingſborough, and ſeized ſome veſſels freighted with proviſions, which might otherwiſe have eſcaped.

When our frigates arrived on the coaſt, they completely put an end to that practice.

The rebel leaders, for the purpoſe of making their eſcape, had aſſembled a number of ſmall craft on that part of the coaſt near Fethard; of which general Johnſon being aware, ſent a revenue cutter, and ſome gun-boats, under the command of captain Hill, for the purpoſe of deſtroying every veſſel that might be found in that harbour; which was done as effectually as the nature of the ſervice would admit; for thirteen veſſels were either burned or rendered uſeleſs. The rebels maintained a very heavy fire upon the gun-boats, during the performance of this ſervice, and there appeared a very large force ready to reſiſt any further attempts, which, however, were not intended. They were ſaid to be under the command of father Edward Murphy.

Very few, if any proteſtants, were murdered in the pariſhes of Old or New Roſs. Captain Tottenham, of the town of Roſs, having informed them of the taking of Enniſcorthy by the rebels, and deſired them to make their eſcape into the garriſon, and they providentially followed his advice.

* Plate VII. 7.

advice. Two perſons only, that I could hear of, of the pariſh of Old Roſs, fell into their hands, when they were endeavouring to make their eſcape into that town, and were murdered by them. They were of the name of James, a father and ſon, the former near eighty years old.

The reverend William Glaſcott, rector of the pariſh of St. James or Ballyhack,* which lies on the Roſs river, above Duncannon-fort, and oppoſite to Paſſage, having received the earlieſt intelligence of the rebel encampment formed on the mountain of Forth, and the defeat of the Meath militia there, critically alarmed his pariſhioners; ſome of whom ſought an aſylum in the fort of Duncannon;† and others croſſed the river at Ballyhack, and were treated with very great humanity by captain Forbes of the Ravenſworth tranſport, who received as many of them as he could accommodate in his veſſel; and provided them with neceſſaries. Two only fell into the hands of the rebels, who poſted piquets on all the roads leading to Roſs, Ballyhack and Duncannon, to intercept ſuch proteſtants as might attempt to eſcape.

William Hore, of Harperſtown,‡ eſquire, nephew of the earl of Courtown, had appointed a day for the prieſt and the congregation of the pariſh of Doncormuck,‖ to aſſemble and take oaths of allegiance; but the rebellion broke out the day preceding it. He endeavoured to make his eſcape to Duncannon-fort, on foot, by the moſt ſecret and by-ways; but he was ſeized by a body of pikemen, who were poſted to prevent orangemen from retreating to that garriſon. Mr. Hore requeſted to be carried before father Edward Murphy, pariſh prieſt of Bannow;‖ with which they complied. But that reverend gentleman, though his will was a law, would not liberate him. He was therefore taken to Wexford, and ſuffered on the bridge in that ſcene of carnage ſo diſgraceful to human nature. William Allen Cox, eſquire, captain of the Taghmon§ yeomain cavalry, lived at Coolcliff,¶ in the ſame pariſh, and on a navigable river called the Bannow; but which is extremely narrow until it reaches Clonmines. He endeavoured to make his eſcape in a ſmall boat, in hopes of getting to ſea; but he was ſo beſet by pikemen, that he was under the neceſſity of landing in the midſt of a horde of thoſe ſavages; however, he derived great conſolation from the ſight of father Edward Murphy, whoſe protection

* See Plate I. 10. † Ibid. III. 9. ‡ Ibid. III. 7. ‖ Ibid. III. 8, 9.
§ See Plate III. 6. ¶ Ibid. 7.

protection he implored; but he briefly replied, "That his ſtay there would be but ſhort;" and he left him in the hands of thoſe mercileſs wretches. He then took to his boat, and was ſoon after ſeized by the pikemen at the Scar paſs of Barrietſtown,* and conveyed to Wexford, where he ſuffered on the bridge.

The pariſh of Bannow, of which Edward Murphy was prieſt, is ſo populous and extenſive, as to require two chapels: one called the chapel of Carrig, about two miles from Bannow, where he generally officiates; the other at Ballymitty, is not far from Taghmon. This reverend father was the perſon who preached the ſermon at Vinegar-hill, which Richard Grandy was preſent at, and made affidavit of before George Ogle, eſquire, and three magiſtrates more.‡

A proteſtant of the firſt authority declares, that ſhe heard him preach, at Carrig, a ſermon, in which he ſaid, "That God Almighty befriended them in all their operations, for the attainment of liberty; and that the whole of the buſineſs was as viſibly his work, as that of dividing the red ſea by Moſes." He aſſured ſome female proteſtants,† in his neighbourhood, whom he occaſionally viſited, that he had foreſeen and foretold to numbers, this ſtruggle for liberty, as he termed it, fourteen years before it took place; and he aſſerted very frequently, that the whole force of England, even if ſhe were twice as powerful as ſhe is, would not be able to re-conquer Ireland, as Providence fought their battles.

During the ſhort exiſtence of the Iriſh republick, he regularly inſtructed the proteſtants in his neighbourhood in his catechiſm, telling them that there were four hells, and a great deal more of ſuperſtitious nonſenſe. A proteſtant lady, whoſe ſon was confined in Wexford gaol, on account of his religion, applied to his reverence to interfere for his liberation; but he gave her a ſhove from him, ſaying, "He would never ſave a heretick; and that he had other buſineſs to mind."

While this falſe prophet was celebrating maſs at Carrig, on a Sunday during the rebellion, he heard the report of a cannon; on which his congregation, known by the name of the Bannow corps, were immediately under arms, and by his order proceeded in great force to Bannow, to

* Plate III. 8. ‡ Appendix, No. XX. 7.

† The male fled, or were taken priſoners by the pikemen.

to oppoſe ſome gun-boats, and a revenue cutter, ſent into the bay of Fethard, to deſtroy ſome boats and the ſtores of a Mr. Lynn there, containing a great quantity of malt, which the rebels were taking away to brew for their camps. This reverend gentleman ſoon followed his troops, and drew them up with ſome ſkill on the beach of that place, at a ſhort diſtance from Fethard, on which the gun-boats were then firing; and it is ſaid, by perſons of veracity, who were forced into the rebel ranks that day, that Murphy ordered a number of women to march from his chapel, and join the rebel troops with hats on, that they might aſſume the ſemblance of men, in order to intimidate the ſailors by their numbers. The gun-boats ſucceeded in deſtroying ſome fiſhing ſmacks; but as the fire which had been communicated to the ſtores was extinguiſhed, this ſacerdotal hero returned in triumph to Carrig, at the head of the Bannow corps, with colours flying, and muſick playing. He diſtributed a great quantity of ſcapulars in his pariſh; and he frequently told ſuch female proteſtants as happened to remain there, that doctor Caulfield would be primate of Ireland, and that he would be archbiſhop of Dublin.

Agreeable to the proclamation iſſued by government, offering pardon to ſuch repentant rebels as ſhould take oaths of allegiance, and ſurrender their arms, Mr. Tottenham, the proprietor of Roſs, and other magiſtrates, continued in the months of July and Auguſt to extend the benefit of it to great numbers of that deſcription, who carried in a few bad pikes and muſkets, merely for the purpoſe of obtaining protections; from which, and from ſubſequent events, it was unqueſtionable that they harboured their rebellious deſigns as ſtrongly as ever. And what ſignified oaths to ſuch wretches, when the multitude had been guilty of the moſt flagrant violation of them? None of them would confeſs the names of their officers, except ſuch of them as had been killed or hanged. One ſanguinary ruffian was very candid in his confeſſion; he ſaid, that general Harvey ordered him to attack and burn the town of Roſs; he ſaid, that he fired a great many ſhots, and never without effect; that he entered Roſs by Neville-ſtreet and Mary-ſtreet, but could not proceed farther than the main guard. That poſt had been bravely defended by ſerjeant Hamilton of the Donegal regiment, with two ſhip-guns, and ſixteen men, who never abandoned his poſt. Mr. Tottenham aſked this intrepid rebel,

Whether

Whether he would have fired at him, if he had ſeen him? and he anſwered, that he would have been very proud to have had him under his eye. He aſked him alſo how many he had killed? to which he replied, that he could not tell, as he had taken his ammunition out of a pouch; but that he was ſure he never fired without killing or wounding a ſoldier.

MASSACRE AT SCULLABOGUE.

I contemplate with horror, and relate with reluctance, an occurrence which took place on the day of the battle of Roſs, which will remain a laſting diſgrace to human nature, and an indelible ſtain on the county of Wexford. During the encampment of the rebels on Carrickbyrne-hill,* a party of them were poſted at Scullabogue,† within half a mile of the camp, where a barn was converted into a priſon for the confinement of proteſtant priſoners. Bands of aſſaſſins were ſent round the adjacent country in queſt of proteſtants, whom they meant to extirpate, when they accompliſhed their final purpoſe of overturning the government. For the manner in which this barbarous buſineſs was conducted, and the circumſtances of cruelty and atrocity which accompanied it, ſee Appendix, No. XX. 4, 5, 6.

On the eve of the thirtieth of May, captain King, the proprietor of Scullabogue, was adviſed to abandon his houſe, and to carry off what valuable effects he could, as a camp was to be formed the day after on Carrickbyrne-hill, which is within half a mile of Scullabogue.

Next day he made his eſcape, and the rebels took poſſeſſion of his houſe. It appears, on the evidence of different perſons, that one hundred and eighty-four proteſtants were burned in the barn of Scullabogue, and that thirty-ſeven were ſhot in the front of it.

The following circumſtances appeared by the evidence of Richard Silveſter, a witneſs on the trial of Phelim Fardy, one of the wretches concerned in that horrid affair: That when the rebels encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill marched towards Roſs, on the fourth of June, the proteſtant priſoners were left at Scullabogue, under a guard of three hundred rebels, commanded by John Murphy of Loughnageer, a rebel captain, Nicholas Sweetman and Walter Devereux, who both held the ſame rank: That when the rebel army began to give way at Roſs, an expreſs was ſent

* Plate III. 5. † Ibid. 6.

to Murphy, to put the proteſtant priſoners to death, as the king's troops were gaining the day; but Murphy refuſed to comply without a direct order from the general: That he ſoon after received another meſſage to the ſame purpoſe, with this addition, that the priſoners, if releaſed, would become very furious and vindictive: That ſhortly after a third expreſs arrived, ſaying, the prieſt gave orders that the priſoners ſhould be put to death: That the rebels on hearing the ſanction of the prieſt, became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes, the better to perform the bloody deed: That when they were leading the priſoners out from the dwelling-houſe to ſhoot them, he turned away from ſuch a ſcene of horror; on which a rebel ſtruck him with a pike upon the back, and ſaid, he would let his guts out if he did not follow him: That he then attended the rebels to the barn, in which there was a great number of men, women, and children; and that the rebels were endeavouring to ſet fire to it, while the poor priſoners, ſhrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back-door of the barn, which they forced open for the purpoſe of admitting air: That for ſome time they continued to put the door between them and the rebels, who were piking or ſhooting them: That in attempting to do ſo, their hands or fingers were cut off: That the rebels continued to force into the barn bundles of ſtraw to encreaſe the fire. At laſt, the priſoners having been overcome by the flame and ſmoke, their moans and cries gradually died away in the ſilence of death.

It was proved on the trial of John Keefe, convicted by a court-martial on the fourteenth of April, 1800, on the evidence of Robert Mills, that, after the bloody work began, he ſaw the priſoner with a pike, the point of which was broken, and the top of the ſhaft or handle was bloody; that he carried it to an adjoining forge, whetted it on a ſharpening-ſtone, and then proceeded to the front of the dwelling-houſe where they were ſhooting the priſoners. Among the perſons moſt conſpicuous, we find the names of Fardy, Sinnott, Michell or Miſcally, who trampled on the dead and wounded bodies, and behaved otherwiſe in ſuch a ferocious manner, as to obtain from the rebels the appellation of the true-born Romans.

William Ryan, a farmer, about three miles from Scullabogue, had a daughter who was kept by a gentleman at Duncannon. The rebel guards at Scullabogue thinking that they might extract from her ſome important information

information relative to the plans of the loyaliſts, as her paramour was of that deſcription, and dreading that ſhe and her friends who were Roman catholicks, might betray ſome of the rebel ſecrets to her keeper, ſent a body of pikemen in queſt of her; but not being able to find her, they were of opinion that her ſiſter Eleanor, who lived at Mr. Roſſiter's, would anſwer equally well. They therefore led her to the barn, and her father having ſhortly after gone there to ſolicit her liberation, they committed him and his poor old wife, who went there alſo, in hopes of being able to move their compaſſion; but ſhe ſhared their fate, having been thruſt into the barn, where they were all burnt.

No leſs than twenty-four proteſtants were taken from the village of Tintern, about eight miles diſtant, many of them old and feeble, and were led in one drove to the barn, where they periſhed.*

Thomas Shee and Patrick Prendergaſt were burnt in the barn, both Romaniſts, becauſe they would not conſent to the maſſacre of their proteſtant maſters.

William Johnſon, a very old man, though of the ſame perſuaſion, ſhared a ſimilar fate. He gained a livelihood by playing on the bagpipes, and was ſo unfortunate as to incur the vengeance of the rebels, by playing the tune of, 'Croppies, lie down.'

William Neil, another Romaniſt, who ſuffered there, was by trade a tailor, and had worked for ſome time in the garriſon of Duncannon. Having occaſion to return to Camolin, of which he was a native, he procured the paſs of general Fawcett for his protection, but it turned out to be the means of his deſtruction; for having been intercepted by the rebels, who conſidered the paſs as an emblem of loyalty, they committed him to the barn, with his ſon Daniel, who happened to accompany him, and they both periſhed in the flames.†

Some perſons have contended that the perſecutions in the county of Wexford were not excluſively levelled againſt proteſtants, becauſe a few Romaniſts were put to death in the barn and at Wexford; but the ſanguinary ſpirit againſt them was ſo uniform at Vinegar-hill, on the bridge

* See Appendix, No. XX. 4.

† They burned the wives and ſome of the children of the North Cork militia in the barn, who were Roman catholicks; but it was ſufficient to provoke their vengeance, that they were connected with the ſoldiers of an heretical king.

of Wexford, and Scullabogue, and indeed in every part of the county, as to remove any doubt on that head.

The witneſs, during this dreadful ſcene, ſaw a child who got under the door, and was likely to eſcape, but much hurt and bruiſed; when a rebel perceiving it, darted his pike through it, and threw it into the flames. While the rebels were ſhooting the priſoners in front of the dwelling-houſe, a party of men and women were engaged in ſtripping and rifling the dead bodies; and the priſoner, Phelim Fardy, called out to them to avoid the line of his fire, (as he was buſily employed in ſhooting the priſoners,) and in ſaying ſo, he fired at a man who was on his knees, and who inſtantly fell and expired.

The barn was thirty-four feet long, and fifteen wide, and the walls were but twelve feet high. Suffocation then muſt have ſoon taken place, as ſo great a number of people were compreſſed in ſo ſmall a ſpace; and, beſides the burning of the thatched roof of the barn, the rebels threw into it, on their pikes, a great number of faggots on fire.

Richard Grandy, who was preſent, ſwears, that the priſoners in front of the houſe were led out by fours to be ſhot; and that the rebels who pierced them when they fell, took pleaſure in licking their ſpears.*

A gentleman preſent, who had a narrow eſcape, aſſured me, that a rebel ſaid he would try the taſte of Orange blood, and that he dipped a tooth-pick in a wound of one of the proteſtants who was ſhot, and then put it into his mouth.

Whenever a body fell on being ſhot, the rebel guards ſhouted, and pierced it with their pikes.

Samuel and John Jones, two brothers, were put to death in front of captain King's houſe in the following manner: When they were on their knees, the wife of one of them ſtood between them, took each of them by the hand, and cloſed her eyes; and when they fell, in conſequence of being ſhot, ſhe implored the rebels, as an act of mercy, to put her to death, but they refuſed to do ſo. She then got a car, and put on it the two bodies which the rebels had ſtripped quite naked. She covered them with her cloak and petticoat; but when ſhe had led the car to ſome diſtance, ſhe was ſtopped by a party of rebel women, who led

* See his affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 7.

led it back, and compelled her to return with them. They urged the rebels to put her to death, and ſhe appeared to rejoice at the idea of reſigning that life which they had embittered by murdering her huſband. They ſeemed well diſpoſed to kill her, and would have done ſo, but that John Murphy, their captain, prevented them, having ſaid, that ſuch a horrid deed would kindle a bluſh on the cheeks of the Virgin Mary.

The Jones's, who lived at Abbey Brainey, were in good circumſtances. Murphy took out of one of their pockets a pocket-book, which, it was ſaid, contained notes to a conſiderable amount. The father of the Jones's, who was very old, died in a few days after of a broken heart, and he and his ſons were interred in the ſame grave.

One Sleater, an opulent man from Wales, who came to Ireland every year to buy cattle for the Engliſh market, in which buſineſs he dealt very extenſively, was picked up by the rebels, and ſhot among the thirty-ſeven priſoners. He had a pocket-book, which contained (it was ſaid) notes to the amount of 1000 l. which fell into the hands of the rebels.*

On moſt occaſions, they did not offer any violence to the tender ſex; but at Scullabogue, they burned a great many women and children.

It has been ſaid, and indeed proved, that John Murphy, the rebel captain, who commanded the guard at Scullabogue, refuſed to maſſacre the priſoners, till he had received the orders of a prieſt of the name of Murphy, for that purpoſe. Brien Murphy, pariſh prieſt of Taghmon, is ſuppoſed to be the perſon alluded to. The affidavit of Michael Aſkins, which the reader will find in Appendix, No. XX. 9. throws great light on it.

The following occurrence, relative to a prieſt, happened on the ſame day, and ſhews what great influence the ſacerdotal order had over the miſguided multitude: Patrick Dobbyn, and his three ſons, William, Richard and Samuel, were taken priſoners at Old Court, in the pariſh of Adamſtown, where they reſided, by Thomas Cavenagh, and ſome more popiſh banditti, who committed them to priſon at Scullabogue; the former on the ſecond, the latter on the firſt day of June. Elizabeth, the

* The perſon who led him out to execution, was a ruffian of the name of Cowman, whom he had employed in buying cattle, and who had gained conſiderably by his kindneſs and generoſity.

the wife of Patrick Dobbyn, went to father Shallow, parish priest of the union of Adamstown and Newbawn, who resided at Ballyshannon, one mile from Scullabogue, and implored him to have her husband and sons released; but he refused, and informed her, that he should be in as much danger as they, if he went near the rebel camp; and yet the same priest liberated from the barn,* and saved a young man of the name of Lett, the son of a Mr. Lett of Kilgibbon, within three or four miles of Enniscorthy; and it appears also by affidavit sworn before general Fawcett, that father Shallow took an active part in the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.†

William Fleming, a protestant, and a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, having the protection of a priest, went to the barn on the seventh of June, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, for the purpose of interring it; but the bodies were so much injured by the fire, that he could not distinguish one from the other. I shall refer the reader to his affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 8. containing many curious particulars relative to the rebellion, particularly the exhortation of father Roche, the general, in the camp of Slievekilta,‖ to extirpate orangemen and disaffected persons, and in which he assured the rebels, that they were fighting for their religion.

The life of Fleming was often saved by the pass of father Brien Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, of which I give an exact copy:

"Mr. Wm. *Flemmon* has complied with every condition required of him, and therefore is to be *stopted* by no man.

June 2d, 1798. Revd. BR. MURPHY."

On the trial of Thomas Clooney, a rebel leader, at Wexford, the fifth of June, 1799, it was proved, that, while the camp was at Carrickbyrne, he at the head of three hundred rebels went to Old Ross to burn the protestant church, and the houses of some protestants there; and that while the former was burning, he said, the Devil's house is on fire.

The ferocity of the rebels was such, that they often murdered each other with impunity in their camps, or during their marches.

A boy

* Appendix, No. XX. 5. † Ibid. 10. ‖ Plate VII. 7.

A boy of the name of Bennett, about fourteen years old, entered the lawn of Mr. King, at Scullabogue, on horſeback, the day preceding the maſſacre. One Hanlon, a ſchoolmaſter, inſiſted on getting his horſe; and on being refuſed, he ran the boy through the body with his pike and killed him. Bennett's brother, a young man, having arrived next day, aſked permiſſion to get revenge for the death of his brother; and having obtained it, inſtantly killed the ſchoolmaſter. He was buried in a place ſeparate from the proteſtants; for the rebels were heard to declare, that they would not inter him with hereticks.

The bodies of the proteſtant priſoners were buried by a ſubſcription, raiſed by the rebel chiefs; Bagenal Harvey, who was filled with horror and ſhame at the maſſacre, having ſet it on foot.

One Templeton, a yeoman, was taken priſoner at the battle of Roſs, by the rebels, and carried to Scullabogue, where he ſaw one Walter Devereux, a farmer, ſitting on the wheels of a car, within ten paces of the barn; and Devereux pointing to it, ſaid, "That all proteſtants and loyaliſts ſhould be ſerved in that way." On entering the barn, he ſaw the bodies in the ſame ſituation as deſcribed by William Fleming.

Walter Devereux was taken at the cove of Cork, when attempting to make his eſcape to America, and the protections of five different general officers were found on him; though he was afterwards charged with the maſſacre of ſome of the Wexford regiment at Newbridge, beſides that at Scullabogue, which was proved by informations ſworn before colonel Ram at Cove, and on the trial of Devereux at Cork.

Bagenal Harvey, who was a man of honour and humanity, though deluded by abſurd political ſpeculations, was filled with the greateſt horror on hearing of the maſſacre at Scullabogue; and, therefore, the day after, he iſſued general orders,* denouncing the penalty of death againſt ſuch perſons as ſhould murder their priſoners; for which humane effort to check that ſanguinary ſpirit, which now for the firſt time began to appear, he was depoſed; and that inhuman ſavage, father Philip Roche, was elected in his ſtead, at the camp of Carrickbyrne; and it appears that Edward Roche, who had been elected ſecond in command of the republican army at Wexford, then became commander in chief, as appears

* See Appendix, No. XX. 13.

pears by a paper* ſigned by him, dated the ſeventh of June, 1798. The reverſe of fortune which general Harvey experienced in the courſe of ſeven days, was no leſs rapid than unexpected, and convinced him of his folly and temerity.

A reſpectable proteſtant, who was taken priſoner by the rebels, and compelled to ſerve in the camp at Carrickbyrne, informed me, that father Roche, in a publick harangue, denounced all proteſtants as hereticks, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of them were permitted to ſerve in their ranks: That on the ſame day, he met Roche in a tent, and that he, with ſingular diſſimulation, aſſured him, that they made no religious diſtinctions, and never regarded a man's religion, provided he was loyal and true to their cauſe: That Bagenal Harvey, on hearing Roche's harangue, lamented to him, that the war unexpectedly turned out to be purely religious: That the prieſts had got abſolute ſway: That he ſeemed quite diſtracted, and wiſhed he could make his eſcape.

On the eighth of June, the day after Bagenal's Harvey's depoſition, Francis Glaſcott, eſquire, of Pilltown, his intimate friend, wrote to him for his protection; but he wrote in anſwer, that he was unable to protect himſelf. This letter marked ſtrongly the diſtreſs and perturbation of mind which he at that time ſuffered.†

He lamented in this letter, that Mr. Tottenham, of Roſs, refuſed to ſpeak to Furlong, whom he ſent with a flag of truce to general Johnſon, on the morning that the rebels attacked Roſs; and ſome perſons have been ſo weak and abſurd as to condemn general Johnſon for what happened on that occaſion; but which human wiſdom could not prevent.

A ſoldier, at an out-poſt, ſhot Furlong, a man of mean appearance, when in full gallop towards the town, and without any other emblem of his being a herald, or a meſſenger of peace, than his having a white handkerchief in his hand; and the letter which was found in his pocket, contained nothing but a peremptory requiſition to general Johnſon, to ſurrender the town to Bagenal Harvey, commander in chief; with which that brave officer would not have complied.

It has been ſaid, that Bagenal Harvey was depoſed, becauſe he ſhewed a want of courage in this action; but that is ſcarce credible, for he diſplayed

* See it in Appendix, No. XX. 15. † Ibid.

played very great firmneſs in various duels which he had fought in the courſe of his life.

Bagenal Harvey, on his depoſition, was appointed preſident of the council at Wexford, conſiſting of a few leading members of the newly-eſtabliſhed republick, which ſat for the regulation of their affairs; and we find his name, with that of Nicholas Gray, his ſecretary, to many orders iſſued by them. See the oaths preſcribed by the council for the rebel officers and privates to take.*

Some days after the taking of Enniſcorthy, father Kearns, Patrick Sutton, and William Barker, all rebel chieftains, marched a body of rebels from that town towards Lacken-hill. They ſtopped at St. John's, the ſeat of doctor Hill, cloſe to Enniſcorthy, and took him and his brother with them, in order to leave them as hoſtages, at Slievekilta camp, to ſecure the lives of any of their leaders who might fall into the hands of the loyaliſts. They remained at Scullabogue, twelve miles off, the firſt night, under the guard of fifteen ſavage pikemen, who ſlept in a ſmall room with them. A hogſhead of whiſkey was carried on a car, in the midſt of the rebel column. Impatient at not having it drawn faſt enough for them, one of the ſavages knocked in with a ſtone a ſtave of the caſk, in conſequence of which the liquor was loſt.

One of the rebels led Mr. Hill to the barn, which had been burnt two or three days before, and he ſaw a great number of the guard turning up the bodies, in queſt of money and watches, and who afterwards owned that they had been ſucceſsful in their ſearch.

Father Kearns returned in the morning, and deſired them to prepare to march to Lacken-hill, near Roſs. He made them halt at Newbawn chapel, about a mile from Scullabogue, where he ſaid maſs for them, having a broad croſs belt, and a dragoon's ſabre under his veſtment. The rebel chiefs knelt round the altar, from which Kearns, when maſs was over, endeavoured to exhort the rebels, in the ſame ſtrain that Murphy and Roche uſed at Vinegar-hill and Carrickbyrne; but the current of his eloquence was ſoon ſtopped by ebriety, his illiterateneſs, his groſs ignorance and vulgarity.

Some readers may regard theſe anecdotes as trifling and unintereſting, but it ſhould be conſidered that it would be impoſſible to depict

* See it in Appendix, No. XX. 16.

the ſpirit of the rebellion, and the true character of the ſavages concerned in it, without giving a circumſtantial account of the events which occurred in the courſe of it.

Mr. Stephen Ram, of Ramsfort, informed me, that many of his popiſh tenants, who had been in the rebellion, were very communicative, and owned that they entered into it at the inſtance of their prieſts. They alſo declared, that it was uſual in the rebel camps, for each prieſt to call over his pariſhioners, and that the coadjutor acted in his ſtead, if he was prevented by age or infirmity from doing ſo. Thoſe who appeared reluctant were liable to cenſure.

When father Roche, the commander in chief, was encamped on Lacken-hill, he wrote the following letter to father Doyle:

" Revd. Sir,

" You are hereby ordered, in conjunction with Edmund Walſh, to order all your pariſhioners to the camp on Lacken-hill, under pain of the moſt ſevere puniſhment; for I declare to you and to them, in the name of the people, if you do not, that I will cenſure all Sutton's* pariſh with fire and ſword. Come to ſee me this day.

Lacken-hill, June 14th, 1798. ROCHE."

To the Revd. James Doyle.

It was given out in general orders, that the commander in chief ſhould ſend out guards, to compel ſuch perſons as they ſhould find loitering at home, and that ſuch guards ſhould puniſh with death thoſe who ſhould reſiſt them. Thoſe who were found loitering ſhould alſo be tried by a court-martial, and puniſhed with death. See Appendix, No. XX. 13.

This is according to the French ſyſtem of terror.

The next memorable action which took place in the rebellion was the battle of Arklow, which happened on the ninth of June.

The rebel leaders knew, that if the metropolis fell, there would be a general inſurrection of the popiſh multitude all over the kingdom. They reſolved therefore to make one deſperate effort to gain it, knowing that immenſe numbers would flock to their ſtandard in their progreſs thither, and that the maſs of the people in it would riſe, as ſoon as they approached

* It is preſumed that Doyle was coadjutor to Sutton.

proached it. Fluſhed with the victory which they had gained at Tubberneering near Clough, they were ſure that their efforts would be crowned with ſucceſs.

The melancholy intelligence of colonel Walpole's diſaſter ſpread a general gloom through the metropolis, where it was received the evening of the day it happened. The conſequences that might have reſulted from it were not eaſily to be foreſeen. The hopes of the diſaffected were raiſed to the higheſt pitch. Plans of inſurrection were formed by the rebels in Dublin, as they had the moſt ſanguine hopes of being joined by their brethren in arms, who had given ſuch an extraordinary and unexpected inſtance of proweſs againſt the king's troops. Reports were induſtriouſly propagated, magnifying the numbers of the rebel force; and ſerious apprehenſions were entertained by many for the ſafety of the capital.

The following letter was written by the rebel general, father Michael Murphy, at Gorey, on the ſixth inſtant, to Thomas Houſton, of Thomas-ſtreet, Dublin, which ſufficiently proves the determination of the rebel chieftains to march to, and attack the metropolis. Soon after the battle of Arklow, general Skerret met a ſoldier, who had ſome plunder in his hands; among other things, a watch, a crucifix, and the following letter which he had found on the body of father Murphy:

" Friend Houſton! Gorey, 6th June.

" Great events are ripening. In a few days we ſhall meet. The firſt fruits of your regeneration muſt be a tincture of poiſon and pike, in the metropolis, againſt hereticks. This is a tribunal for ſuch opinions. Your talents muſt not be buried as a judge: Your ſons muſt be ſteeled with fortitude againſt hereſy, then we ſhall do; and you ſhall ſhine in a higher ſphere. We ſhall have an army of brave republicans, one hundred thouſand, with fourteen pieces of cannon, on Tueſday, before Dublin; your heart will beat high at the news. You will riſe with a proportionable force.

Yours ever,

Decipher, B. I. K. M. Q. Y. * * * M. MURPHY."

Father Murphy, in the conſtant hurry and confuſion in which he had been kept, in preparing for the attack of Arklow, had not time or op-

portunity to forward this letter, which remains as a proof of the bold and malignant deſigns of the ſacerdotal hero and his fanatical ſectaries.*

So great was the conſternation in Dublin, that the counteſs Camden ſailed for England, and many ladies not only of rank and faſhion, but even of middling and mean ſituations, followed her example. The regular military force in the capital was ſmall, but the loyal citizens enrolled as yeomen, to the amount of about four thouſand, well-armed and diſciplined, nobly ſtood forward to ſave their country, completely overawed the diſaffected within the city; and enabled government to detach from the garriſon the Cavan battalion of militia, and a ſmall party of the Rea fencibles, who were ſent off on the day following, in carriages impreſſed for the purpoſe, to Wicklow, to join there the debris of colonel Walpole's column, and to endeavour to recover the town of Arklow. The honourable general Needham was appointed to the command of theſe troops, and reached Wicklow on the evening of the fifth of June. On the ſixth, the column moved forward without oppoſition to Arklow, but found the country altogether deſerted by the male inhabitants, who had, almoſt to a man, gone off to join their friends at Gorey.

The arrival of freſh troops from Dublin revived the drooping ſpirits of thoſe who had been defeated under colonel Walpole; though moſt of them were in a deplorable ſtate, having thrown away their packs, containing all their neceſſaries, to lighten them in their retreat; and the ſhoes they had, were completely worn out. On the march the column was joined by the Arklow corps of yeomanry, all loyal proteſtants. As their houſes and property had been deſtroyed by the rebels, they formed themſelves into ſmall parties, before they joined general Needham; and ſet fire to many houſes, of which the male inhabitants were known to have joined the rebels at Gorey; but theſe acts of revenge were completely put an end to by the general, and all the ſtraggling yeomen were called in. When the column approached within three miles of Arklow,† a ſtrong

* From this letter, the reader may conceive to what a ſtate of plunder, carnage and conflagration, the metropolis would have been reduced on the night of the twenty-third of May, if the pikemen had riſen and occupied the ſtreets before the yeomen were alarmed, as they would have been joined by many thouſand rebels from the country, who were waiting for the ſignal to ruſh into it.

† Plate II. 1.

PLAN OF THE TOWN OF ARKLOW
With part of the circumjacent
COUNTRY.
to illustrate the account of the Attack of the Rebels on that Town June 9th 1798.

SEA

SEA

Mouth of the Ovaca

MORASS

to Coolgreny

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ſtrong party of dragoons was ſent forward to reconnoitre. They puſhed on to the town, and on their appearance, ſome few fellows who had committed acts of violence and rebellion, after the retreat of the king's troops to Wicklow, made their eſcape to Gorey.

The town was taken poſſeſſion of by the dragoons without any oppoſition; and about four o'clock, on the ſixth of June, the main column marched in. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy which their arrival diffuſed through the town, as moſt of the proteſtant inhabitants had deſerted their houſes, and fled to the beach, to avoid the deſtruction which ſeemed to impend over them and their families, and made their eſcape in boats; but on ſeeing the column enter the town, they returned. The ſeventh and eighth, the troops remained unmoleſted; though they were in conſtant expectation of being attacked. Patroles were kept conſtantly in motion, and every precaution was adopted that prudence could ſuggeſt. Some fences were levelled, to clear the only poſition which it appeared adviſable to occupy in caſe of an attack. The diſpoſition of the forces for that event was reſolved on; and ground was marked out for encamping the entire body outſide the town,* that on any alarm they might turn out and form with greater promptitude.

THE BATTLE OF ARKLOW.

On the morning of the ninth, about eleven o'clock, intelligence was brought that the enemy were at hand. The garriſon inſtantly turned out, and a cavalry patrole advanced two miles towards Coolgreney,† where they ſaw at ſome diſtance a mounted patrole of the enemy which immediately retired. It happened very fortunately that a detachment of the Durham fencibles, a very fine regiment, amounting to three hundred effective men, arrived about one o'clock that day, without whoſe aſſiſtance the little garriſon would not probably have been able to withſtand the ſuperior numbers of the enemy.

Effective

* Plate VIII. † Plate II. a.

9th of June, 1798.

Effective return of the forces under the command of the honourable major-general Needham at Arklow :

REGIMENTS, &c.	Colonels	Field offic.	Captains	Subalterns	Staff	Quar.maſt.	Serjeants	Drumm.or Trumpet.	Rank and File
Colonel Sir W. W. Wynne's diviſion. — 4th (or Royal Iriſh dragoon guards) -			2	2			3		21
Colonel Sir W. W. Wynne's diviſion. — 5th (or Royal Iriſh drag.)				1					18
Colonel Sir W. W. Wynne's diviſion. — Ancient Britiſh fencible light dragoons -	1	2	1	5	2	4	7	4	81
Cavalry	1	2	3	8	2	4	10	4	120
Lieutenant-colonel Cope's diviſion. — Armagh militia -		1		7			3	3	107
Lieutenant-colonel Cope's diviſion. — Tyrone mil. (light comp.)			1	1			3	1	42
Lieutenant-colonel Cope's diviſion. — North Cork militia -				1			1	1	28
Lieutenant-colonel Cope's diviſion. — Suffolk fenc. (light comp.)			1	1			2	3	31
Lieutenant-colonel Cope's diviſion. — Cavan militia -	1	1	4	9	4		24	7	312
Colonel Maxwell Barry's diviſion. — Antrim militia -		1	1	6	2		9	2	201
Colonel Maxwell Barry's diviſion. — Londonderry militia, (grenadier company) -			1	1			4		66
Colonel Skerrett's diviſion. — Durham fencible infantry	1	2	4	15	4		27	15	245
Colonel Skerrett's diviſion. — Dunbarton infantry -			1	6	1		10	5	105
Infantry	2	5	13	47	13		83	37	1137

YEOMANRY CORPS.	Mounted. Captains	Subalt.	Serjean.	Trump.	Rank & File	Diſmounted. Subalt.	Serjean.	Drum.	Rank & File
North Arklow, captain, lord Wicklow -	2	2	3	1	40		1		25
South Arklow, captain Atkins -	1	2	4	1	43	1	1		15
Camolin, captain, earl of Mountnorris	1	2	2		57	1			24
Coolgreney, captain Beauman -	1	2	4	1	43				
Caſtleton, captain Knox -	1	2	4		41				9
	6	10	17	3	224	2	2		73

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the out-poſt at the charter-ſchool A, was ordered in; and another cavalry patrole was ſent there, and they obſerved at ſome diſtance, the enemy deploying the immenſe maſs which had marched by the Coolgreney road, from Gorey, and extending themſelves into a kind of irregular line of great depth; the right being at the little rock of Arklow B, where a very ſtrong column was formed, which marched by the ſea-ſide road, and was deſtined to attack the lower end of the town, or fiſhery C. On the Coolgreney road another immenſe column was formed, to attack the right of our poſition, at the upper end of the town D. When theſe arrangements were made, which took up half an hour, the enemy ſent forward a numerous patrole of cavalry and infantry, which attempted to ſurround the patrole, which we had ſent to the charter-ſchool, and obliged them to fall back to the garriſon. In the mean time the king's troops prepared for action, having made the following diſpoſition: A part of the Antrim, with ſome ſupplementary yeomen, commanded by captain Rowan, were deſtined for the defence of the barrack E, and lined the walls on a temporary banquette erected for the purpoſe.

Another detachment of the Antrim, under the command of lieutenant-colonel O'Hara, was poſted at the upper end of the town at D, with a barricado ſuddenly formed of cars and boxes in their front, and having one of their regimental field-pieces with their own gunners. The line of the king's forces was formed with the Durham on the right, in the circular poſition FFG, which gave ſome advantage in point of ground; but, after the firing began, the troops on the left of the Durham moved forward, under cover of the hedges, their front GGG, where they remained during the reſt of the action. The Suffolk fencibles and the Tyrone light companies, with ſome of the ſupplementary yeomen lined the very ſtrong hedges HHH; a ſmall party was poſted in the churchyard I, and another at the end of the ſtreet K, for the defence of the lower end of the town.

The main object of the rebels was to outflank and ſurround our little army, by which they muſt have overpowered it by their immenſe ſuperiority of numbers; which the excellent diſpoſition made by general Needham was well calculated to prevent.

The

The cavalry, with the exception of one troop of the Ancient Britons, and the Arklow cavalry, poſted at L, were ſtationed at the bridge, and on the ſands outſide the town MMM, where they were perfectly under cover.

The rebels firſt appeared on the tops of hedges, in a great circular line, extending from the Gorey or ſea ſide road to the ſand banks near the ſea, and was very deep. They put their hats on their pikes, and gave moſt dreadful yells. The enemy now moved forward to the attack, and in their progreſs ſet fire to Lamberton, the beautiful ſeat of the reverend Mr. Bayly, rector of the pariſh of Arklow N, which was entirely conſumed. The party on the Coolgreney road was warmly received on their firſt appearance, by colonel O'Hara, with his gun and party at the barrier D; and they ſuffered very ſeverely from the two guns on the right of the Durham's. One of the enemy's ſix-pounders was now dragged off the road by the lane N, and advantageouſly poſted on the ſummit of an hill O, commanding the poſition of the king's troops, but which was ſo extenſive that they could not with their ſmall numbers occupy the whole of it. The other gun which the rebels brought with them was drawn by the Yellow-lane P, and poſted not injudiciouſly on an eminence at Q.

The enormous mob which compoſed the rebel army was eſtimated at twenty-five thouſand men by thoſe who were beſt informed. In their march they plundered the houſes of all proteſtants of every thing valuable, and put in ſtrict requiſition all the ſpirits and proviſions that could be ſupplied. Under the influence of intoxication and fanaticiſm they were led on by their prieſts, who inſpired them with ideas of their own invincibleneſs; becauſe, as they informed the miſguided wretches, they were engaged in the cauſe of heaven, and againſt the enemies of God. To maintain that religious phrenzy, which was the only ſource of their courage, they, at the end of every mile during their march, ſaid maſs for them, and uſed every mode of exhortation, and every ſuperſtitious device that prieſtcraft could invent. They advanced in an irregular line, which was frequently broken by their running out to file along the hedge rows lying parallel to the poſition of the king's troops, of the cover of which they endeavoured to avail themſelves. Their front rank was compoſed of thoſe who had fire-arms, and who were moſtly from the barony of Shelmalier, on the Wexford coaſt, where they ſubſiſt during the winter

by

by ſhooting barnacles and other ſea fowl, which makes them expert markſmen. They were covered in the rear by the pikemen many deep, and at certain intervals their line was ſtrengthened by numerous maſſes of men, who were ready to ſupply the places of thoſe who fell, or to act as occaſion might require. Each company had a green flag or colour about two feet ſquare, with a yellow harp in the centre. Some, however, were party-coloured, and equal in ſize to the king's colours. Their leaders were diſtinguiſhable riding through the ranks, marſhalling them, and giving orders.

During the engagement the rebels frequently repeated their dreadful yells, which heightened the terrifick appearance of this numerous hoſt of barbarians, who ſeemed confident from their ſuperior numbers, that they could eaſily overwhelm our ſmall army.

The column on the right of the enemy's line, which formed at the rock B, and marched by the ſea ſide road S, attacked the lower end of the town with great fury, ſetting fire to the houſes, and advancing under cover of the ſmoke, with the moſt determined perſeverance. The flames were fortunately interrupted by the interval between C and R, and did not communicate to the reſt of the town.

The rebels, notwithſtanding their moſt deſperate efforts, were unable to withſtand the heavy and well-directed fire kept up by the party poſted at K; and never ſucceeded in paſſing the point R, at which multitudes of them were killed, but who were inſtantly replaced by others; and they were plainly obſerved throwing their killed, and, it is believed, many of their wounded into the flames, where they were conſumed or buried under the ruins of falling houſes. The attack was ſupported with the utmoſt obſtinacy on this point for two hours and a half, when the enemy began to deſiſt from an attempt which had proved fatal to ſo many, and to retire along the ſtreet of the fiſhery C, and by the ſea ſide road S.

This being obſerved, the cavalry on the bridge, under colonel ſir W. W. Wynne, was ordered to charge, and that officer led them on with his uſual gallantry againſt the enemy, many of whom were cut down on the ſands T T, and the reſt made their eſcape up the Yellow-lane P, and into the encloſures, where the cavalry could not follow them.

While this warm conflict was maintained at the lower end of the town, the attack was ſupported with ſtill more obſtinacy againſt the barricade

at D; by which the rebels were in hopes of making their way to the rear of our little army. This column was led on by father Michael Murphy, the prieſt, of Ballycanew, who endeavoured to animate them by every argument and exhortation that could work on their bigotry. Many of their chiefs, who led them on to ſucceſſive attacks, were killed within a few yards of our guns.

Murphy, who had hitherto eſcaped, headed the column at the charter-ſchool, which was ſtill very great; but as they ſhewed a reluctance to advance, he took out of his pocket ſome muſket-balls, which, he ſaid, were fired by the enemy, and ſome of which had hit him without wounding him; and others he had caught in his hands. He aſſured them at the ſame time, that the balls of hereticks could not injure them, as they were under the protection of the Almighty, in whoſe cauſe they were fighting, provided they were ſtedfaſt in their faith. By that ſtratagem, he prevailed on many of the deluded wretches to follow him; and they ſucceſſively became victims of their ſuperſtition and temerity. Father Murphy, after many eſcapes, fell himſelf by a cannon ſhot, within a few yards of the barricade D, while ſhouting to his followers, and waving in his hand a fine ſtandard with a croſs, and Liberty or Death inſcribed on it. The fall of this church militant hero had an immediate effect in damping the ardour of the enemy, which from that moment began to abate.

About eight o'clock, when it was almoſt dark, they began to retreat towards Coolgreney, in an irregular and diſorderly manner. They carried off nine cart-loads of dead and wounded. If the cavalry had one hour's day light, they would have purſued them, and have cut off great numbers in their retreat. The loſs of the rebels was ſaid to be one thouſand killed, and great numbers wounded.

The rebel cannon were worked by ſome of our artillery-men, who were taken near Wexford on the thirtieth of May; and as they levelled them too high, their fire was in a great meaſure ineffectual; for during the whole engagement, but two ſhots had any effect. One of them paſſed through the ammunition box of one of our guns, the other broke the carriage and killed three of the gunners.

When our troops got poſſeſſion of Gorey, on the twelfth of June, a yeoman of the name of Sherwood, found a popiſh confeſſion of faith* in the box of a prieſt, the original of which is now in the poſſeſſion of the reverend

* See a copy of it in Appendix, No. XX. 25.

reverend Mr. Bayly of Arklow. It has been publiſhed in a pamphlet, entitled, Veridicus, and in another written in defence of the orangemen, in reply to Theobald Mc. Kenna, eſquire; and as an anonymous writer has treated it as an impoſture, from its monſtrous abſurdity, I think it right to obſerve, that various productions of the ſame nature, but infinitely more abſurd and ridiculous, are conſtantly publiſhed in Dublin, and circulated among the beſotted multitude. Of theſe Fifty Reaſons, the book on the Scapular or Carmelite order, the Funiculus triplex, or triple cord of St. Francis, the revelations of father John Murphy the traitor, hanged at Tullow, ſtand foremoſt.

Another of theſe confeſſions of faith was found at Carlow; one was dropped by a drunken prieſt of the name of Fitzſimmons, at the houſe of a gentleman in the county of Meath; and another was found in the pocket of a robber, who was killed in the Liberty, in the year 1795.*

I forgot to mention that ſome weeks before the rebellion broke out, popiſh children at Wingfield, and in the vicinity of Gorey and Arklow, and in many other places in the county of Wexford, wore red tape; and that ſome proteſtant children who did ſo, wiſhing to imitate them, were ſeverely reprimanded by popiſh ſchoolmaſters. George Taylor, in his narrative, mentions it; and tells us, what I have heard from many reſpectable perſons, that the pretext for uſing it was, that all the Roman catholick children, under the age of fifteen, were to be viſited by a dreadful plague; and that this piece of tape, which was endued with ſupernatural powers, by the benediction of a prieſt, would ſecure thoſe, who wore it, from infection; but it was believed, that the intent of it was to diſcriminate popiſh from proteſtant children, when the general maſſacre was to take place in the month of May. The country ſhopkeepers brought immenſe quantities of it from Dublin, which they readily diſpoſed of. George Taylor, who lives near Gorey, mentions this circumſtance in his narrative of the Wexford rebellion.

Captain Grogan Knox, who commanded the Caſtletown yeomen cavalry, and two privates in it, fell in this action. It is ſuppoſed that they advanced too far in purſuit of the enemy, after they had been driven out of the fiſhery, and that by doing ſo, they got within the range of our ſhot. This loyal gentleman was brother of Mr. Cornelius Grogan, who was hanged at Wexford.

 I will

* This confeſſion, it is believed, was compoſed ſoon after, and alluded to the maſſacre of 1641.

I will now proceed to relate the principal occurrences which took place in the town of Wexford, from Wedneſday the thirtieth day of May, when the rebels got poſſeſſion of it, till the twenty-firſt day of June, when they were expelled from it. Some time after it was evacuated by the king's troops, the rebels approached it, headed by Edward Roche, a farmer, who was permanent ſerjeant in colonel Lehunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, and having deſerted from them on Whitſunday, became a rebel general. When they came to a place called the Spring,* within two hundred yards of the town, they knelt down, croſſed themſelves, and prayed for ſome time. A perſon in the van of their army, when advanced to the middle of the town, having by chance fired a ſhot, the rear, who were outſide, fled with precipitation, from motives of fear. As they paſſed through the ſtreets, they uttered the moſt dreadful yells, and for three days after their arrival, they continued to plunder, every rebel gratifying his revenge againſt thoſe towards whom he bore any enmity. They appointed a commitee of ſeven, inveſted with ſupreme command, in which Bagenal Harvey was appointed preſident, after having been depoſed, and a ſubordinate committee for the government of the town, which they divided into wards, in each of which they appointed and armed a company with officers of different degrees.

On entering the town, they by acclamation appointed general Keugh governor, or commandant of it, and bore him on their ſhoulders to the court-houſe. This extraordinary man, who had been a private in his majeſty's ſervice, roſe to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the 65th regiment, in which he ſerved in America. He was about five feet nine inches high, and rather robuſt. His countenance was comely, his features were large, and indicative of an active intelligent mind. Joined to a very happy and perſuaſive manner of expreſſing himſelf, he had an engaging addreſs, and great affability of manner. He married a widow, with whoſe jointure and his own private fortune, he lived very comfortably in Wexford. Proud and ambitious, he thought that his own abilities, which he appreciated too highly, were not ſufficiently rewarded; and envying thoſe who were his ſuperiors in rank and fortune, he hoped to riſe in that chaotic ſcene which a revolution would effect. In clubs and coffee-houſes, he conſtantly cenſured the form of our conſtitution, and ſaid it might be meliorated; but

* See Plate VI. P.

but under the maſk of a reformiſt, he concealed the dark deſigns of a rebel. His diſaffection became at laſt ſo conſpicuous, that the lord chancellor deprived him of the commiſſion of the peace in the year 1796.

The rebels choſe certain perſons to diſtribute proviſions, and for that purpoſe to give tickets to the inhabitants to entitle them to a rateable proportion of them, according to the number of inhabitants in each houſe. The habitations of all the proteſtants who made their eſcape were plundered, many of them were demoliſhed, and but few of thoſe who remained in the town were ſpared. All the proteſtant men were immediately committed to priſon, except a few leaders who were really attached to their cauſe, or who affected to be ſo, to ſave their lives, or thoſe who concealed themſelves.

The day they entered the town, Mr. John Boyd, brother of Mr. B. member for the town, Thomas Sparrow, and one Hadden, a porter, were maſſacred, Henry Box, a ſhoemaker, and a man of the name of Cook, contiguous to it.

Thoſe who could obtain written protections from the popiſh clergy, whoſe influence was unbounded, or from the rebel leaders, were not moleſted.

The perfidious and cruel conduct of the rebel captains and ſailors to their proteſtant paſſengers, who paid them large ſums of money to convey them to Wales, will ever remain a ſtain on human nature. As ſoon as the rebels entered the town, a large green flag was hoiſted on the barrack,* which is on an eminence; but thoſe who had put to ſea before it appeared, were ſo fortunate as to eſcape.

I give an extract from the letter of a proteſtant clergyman, Mr. Handcock, (part of which I already quoted,) who retreated with his family from Enniſcorthy, to ſhew the perilous and diſaſtrous ſtate of the proteſtant fugitives. "On the morning of the thirtieth of May, the day after our arrival at Wexford, in compliance with the earneſt and irreſiſtible adjuration of my wife, I determined on going to ſea, careleſs whither; but ſo traitorous were the boatmen, and ſo reſolved (as appeared in many inſtances after) to deliver up the gentry to the rebels, that after bargaining with ſeveral of them for a boat to Waterford or Dublin, or a ſloop to Wales, and

* See Plate VI. A. B.

and being in the moſt ruffianly manner inſulted by the boatmen, and pelted with ſtones from the ſhore, I could not prevail on one of them to put off, until with a piſtol in each hand, and deſperation in my heart, they ſaw me heſitating, whether to blow out their brains or my own."

The treatment of a party of gentlemen and ladies, who embarked on board a large ſloop, belonging to the bloody Thomas Dixon, the thirtieth of May, will ſhew the reader the ferocious cruelty of the rebel ſailors to their paſſengers. After having exacted a very large ſum from them, he refuſed to put to ſea, till the veſſel was lightened, as he ſaid, ſhe was heavily laden with coals; on which the gentlemen and their ſervants aſſiſted in throwing over board a large quantity of that article. As an excuſe for further procraſtination, Dixon ſaid, he muſt go on ſhore to know what ſignal to hoiſt; as he had friends among the rebels, and no veſſel but his would be ſuffered to ſail. Having repaired in his ſmall boat to the county ſide of the bridge, where the rebels were in great force, he returned in about an hour and a half, and informed them, that the united Iriſhmen were in poſſeſſion of the town; and with the ſemblance of friendſhip, he adviſed them to conceal their arms and their uniforms, as many of them were yeomen. He went on ſhore a ſecond time, and returned with two boats full of men, well armed, and who immediately deprived the paſſengers of their arms. Thoſe with captain Dixon then proceeded to the barrack, from whence having made a ſignal, the rebel ſailors in the ſloop informed the paſſengers that they were priſoners, and that their captain had obtained the command of the barrack.

Thus this party of gentlemen and ladies, obnoxious for their loyalty, were betrayed into the hands of the ferocious rebels, after having been defrauded of their money. They were landed, and lodged at the poſt-office, where they remained till the firſt of June.

Mr. Crump, Mr. Bland, and Mr. Kellet, and their wives, who were of the party, repaired to the houſe of the former, but as it had been plundered of all its furniture, and materially injured by the rebels, they could not occupy it. They therefore repaired to Clonard, the houſe of Mr. Kellet, two miles from the town, which was not in the ſmalleſt degree injured, becauſe he was married to a lady of the popiſh perſuaſion; and for that reaſon they remained there unmoleſted, till Monday the fourth of June, except that they daily received three or four domiciliary viſits

viſits from rebel parties, who ſaid they were ſearching for orange-men. *

On Sunday the third of June, Mr. Cornelius Grogan, of Johnſtown,† within three miles of Wexford, viſited them, and aſked them what part they would take in the preſent civil war? They anſwered that they would continue neuter. He told them that they would not be ſuffered to remain inactive, and aſſured them that they would be taken to the camp if they perſiſted in doing ſo, and put to death if they attempted to make their eſcape. He ſaid, that the united Iriſhmen had waited on him that morning, and compelled him to take their oath: That at firſt he was averſe to it; but having conſulted one O'Connor a ſchoolmaſter on the propriety of taking it, he removed his doubts, by aſſuring him that the moſt loyal of his majeſty's ſubjects might ſafely ſwear it: That he was determined to go through with the buſineſs, as it was the only means of preſerving his property; for, that the people had riſen in great force in different parts of the kingdom, and had been victorious in different engagements. Being inveſted with the office of commiſſary to the republick, he took an inventory of all the proviſions at Clonard, from Mr. Kellet's ſteward; and afterwards went out and examined whether it was correct. He evinced his authority by giving a protection to a woman whom Mr. Kellet was ſending to Wexford for bread. This unfortunate gentleman was ſeized of an eſtate of 8000 l. a-year, in the county of Wexford, and lived at Johnſtown, in a rude, but plentiful hoſpitality; attended by a few paraſites, who flattered his prejudices, and paid the moſt obſequious deference to his opinions. From their daily exceſſes at the table, Mr. Grogan was ſeldom free from the gout. On moſt occaſions he evinced the moſt decided diſapprobation of the meaſures of the Iriſh government, in which he was encouraged by his needy and dependent aſſociates, who hoped to acquire riches and conſequence from general combuſtion. In him it probably aroſe from envy, becauſe, from the want of mental excellence, (for he had but mean talents) and of proper exertion in publick concerns, he did not enjoy that weight and reſpect in ſociety, which gentlemen of much ſmaller fortunes poſſeſſed.

It

* From whatever poſt the rebels occupied, they, as a matter of courſe, ſent out bands of pikemen in queſt of proteſtants, under the denomination of orangemen.

† See Plate III. 7.

It is ſcarce to be doubted, but that he was not privy to the conſpiracy which ended in a rebellion, though his conduct afforded ſtrong ſuſpicions of it, as he was fond of the ſociety of Keugh, Bagenal Harvey, and other diſaffected perſons; and his paraſites were notoriouſly diſloyal.

It is much to be feared that this unfortunate gentleman fell a ſacrifice to his credulity, his avarice, and want of firmneſs. He retreated with the king's troops from Wexford, about two miles, and then turned off to his own houſe, where he was circumvented by the rebels; who either compelled or ſeduced him to join them. Some are of opinion, that he repaired to his houſe, in hopes of preſerving it from being plundered; others that he imagined he could not preſerve his property but by embarking in the rebel cauſe, which he was convinced would prevail, from the falſe and exaggerated accounts which he had received of their ſucceſſes and their numbers.

On Monday the fourth day of June, Meſſrs. Bland, Crump and Kellet, were conveyed to the gaol of Wexford, by a ſerjeant and twelve rebels, and were committed to a long narrow paſſage, which was ſo filthy and offenſive, (as numbers of proteſtant priſoners were crowded into it) that Mr. Bland, who had been well acquainted with general Keugh, wrote him a note, repreſenting their deplorable ſituation. On his arrival in the priſon Mr. Bland aſked him, whether they could not be liberated on their parole? He replied, "By no means, as the wiſhes of the people muſt be indulged;" however he had them removed to an apartment at the other ſide of the gaol-yard, where there was no furniture, but a wretched bed, without clothes. When they were going out, the rebel centinel who guarded the door, ſtopped them in a rude and peremptory manner; on which general Keugh ſaid, "Do you know whom you ſpeak to? Who placed you there?" To which the centinel replied, in an angry tone, and with a ſtern look, "It was the people that placed me here." This incident affords an inſtructive leſſon to factious demagogues, who hope to riſe on the deſtruction of ſocial order; as it proves, even in the outſet of a rebellion, how precarious their power is over the giddy multitude, whom they hope to make the inſtruments of their inordinate ambition.

On Wedneſday the ſeventh of June, they were committed to a priſon-ſhip,* with many other reſpectable gentlemen. They were ſurrounded by

* See Plate VI.

by a multitude of pikemen as they marched to the quay, where they embarked. They were confined ſixteen days in the hold of a ſmall ſloop, covered with an iron grate, and had no other bed but a light covering of dirty ſtraw, over the ballaſt, which conſiſted of ſtones. Six rebel guards were placed over them. Their breakfaſt conſiſted of a ſmall barley loaf, which was almoſt black, and half a pint of milk: Their dinner of coarſe boiled beef, with ſome potatoes, let down in the dirty bucket of the ſhip, without a knife or fork; for they were deprived of their knives as ſoon as they were committed. Their drink was bad beer or whiſkey. Two days in the week their only food was potatoes and rancid butter, let down in the ſhip's bucket. Such was the barbarous treatment which a number of reſpectable gentlemen received, for no other reaſon than becauſe they were known to be attached to the beſt of kings, and to the only conſtitution in Europe which affords any degree of rational liberty!

From the ſufferings of the paſſengers on board a large ſloop called the Lovely Kitty, (and many of them were ladies of rank and fortune,*) one may form ſome idea of what the proteſtant fugitives endured from the ſavage ſpirit of the rebel ſailors. Having embarked at three o'clock, in the morning of the thirtieth of May, they ſailed as far as the fort of Roſslare,† where the ſailors caſt anchor, under the pretext of taking in ballaſt. In the evening they were ſurrounded by a number of boats, the crews of which, being well-armed, boarded them, and were ſo brutal and ferocious, as to fill them with ſerious apprehenſions for their lives. Mrs. Gill, one of the paſſengers, imagining that they were on the point of murdering her huſband, threw herſelf overboard, and floated to ſome diſtance from the veſſel; but was purſued and ſaved. Having been carried on deck, ſhe appeared lifeleſs for ſome time, and on being recovered, ſhe exclaimed, "Ah! why did you bring me back to ſcenes of miſery?" Mr. Stringer, who had eſcaped from Enniſcorthy, having been aſked by a ruffian how he came to burn his town, replied, "It was done by the rebels;" on which the ſailors exclaimed, "Over with him!" and inſtantly threw him overboard. After ſwimming ſome time, part of the crew, more humane than the reſt, followed him with the long boat, and ſaved his life, but he continued inſane; and his wife, a beautiful young woman, was ſo much affected, as to be deſpaired of. As the veſſel from

* Mrs. Ogle and her ſiſter were among them. † Plate III. 8.

its ſmallneſs, could afford accommodation for but few of the paſſengers, moſt of them remained all night on the deck, among the ſailors, who were brutally drunk, and were conſtantly uttering treaſon, blaſphemy, and obſcenity.

Sometimes they held ſwords or piſtols to the breaſts of the women, uttering the moſt horrid threats. They often ordered them on deck, during the courſe of the night, ſaying, "That they had buſineſs below with the gentlemen;" and they deſired them not to be alarmed at piſtols going off. They heard them fire many ſhots, and were informed afterwards, that they killed eight or ten men in the hold.

Some of the females, dreading that they would offer brutal violence to them, reſolved on drowning themſelves, ſhould ſuch an attempt be made. The ſailors often declared that they would exterminate all orangemen, and that there ſhould be but one religion.

On Thurſday morning, the thirty-firſt of May, a party of the paſſengers, twenty-ſix in number, and all women, except ſix boys and girls, were conveyed to Wexford as priſoners, and lodged in the houſe of one Heron, a chandler, and in a very ſmall room, where they had but one ſmall pallet-bed to repoſe on, and where they ſuffered much from fetid air, bad food, and the want of ſleep.

Heron and his wife were very kind to them, though the rebels conſtantly threatened that they would demoliſh their houſe, if they entertained orangemen or orangewomen, and they often ſearched the houſe for the latter.

Mrs. Pounden, of Enniſcorthy, who did not diſembark till the firſt party landed, aſſured me, that when ſhe was going from the veſſel into a ſmall boat, one of the ſailors ſhot Mr. Dowſe, a paſſenger, cloſe by her ſide, for no other reaſon than becauſe he was a member of captain Richards's yeomen cavalry at Enniſcorthy, and was a proteſtant of diſtinguiſhed loyalty. The firſt object theſe ladies beheld on their landing, was the naked body of Mr. John Boyd, which lay bleeding on the quay, diſfigured with many a ghaſtly wound, and writhing with agony of pain. When he was aſſaſſinated, a number of rebel women exclaimed with ſavage joy, "Well done, boys! ſerve all the hereticks ſo." Mr. John Boyd was brother to Mr. James Boyd, member of the town of Wexford; and becauſe his family were noted for their loyalty, this unfortunate gentleman was murdered as ſoon as he landed on the quay. He continued dying for above

above twenty hours, and often aſked for a draught of water, to quench his inſatiable thirſt; but the rebel mob would not ſuffer any perſon to relieve him. While in that deplorable ſituation, a rebel lad of about fourteen years old ſhot him with a piſtol, which encreaſed his pain, without putting a period to his exiſtence.

On the ſame day they murdered Mr. Sparrow, a yeoman, of Enniſcorthy, and dragged his naked body through the ſtreets, and tied it to one of the piers of the bridge, where it remained buoyant, (a woeful ſpectacle!) till the king's troops arrived.

A gentleman of great reſpectability, in the county of Wexford, aſſured me, that he was carried as a priſoner by a body of pikemen into a houſe, where he was confined for the night: That he found there ſome gentlemen to whom father Corrin, a prieſt, was granting protections; but he previouſly required that they ſhould ſwear that they had not taken the orangeman's oath; the printed form of which lay on the table. It was infamouſly ſanguinary, containing an obligation to deſtroy and extirpate Roman catholicks: This gentleman offered to take the oath, to entitle him to protection; but father Corrin refuſed to adminiſter the oath, having ſaid, "We know you too well to regard what you would ſwear in that way;" alluding to his noted zeal and activity, as a magiſtrate and a yeoman.

A very amiable and reſpectable lady * and her children, who had embarked on board the ſloop of the ſanguinary Thomas Dixon, was treacherouſly relanded by him; and having repaired to the houſe of Mr. Thomas Hatchel, ſon-in-law of doctor Jacob, near the bridge, where, with the doctor, his family, and ſome other proteſtants, ſhe was protected. While the town remained in poſſeſſion of the rebels, ſhe wrote a very exact diary of every material event during that period, which I ſhall quote occaſionally.

She tells us, "That Thomas Dixon went on ſhore in his ſmall boat, and at his return declared, that no woman or child ſhould be killed; but that no man, except three, whom he named, ſhould eſcape. The ſavage ſailors intoxicated with victory and whiſkey, arrived with boats to carry them on ſhore, and a female heroine among them, ſiſter of Mrs. Dixon,

* Her name is concealed at her own deſire.

and wife to a miller at Altramont, brandiſhed a ſword, and boaſting of her exploits, ſaid, "That the paſſengers of no boat would be ſaved, except thoſe of Thomas Dixon, as he was brother-in-law to Roche the commander of the rebel army." Another boat full of ruffians, more furious than the former, arrived, and ſwore they would burn the boat, if they found one gun or a man concealed under deck. More ruffians arrived drunk, and boaſting of their murders, would not drink unleſs Mrs. —— drank firſt, leſt, as they ſaid, they ſhould be poiſoned.

"At dawn of day, on the thirty-firſt of May, Dixon returned, ſaid many horrible things, boaſted of various murders, and made her ſtand on deck, and ſee the dead body of Mr. James Boyd on ſhore.

"When ſhe landed, ſhe found the ſtreets crowded with rebels, who were conſtantly firing ſhots. The boatman aſked her, if ſhe knew ever a Roman catholick? and ſhe ſaid, ſhe was acquainted with Mrs. Talbot; he then led her the back way to her houſe; but ſhe then reimbarked, having found it ſhut. He aſked her, if ſhe knew doctor Jacob? and having ſaid ſhe did, he recommended to her to go there, as it would be a ſafe houſe.* They landed her oppoſite to his door, and ſhe was well received there. The hall was full of ruffians who brought faggots to ſet the houſe on fire, but ſome of them humanely prevented it.

"She was then without food or ſleep from Sunday night the twenty-ſeventh, except that ſhe got a little tea from Mrs. Dixon. She was diſtracted, and felt more the enthuſiaſm of deſpair than inſanity. She took her daughter by her hand, and went to Bagenal Harvey, who did not know her, being covered with coal-aſhes, and convulſed with miſery. She reminded him of their acquaintance; he gave her a protection, but ſaid he had no real command, and that the rebels were a ſet of ſavages exceeding all deſcription. She aſked him, when this was to end? He anſwered, probably not for ſome time, as government would not ſend a force into the country till they had collected a proper one. He ſaid, he muſt get the people out of the town, and form a camp, for otherwiſe it would be deſtroyed in a few hours. Shortly after, they conſented to go to camp, and ſhe ſaw many thouſands of them going there. They were led

* She took this for doctor Jacob's, but it was his ſon-in-law's Mr. Hatchel's; and the rebels availing themſelves of the doctor's ſurgical ſkill to dreſs their wounded men, they ſhewed a regard for, and protected him, and ſuch of his friends as ſought an aſylum in Mr. Hatchel's houſe.

led by many prieſts. They often ſtopped, knelt down, kiſſed the ground, croſſed themſelves; and then ſet up the moſt hideous yells, and followed their prieſts. All that time ſhots were conſtantly fired. Small parties of them entered and ſearched the houſe. The firſt of June paſſed in the ſame manner.

"J. R. a Roman catholick of great humanity, came and told me with candour, how much the proteſtants were ſpoken againſt; but ſaid, he truſted that the women and children would be ſpared.

"In the evening, doctor Caulfield, the Roman catholick biſhop, came, and was very kind to me, J. R. having told him who I was. The doctor ſaid, he was cautioned in the ſtreet, to beware how he protected proteſtants. He gave me a protection, but like B. Harvey ſaid, "He had no influence: That the people could not be deſcribed: That in reality, the devil was roaming at large amongſt them: That their power never could hold: That they were making it a religious war, which would ruin them: That government was too ſtrong, and muſt conquer: That this rebellion had been hatching four years." I think he might have given government notice of it.*

"Second of June, the mob were conſtantly talking in the ſtreet of puniſhing proteſtants. Colonel Lehunte, and many others, went to the chapel, and renounced their religion; were chriſtened; and then marched in proceſſion through the ſtreets.

"Third of June, they made three proteſtants ſhoot a man in the Bull-ring. We received conſtant domiciliary viſits from the rebels, who we thought would murder us ere they departed. The rebels paraded twice a-day oppoſite our door, having fifes, fiddles, and drums. It was a kind of regular tumult; every one was giving his opinion. My little boy liſtening one day ſaid, "Mamma, are they all kings?"

On Trinity Sunday the third of June, a ſermon was preached in the chapel, to a large congregation, conſiſting of a numerous body of pikemen, and ſome proteſtants, who aſſumed the ſemblance of ſincere converts to ſave their lives, and who went there to be chriſtened for the ſame purpoſe. Father Roche, the preacher, and chaplain to the popiſh biſhop, doctor Caulfield, inveighed from the altar againſt the errors of proteſtants,

* This is her obſervation.

proteſtants, whoſe religion he repreſented as an abominably hereſy. He then explained and enforced the doctrines of popery, particularly that of excluſive ſalvation. He deſired them to perſevere with firmneſs, as they were fighting in the cauſe of God againſt hereticks. When the ſermon was over, father Broe, a friar, proceeded to chriſten the proteſtants, in which ceremony he uſed much water, having almoſt waſhed their faces.*

Some papiſts who were connected with, or attached to proteſtants, ſtrenuouſly urged them to change their religion, and even taught them how to croſs themſelves, and to ſay popiſh prayers, from a thorough conviction that the preſervation of their lives depended on their converſion.

This happened to Mr. Gibſon, while in priſon, to whom ſome papiſts lent maſs books, and pointed out to him the prayers which he ſhould learn by heart.

The rebels, in their domiciliary viſits in ſearch of orangemen, arms or ammunition, in the houſes of proteſtants, never failed to carry away with them any articles of wearing apparel, or remarkable furniture, that pleaſed them. The women were much more active in plundering than the men, not only in Wexford, but in the country. They conſtantly entered and plundered the houſes of their proteſtant neighbours, without ſhame or remorſe.

The wives of the country rebels often made a fantaſtick appearance, with the elegant apparel of proteſtant ladies of Wexford, put over their own homely dreſs. Some of them were ſeen mounted on horſeback, with handſome veils, having at the ſame time pikes in their hands.

At firſt there were ſerious apprehenſions of a famine, as no proviſions were carried to market, except butter and milk; and they were ſold for one fourth of the uſual price, from the ſcarcity of ſpecie, the paucity of bidders, and the fears of the farmers that it would be ſeized by force for the uſe of the republick, if they were not ſpeedily ſold.

Officers to regulate the price of proviſions were inſtituted in every pariſh in the county. They alſo appointed armed veſſels to cruize in the channel, which were to intercept ſuch as they found laden with coals, or any of the neceſſaries of life.

For this reaſon, a committee was formed, to ſupply the town with proviſions,

* Some time after the rebellion was ſuppreſſed, he demanded his hire from ſome of thoſe whom he had chriſtened. See Appendix, No. XX. 17.

viſions, and they appointed commiſſaries in every pariſh, who plundered the adjacent country.

William Devereux of Taghmon, commiſſary of his own pariſh, was ſolicited by a rebel to give him a pair of ſhoes; and he ſaid, "Have you killed a ſoldier?" and he anſwering in the negative, Devereux ſaid, "You ſhall not have the ſhoes till you have done ſo." This the rebel proved on Devereux's trial at Wexford.

The governors of the newly-eſtabliſhed republick prohibited the circulation of bank notes, with a view of injuring the credit of government, which tended materially to diſtreſs the inhabitants of Wexford.

A perſon of the utmoſt veracity aſſured me, that in his preſence a rebel, who had been concerned in the plunder of Mr. D'Arcy's houſe, pulled out of his pocket a large quantity of bank notes, in the ſtreets of Wexford, and tore them; ſwearing at the ſame time, with much vehemence, that he would ruin all the banks in Ireland.

The narrow eſcape of Mr. Milward, an officer in the Wexford militia, and Mr. Richard Newtown King, a magiſtrate of the county, will ſhew the reader with what malignant zeal the rebels ſearched for proteſtants, whom they denominated orangemen.* Theſe gentlemen lay concealed at the houſe of Mr. Hatchel,† ſon-in-law of Dr. Jacob.

One Herring, a rebel captain, in the courſe of making domiciliary viſits in queſt of orangemen, entered Mr. Hatchel's houſe with a drawn ſword, at the head of an armed band of rebels. On finding Mr. Milward, he conveyed him to priſon; but firſt informed Mr. Hatchel's family, that he would burn the houſe, if they concealed any more orangemen. On this Mr. King, who happened to be in the only room which they did not ſearch, declared that no perſon ſhould ſuffer on his account. He therefore retreated backwards to another houſe at ſome diſtance, and in doing ſo, was obliged to ſcale ſome walls, and to wade through a ſmall ſtream, much ſwollen with the tide. He lay concealed ſome days in a wretched out-office, not better than a pig-ſty, and was ſupplied with food by Mrs. Jacob. His wife, though ſhe lodged near him, would not venture to approach him, leſt the place of his retreat ſhould be diſcovered. At length, the rebels who were active and inceſſant in their reſearches, diſcovered and committed him.

Theſe

* See James Beaghan's confeſſion in Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

† See Plate VI.

Theſe two gentlemen were on the point of being maſſacred the twentieth of June, on the bridge of Wexford, when Mr. Eſmond Kyan, a rebel chieftain, ſaved their lives, by telling the rebel bloodhounds, that the king's troops muſt finally ſucceed, and that they would gain ample vengeance of them for putting ſo many proteſtants to death in cold blood, and without any provocation whatever.

Eſmond Kyan, who was wounded at the battle of Arklow, was coming to Wexford to get medical aſſiſtance, and happened to be croſſing the bridge when the maſſacre was going forward.

Thoſe who obtained a certain quantity of proviſions from the committee who diſtributed it, expected to have the excluſive enjoyment of it; yet the rebels would enter their houſes, and take it out of their pot and carry it off, or ſit down at their table and eat ſhare of it; and while ſitting at the tables of proteſtants, they would often ſay, "That they loved liberty and equality, and that they liked to ſee maſters and ſervants aſſociate together."

"They led their wild deſires to woods and caves,
"And thought that all but ſavages were ſlaves."

On Trinity Sunday the third of June, a man of the name of Murphy, of the popiſh perſuaſion, was ſhot in a ſmall place, formerly called the Bull-ring, now Fountain-ſquare,† for having proſecuted a prieſt of the name of Dixon, for being an united Iriſhmen. Mr. Middleton Robſon, a gauger, and Meſſrs. Pigott and Julian, ſurveyors of exciſe, all proteſtants, and priſoners in the gaol, were brought forth and compelled to ſhoot him. By way of encreaſing the ignominy of his death, they had him executed by hereticks. Previous to the execution the rebel pikemen, who acted as guards, croſſed themſelves, knelt down and prayed ſometime for his ſoul. As ſoon as the victim fell, the bloody Thomas Dixon, firſt couſin of the prieſt, drew his ſword, ran it through his body, and having held it up to publick view, reeking with blood, exclaimed, "Behold! the blood of a traitor;" and then he ordered the ſurrounding pikemen to plunge their pikes into the body. Dixon the prieſt, convicted on his evidence, was condemned to be tranſported. This execution took place ſoon after the celebration of maſs, at the publick chapel; and previous to it, father Corrin, the pariſh prieſt, adminiſtered the rites of his

† Plate VI. K.

his church to him; and yet he, or any of the prieſts in Wexford, could have ſaved the life of Murphy without any difficulty. Theſe facts were proved on the trial of Michael Mc. Daniel, one of the aſſaſſins, held at Wexford the eighteenth of June, 1799.

On Monday morning the fourth of June, another man of the name of Murphy, a papiſt, was ſhot for having given information againſt rebels. His executioners were three proteſtant priſoners, Charles Jackſon, Jonas Gurley, and Kennet Matthewſon.§ Edward Fraine, a man of ſome opulence, and who was ſuppoſed to gain 300 l. a year as a tanner, was officer of the guard. When the executioners were brought into the yard, Fraine addreſſed Charles Jackſon, and had the following converſation with him: "Mr. Jackſon, I believe you know what we want of you." He anſwered, "Yes; I ſuppoſe I am going to die:" He then fell upon his knees, and begged that he might be allowed to go to ſee his wife and child. Fraine ſwore he ſhould not, and informed him, that a man was to die that evening at ſix o'clock, and that he did not know any more proper perſons to execute him, than he and the two others. He added, that he ſuppoſed he could have no objection to the buſineſs, as the culprit was a Roman catholick. Jackſon replied, "Sir, ſhould I have no objection to commit murder?" Fraine ſaid, "You need not talk about murder; if you make any objections, you ſhall be put to death in ten minutes; but if you do your buſineſs properly, you may live two or three days longer; ſo I expect you will be ready this evening at ſix o'clock." Another rebel captain inſultingly addreſſed him in the following manner: "If you could get a few orange ribands to tie round your neck during the execution, it would, I think, have a pretty appearance." The executioners were remanded to their cells, where they remained praying till ſix o'clock in the evening, when they were brought again into the gaol yard, where they found the priſoner Murphy ſurrounded by about a thouſand armed rebels.

The proceſſion to the place of execution, which was about a mile and a half off, at the other ſide of the bridge, was in the following order: A large body of pikemen, who formed a hollow ſquare; a black flag;

§ Theſe men were much eſteemed in Wexford. Gurley and Matthews were afterwards murdered by the rebels on the twentieth of June.

the drum and fifes; Murphy, the condemned man next, followed by Jackſon, with Gurley and Matthewſon behind him. When this arrangement took place, the dead march was ſtruck up, and beat till they arrived at the ſpot where the victim was to fall a ſacrifice to their fanatical vengeance. He was placed on his knees, cloſe to the river, and with his back to it. Previous to the execution, the rebels knelt down and prayed for about five minutes; which ceremony was adopted as in the former inſtance. The rebels were ordered to form a ſemi-circle, with an opening towards the water. Charles Jackſon aſked permiſſion to tie his cravat about the poor man's eyes; but they deſired him not to be nice about ſuch matters, as it would be his own caſe in a few minutes. When the muſkets were called for, it was ſuggeſted, that if they gave three at once to the executioners, they might turn about and fire at them. It was therefore reſolved, that they ſhould fire one at a time. Matthewſon, the firſt perſon appointed to ſhoot, miſſed fire three times. They gave him another muſket, with which he ſhot Murphy in the arm. Jackſon was next called upon; and as they ſuſpected that he would turn and fire on them, two men advanced at each ſide of him, with cocked piſtols, and two men with cavalry ſwords were placed behind him, who threatened him with inſtant death if he miſſed the mark. He fired, and the poor man inſtantly fell dead; after which Gurley was obliged to fire at the body, while proſtrate on the ground. It was then propoſed that Jackſon ſhould waſh his hands in his blood, but it was over-ruled, as ſome of the rebels ſaid he had done his buſineſs well. A ring was then formed round the body, and a ſong in honour of the Iriſh republick was ſung to the tune of, "God ſave the king."

This dreadful buſineſs took up about three hours, after which the executioners were marched back to priſon. Theſe circumſtances relating to it are to be found in Charles Jackſon's narrative, and they were confirmed by the evidence given on the trial of Matthew Greene of Wexford, who was tried, condemned, and executed there, for having acted as a rebel officer at this atrocious ſcene.

Charles Jackſon informs us, and I have been aſſured by different perſons of veracity, that proteſtants were frequently taken out of the Wexford priſons, and conveyed to the different camps, and in particular to Vinegar-hill, to be executed there. This was done whenever they were

at

at a loſs to ſupply the ſacrifice of proteſtant victims, which was daily made, as a regale to the rebels when on parade.

James Lett, chandler, Richard Leech, maſter ſhoemaker, William Mooney, who kept the Fox-inn at Enniſcorthy, and John Hawkins, were taken from Wexford, by a rebel guard, who was to convey them to the grand ſlaughter-houſe, Vinegar-hill. Finding that they were to die near their own homes, they prevailed on a rebel, who was attached to them, to go before them with ſpeed, and to prevail on their neighbours to come forward, and to uſe their friendly interceſſion for preſerving their lives. The rebel guard, dreading that they might poſſibly eſcape through the humane interference of their friends, diſpatched them at a place called Lacken, threw them into one grave, and covered them lightly with ſods. They were all, except Hawkins, half alive, when buried, and groaned and ſtruggled a great deal while the rebels were interring them.

On the morning of the twentieth of June, four proteſtants, of the names of Cavenagh, Willis, Furlong, and Priſcott, were conveyed from the gaol of Wexford to Vinegar-hill, and ſhot there.

The defeat of the rebels at Roſs ſublimated their vengeance againſt proteſtants in moſt parts of the county, but particularly at Scullabogue, Vinegar-hill, and Wexford. Charles Jackſon tells us, that on the day it was announced, fifteen of the Wexford, and ten of the Enniſcorthy people were ordered out of the gaol, to revenge the loſs which the rebels had ſuſtained at Roſs. He ſays, "When this notice was given, I ran into my cell, got upon my knees in a dark corner, and pulled ſome ſtraw over me; but a man of the name of Prendergaſt* came in, and drew me out, uttering ſhocking threats againſt me. He dragged me into the yard, where I found my unhappy comrades on their knees. One of them who had been a proteſtant, but had become a catholick, and who was now impriſoned on a charge of being an orangeman, requeſted to have the prieſt with him before he died. This was immediately granted; and a meſſenger was ſent to father Corrin, the Roman catholick prieſt of Wexford. He preſently came; and to give effect to his admonition and interceſſion, had dreſſed himſelf in his cowl, and

* An opulent ſhopkeeper and maltſter, who was hanged.

bore his crucifix in his hand: He held up the crucifix, and all preſent fell on their knees: He exhorted them in the moſt earneſt manner: He conjured them, as they hoped for mercy, to ſhew it: He made every poſſible exertion to ſave all the priſoners; but it was in vain: He ſaid he could witneſs that the Wexford people had never fired upon them, or done them any injury; and that he could not ſay maſs to them, if they perſiſted in their cruel reſolutions. At laſt he influenced them ſo far, as to prevail upon them to return into the gaol the fifteen Wexford men; but for thoſe from Enniſcorthy, he could obtain no remiſſion." They were conveyed to Vinegar-hill, and executed there.

It will reflect eternal ſhame and diſhonour on the popiſh prieſts of the county of Wexford, of whom numbers were conſtantly in the town; beſides thoſe who reſided there, for having ſuffered ſuch atrocities to be committed by their ſanguinary flock, over whom they had unbounded influence, and by whom they were not only revered as men, but adored as Gods. The ſavage pikemen never met them in the ſtreets, without bowing low to them with their hats off, and continued ſo while they were in their ſight; and they never met doctor Caulfield, the popiſh biſhop, without falling on their knees, and receiving his benediction.

Now it will appear by the following protection, that doctor Caulfield, the popiſh biſhop, could protect the Enniſcorthy as eaſily as the Wexford people, however odious they were. Two perſons of the former were confined in the gaol of Wexford, and dreading that they might be maſſacred, applied to two prieſts of Enniſcorthy to protect them; and having obtained a recommendation from them to doctor Caulfield, he gave them a protection, in conſequence of which they were liberated, and were never afterwards moleſted. I give the reader an exact copy of the recommendation and protection.

Reverend Doctor Caulfield, Wexford.

" My Lord!

" If poſſible you'll have the Meſſrs. ——— liberated, or removed to ſome more comfortable lodging: They are well diſpoſed, and have never injured any one individual. Your compliance will oblige your affectionate friend,

Enniſcorthy, June 15th, 1798. JOHN SUTTON, prieſt."*

" The

* He conſtantly viſited the camp at Vinegar-hill.

" The Meſſrs. ———, I am ſure, are free from any party buſineſs, orange, or any thing inimical to any ſociety of people, as is mentioned above. I remain, my lord,

Yours moſt ſincerely,
WM. SYNNOTT, P. P."

" From the excellent characters of the above gentlemen, I beg leave, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, to recommend them to be protected.

Wexford, June 15th, 1798. JAMES CAULFIELD."

Richard Grandy, though a proteſtant, obtained a paſs from a prieſt, merely becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have ſome ſurgical knowledge; and the rebel magiſtrates who preſided at Taghmon, viz. John Breen, James Harper, Joſeph and Matthew Commons, gave it as their opinion, that Grandy would be perfectly ſafe in paſſing through the country with ſuch a protection, and accordingly he never was moleſted, though he traverſed a great part of it.*

" Mr. Richard Grandy is hereby allowed to paſs and repaſs, to and from any part of this diſtrict, whenever he thinks proper; and will be of great uſe in the neighbourhood, to dreſs the wounds of any neighbour who may be wounded.

EDWARD MURPHY, pariſh prieſt of Bannow and Ballymutty, &c. To the different guards of Ballymutty and Bannow, &c."

This prieſt anticipates the wounds that his neighbours, whom he knew to be rebels, might eventually receive; and he addreſſes the rebel guards, conſcious of his influence over them. Father Collins granted the following paſs to the ſame perſon:

" Pray allow the bearer, Mr. Richard Grandy, to paſs.

JAMES COLLINS, pariſh prieſt of Duncormuck."

On the trial of general Edward Roche, at Wexford, Mr. Goodall, a yeoman, who had been led to execution on the bridge, declared upon oath, that no perſons but the prieſts could have prevented the effuſion of blood.

The following certificate was given by father Broe, a friar, to a perſon whom he had chriſtened, in order to ſave his life:

" I hereby

* See his affidavit containing this paſs, and the exhortation of father Murphy to extirpate hereticks, Appendix, No. XX. 7.

"I hereby certify, that A. B. of C. in the pariſh of D. has done his duty, and proved himſelf a catholick. F. JOHN BROE."

Dated Wexford, June 21ſt, 1798.

Mr. Meadows, who was a priſoner in the gaol, informed me of the following incident which occurred while he was there: A papiſt who had been committed in a miſtake, ſent for a prieſt, and remonſtrated to him on the injuſtice of confining him: "For," ſaid he, "you know as well as I do, that we are fighting for the maſs, the croſs, and the lamb. It was I that led on the Ballaghkeene men at the battle of Oulart." On ſaying this, the prieſt had him releaſed.*

It was reſolved at the rebel camp near Roſs, immediately after the victory obtained by the king's troops, to put all the proteſtants to death. Mr. Meadows was at that time in the priſon-ſhip in the harbour of Wexford. A rebel, who had a warm regard for him, having made his eſcape from the camp, repaired to Wexford, and told Mr. Meadows's brother, who was not in confinement, that the priſon-ſhip would probably be ſunk that night; and he urged him to prevail on Mr. Corrin, the prieſt, who, he ſaid, had more influence than any other individual in the town, to have his brother releaſed.

As the taking and captivity of lord Kingſborough, now the earl of Kingſton, by the rebels, is an important and intereſting incident, I will give a circumſtantial relation of it. The head quarters of the North Cork regiment, which he commanded, was at Wexford, and on the breaking out of the rebellion, he reſolved to join them. From Dublin to Arklow,† he travelled by land, but as the roads were infeſted by a rebellious banditti, he took a boat there, manned by ſailors of approved fidelity, who had been recommended by the reverend Mr. Bayly of Lamberton. Having ſtopped at Courtown, on the coaſt, to get ſome refreſhment, it is believed that ſome diſaffected perſons there conveyed intelligence of his lordſhip's intention to the rebels at Wexford. At Ballynaſker, about three or four miles from the harbour's mouth, they perceived a number of armed men on an eminence, from whence one of them having fired a muſquet, the ball

* A reſpectable and loyal Roman catholick of Waterford, who was there while it was in poſſeſſion of the rebels, aſſured the late lord mayor, (now alderman Thomas Meming) and me, that the prieſts could have prevented the effuſion of blood by a turn of their finger.

† Plate II. 1.

ball paſſed over their heads. When they arrived at the entrance of the bay, they were met by a veſſel ſailing faſt before the wind, the paſſengers in which they took for women; but when they cloſed each other, fifty rebels variouſly armed, ſtarted up and threatened to ſhoot them if they did not ſurrender. They at the ſame time hoiſted a green flag, with a harp, but without a crown. They wore white bands round their hats, with Unity and Liberty inſcribed on them. They made priſoners lord Kingſborough, captain O'Hea, lieutenant Bourke, of his own regiment, and the boat's crew. Generals Keugh and Harvey were ready to receive them on the quay where they landed. For two days his lordſhip was lodged at the houſe of general Keugh; he was then removed to an inferior kind of inn, called the Cape of Good Hope, thence to the priſon-ſhip, where he remained but eight hours, having been afterwards lodged in a private houſe, where a guard was placed over him. Keugh aſked him, how he thought government would treat him and his party, if they had them in their power? Lord Kingſborough replied, "That they would hang every one of them." On which Keugh obſerved, "We know that we fight with halters round our necks." The day of his lordſhip's arrival, Bagenal Harvey ſet out for the camp at Carrickbyrne, where the rebel army that attacked Roſs was ſtationed. Keugh told lord Kingſborough, "That he would permit him to write to lord Caſtlereagh, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary; but ſaid, "He expected he would inform him how well he and his fellow-priſoners were treated;" and he added, "That he expected his friends Meſſrs. Sheares, Bond, Emmett, Jackſon, M'Cann, &c. would receive ſimilar treatment." He informed lord Kingſborough, that the members of the Iriſh union had no confidence in the oppoſition party in the Iriſh parliament, becauſe they conſidered them as inſincere; and that they had propounded catholick emancipation, and reform of parliament, merely to promote their own ambitious deſigns.

Mrs. Snowe, the wife of captain Snowe of the North Cork regiment, informed me, that lord Kingſborough aſked her ſoon after his capture, "Whether ſhe thought the rebel chieftains would have put him to death?" She replied, "She was ſure they would not, becauſe they regarded him as a very good hoſtage, ſhould they enter into any ſtipulations for their own ſafety; and that by preſerving his life, they might conciliate him, and obtain his influence and intereſt to ſecure their own;" and to ſuch motives, I am ſorry to ſay, we muſt impute the ſafety of lord Kingſborough.

This

This lady heard general Keugh upbraid his lordſhip for not having treated doctor Caulfield with ſufficient reſpect, when he waited on him; and to make an atonement for it, he, with the permiſſion of lord Kingſborough, wrote a note to the doctor, to requeſt he would call on him again; and he aſſured him of the neceſſity of conciliating him, as his countenance and protection were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of his perſon; and in compliance with Keugh's requeſt, doctor Caulfield waited again on lord Kingſborough. Keugh was ſolicitous of obtaining the doctor's protection for his lordſhip, becauſe he was convinced of the perilous ſituation in which he ſtood, from the following event: "After Murphy had been ſhot in the Bull-ring, on the third of June, Thomas Dixon who had preſided at the execution, proceeded to Keugh's houſe, at the head of a band of ſavage pikemen, and clamorouſly inſiſted on having the bloody orangeman, lord Kingſborough, delivered up to him. Keugh ſucceſsfully oppoſed his atrocious deſign, but not without conſiderable difficulty. Keugh aſſured lord Kingſborough, that the attention which he ſhewed his lordſhip, and the zeal which he diſplayed for his preſervation, had leſſened his authority ſo much among the people, that he could no longer be accountable for his ſafety if he remained in his houſe, for which reaſon he left it. Keugh ſeverely rebuked lord Kingſborough for having received a viſit from the officers wives of his own regiment. Robert Carthy, a rebel of ſome property and conſiderable influence, happened to enter his lordſhip's lodgings while the ladies were there; and declared, in oppoſition to Keugh, that they ſhould go there as often as they choſe, and that Keugh had no right to interfere. On which Keugh ſaid, "I am governor of the town." Carthy. "Who appointed you?" Keugh. "The people." Carthy. "No, they would not truſt ſuch a fellow; I am one of them, and I never gave my conſent." He then grappled at Keugh, but lord Kingſborough interfered, and put an end to the altercation; however Carthy, on retiring, challenged Keugh to fight. Some days before the king's troops arrived at Wexford, he aſſured a lady of my acquaintance that his life was conſtantly in imminent danger, as he had loſt all his authority, and there was no ſubordination among the rebel ſoldiers: That one day while he attended the committee,* the bloody Thomas Dixon, attended

* It was proved on the court-martial that tried him, that he was preſident of it; but that his engagements as governor prevented his regular attendance.

attended by two fuſileers, went to the door of the committee-room, and ſent in for Keugh, under the pretext of having ſome buſineſs to tranſact with him; but very fortunately for him, he could not go to them, having an indiſpenſable engagement; and having been afterwards aſſured, that they meant to aſſaſſinate him, he accuſed the fuſileers of it, who declared that they bore him no ill-will, but that they were perſuaded to murder him by Thomas Dixon.

Dixon and his wife were two ſanguinary monſters, who were inceſſantly endeavouring to incite the people to acts of violence and bloodſhed. He kept an inferior kind of inn in the town of Wexford, which was very much reſorted to by rebels, who held their clubs and conſpiracies there. He was proprietor of two large ſloops, and was bred to the ſea, which gave him very great influence among the ſailors, whom he frequently inſtigated to commit carnage and plunder.

At one time the rebel ſoldiers threatened Keugh's life in the ſtreets; and to appeaſe them, he gave them the moſt ſolemn aſſurance, that he had been warmly attached to their cauſe ſix years, and their ſworn friend more than three.* A few days before the king's troops expelled the rebels from Wexford, Keugh found a party of them going to put a pitch-cap on lord Kingſborough, and afterwards to aſſaſſinate him. He was ſo fortunate as to prevent them from perpetrating their nefarious deſign, but not without very great danger, as a ruffian preſented a muſket at him, and was with difficulty reſtrained from firing it. I have heard from the concurrent teſtimony of different perſons, who reſided in Wexford at that time, that nothing but the humane and active interference of generals Keugh and Harvey, prevented that indiſcriminate ſlaughter of proteſtants there, which took place in many other parts of the county, particularly at Vinegar-hill; but when they loſt their authority, the bloody work began. When that was completely loſt, Keugh invented and told the rebels the following ſtory, in order to check their thirſt for blood: "That twenty-five thouſand northern preſbyterians were armed and embodied, under a Scots general, and would march to the ſouth immediately, and take ample vengeance of them, if they maſſacred any more proteſtants." At one time, the rebel ſoldiers inſiſted on bringing him to trial. Some days before the town was relieved by the king's troops, he told a

 reſpectable

* This was proved on his trial.

reſpectable gentleman of my acquaintance, then reſident at Wexford, that his life was in imminent danger; and that though he might eſcape aſſaſſination, the anxiety and agitation of his mind would ſoon put a period to his exiſtence.

Some of the gentlemen confined in the priſon-ſhip, aſſured me, that the rebel guards frequently inveighed againſt Keugh, and vowed vengeance againſt him, becauſe he would not indulge the people, that is, becauſe he did his utmoſt to reſtrain their deſire for carnage; to ſuch a deplorable ſtate was that unfortunate man reduced in a very few days, after he had attained the height of his ambition, and by that very rabble who had ſaluted him unanimouſly, and by acclamation, to be governor of the town!

Soon after he was arreſted by the king's troops, on the twenty-firſt of June, he told an officer of my acquaintance, that he was convinced, the period of his life could not exceed forty-eight hours, even if his party had gained the aſcendancy; and if the king's troops ſucceeded and entered the town, his fate would be determined in twenty-four.

"On the evening of the fourteenth of June, a party of the rebels ruſhed into the committee or council-room, and nearly killed Keugh. The charge againſt him was his being an orangeman. The reſt of the members who were Roman catholicks, reſcued him: but he, and all the proteſtant leaders embraced that religion, and went regularly to maſs, at the head of the rebels: but they never could forget their having been proteſtants, and they treated them accordingly. She heard ſome of the rebels ſay, all their policy and chriſtianity ſhall not ſave them: and it was at laſt avowed, that no proteſtant ſhould live, much leſs command them."*

On Sunday the tenth of June, while the rebels were on parade, at the cuſtom-houſe quay, governor Keugh informed them, that doctor Caulfield the popiſh biſhop had ordered a ſermon to be preached that morning from the altar, ſuited to the times, and that they muſt repair to the chapel to hear it. They accordingly marched thither, with fife, and drums playing. After maſs was celebrated, the reverend father Roche, chaplain to doctor Caulfield, pronounced the following diſcourſe from the altar:

"I am very much diſpleaſed at ſeeing a practice among you of trying to convert the proteſtants to our communion, becauſe their converſion cannot be ſincere, and ariſes merely from a hope of ſaving their lives. Let

* Lady's diary.

Let there be no more of it, as they never will become true catholicks." After a diſcourſe of ſome length, to his own flock, he addreſſed the proteſtants who were in the gallery, in the following words: "You are come here under the impreſſions of fear, to profeſs yourſelves catholicks; you are not ſo in your hearts: You do it to ſave your lives. Now, I tell you, my good people, don't deceive yourſelves; if you are not ſincere in what you profeſs, I tell you you will all be murdered. I tell you to a certainty you will all be murdered!" This was repeated ſeveral times, with long pauſes, and great emphaſis. Then addreſſing himſelf to the pikemen, he pointed out to them the grievances they and their anceſtors had groaned under, for a hundred years paſt, by the oppreſſion and cruelty of the proteſtants; and after having wrought them up to the higheſt pitch of religious phrenzy, he ſaid, "Notwithſtanding the variety of ill treatment you have received from the proteſtants, and are ſtill ſuffering, avoid the ſpilling of blood. I recommend to you, to be merciful to theſe poor people, as you hope yourſelves for mercy: For God's ſake, be merciful to them. You are contending for your holy religion and your rights. The glorious ſucceſs which you have obtained ſhews, that you are under the protection of the Almighty, in whoſe cauſe you are fighting. Continue your ſpirited exertions then. You have put your hands to the plough, and you muſt not look back. Be aſſured that you will all be murdered unleſs you ſucceed and get the upper hand." This prieſt was very active at the battle of Foulkes's-mill, in exhorting and ſtimulating the rebels to enter into the action; nay, he was ſeen horſewhipping thoſe who betook themſelves to flight.

On the ſame day that this ſermon was preached, a proclamation was read from the altar,* requiring all perſons to apprehend and convey to the gaol of Wexford the following gentlemen, becauſe they had been active magiſtrates and zealous loyaliſts: James Boyd, repreſentative for Wexford, Hawtrey White, Archibald H. Jacob, and Hunter Gowan. Printed copies of it were diſperſed in moſt parts of the county.

George Taylor, a printer at Wexford, was compelled, though a proteſtant and a loyal ſubject, to print all the proclamations, orders and edicts, of the republick, which commonly ended with theſe words, "God ſave the people." I am well informed that he was obliged to put up a label in his ſhop, announcing him printer to the republick.

* See Appendix, No. XX. 17.

On Sunday the ſeventeenth day of June, notice was given from the altar, that the following Saturday was to be obſerved as a faſt, for the ſucceſs of the war.

A gentleman of the utmoſt veracity aſſured me, that father Murphy wrote on many doors in Wexford, a latin inſcription, with his name, and the ſign of the croſs annexed to it. This, it is ſuppoſed, was ſome mark of religious diſtinction.

A party of reſpectable ladies, who lived together in a houſe, to which the rebels frequently paid domiciliary viſits, and under whoſe windows they often aſſembled and converſed, heard them make the following obſervations: One ſaid, (while they were drinking whiſkey in their parlour,) "This is a religious war;" another, "I ſay it is not." At laſt, they grew warm, and gave the lie to each other; on which a third rebel interfered, and ſaid, "Sure we received orders not to ſay it was a religious war, leſt we ſhould bring down upon us the vengeance of the Northerns," meaning the preſbyterians. They frequently boaſted of their barbarities, and ſaid, "They would not ſuffer any perſon to live who was not of their faith, as there was only one true religion."

They often ſaid, when the ſucceſs of the king's troops began to make them deſpond, that the failure of their cauſe aroſe from having proteſtants at the head of their armies, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of *their ſort* were in their ranks.

The following circumſtances occurred to a party of reſpectable female proteſtants, who reſided in the ſame houſe. They daily received three or four domiciliary viſits from the pikemen, who treated them with brutal inſolence. They frequently preſented piſtols at them, and ſometimes preſſed the muzzle of them againſt their breaſt, or their ſide, with ſo much violence, as to give them exquiſite pain; ſaying, at the ſame time, with fanatical fury in their countenance, "You muſt die!" and on being aſked, why they treated them ſo cruelly, they replied, "You are orangewomen, and bigots to your religion." They would then aſk them, "Were we ever known to wrong or offend any perſon? Have we not given to the poor as much as we can afford? and in the diſtribution of alms have we ever made any difference between the members of your church and our own?" "That is all true; but you are orangewomen.

You

You have *the drop** in you. For generations in your family, you cannot name on either ſide, a ſingle catholick. One branch of your family came to Ireland with Cromwell; the other with king William, and therefore you muſt die."

The 13th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bradſhaw, was quartered for above a year at Wexford, where he and his lady were very much eſteemed and reſpected. They marched to Waterford a ſhort time before the rebellion broke out, and left their firſt-born child at nurſe with the wife of one Wreck, who lived within a mile of Wexford. The rebels often threatened to burn his houſe, unleſs he would put the young heretick to death; but he, with becoming fortitude, mingled with humanity, reſiſted their menaces; and he was confirmed in this generous reſolution by the reſpectable females whom I have now mentioned, and who often viſited the child.

The rebels frequently attempted to force the gaol, and to murder the priſoners; but the guards, I preſume, influenced by their officers, ſucceſsfully oppoſed them.

A number of proteſtant priſoners were marched from Gorey, and committed to the gaol of Wexford, on the fourteenth day of June. As they marched through the town, the houſes were hung with green emblems, and the mob expreſſed their ſavage joy by ſhouting aloud. The rebels ſtripped the priſoners almoſt naked, and put pitched caps on their heads before they left Gorey.

The reverend Roger Owen, a proteſtant clergyman and rector of Camolin, was among them, without ſhoes, and having a little ragged jacket.†

A reſpectable lady, who ſaw from a window the priſoners paſſing through the ſtreets, aſſured me, that the wife of Thomas Dixon, ſo remarkable for the ferocity of her diſpoſition, headed the rebels who eſcorted them; and ſaid, with much violence, mingled with contempt, and pointing to Mr. Owen, who was barefooted, "There's a proteſtant clergyman! behold the proteſtant clergyman!"

The ſufferings of Mr. Lehunte, a reſpectable gentleman of large landed property, who lived at Artramont,‖ near Wexford, merit a circumſtantial relation.

* This was a common expreſſion among the rebels, meaning of proteſtant blood.

† See Appendix, No. XXI. 2, 3. ‖ See Plate III. 5.

relation. He commanded the Shelmalier corps of yeomen cavalry, who amounted to fifty-two, of which twenty-four were papiſts; and of that number twenty deſerted to the enemy at Oulart; and two were diſmiſſed, becauſe they gave ſtrong indications of diſaffection. It was remarkable that numbers of Roman catholicks ſhewed great zeal to join that and other corps in the county of Wexford, a ſhort time before the rebellion broke out; though they had previouſly ſhewn a great repugnance to do ſo. Mr. Lehunte, on the evacuation of Wexford, was too late to get on ſhipboard, and therefore fell into the hands of the rebels. Being a gentleman of a mild and humane diſpoſition, he was allowed to remain in a private lodging at firſt.

Thomas Dixon and his wife, whoſe thirſt for proteſtant blood was inſatiable, contrived the following device to incite the rabble to aſſaſſinate him. They repaired to Artramont, about two miles from Wexford, and at their return, proclaimed in the ſtreets that there was an apartment there furniſhed with orange colour, in which plots and conſpiracies had been formed by orangemen, for the extirpation of the Roman catholicks. He alſo produced a fire-ſkreen, which had been innocently decorated with orange ribands, and on which there were many curious devices, the work of female ingenuity. He diſplayed it through the ſtreets as a flag, and ſtopping now and then, he, with a loud voice, put the following malignant conſtruction on the figures which it contained, to a numerous body of ſailors and pikemen: That Hope, reſting on an anchor, was emblematick of a ſailor burning on it, as the orangemen would heat it for that purpoſe: That Hebe and the Eagle indicated that they would give the children of Roman catholicks to birds of prey to be devoured: That the lance of Minerva was ſuch an inſtrument as they would uſe for their deſtruction. By ſuch tortuous and malignant ſuggeſtions he wound the populace to ſuch a pitch of phrenſy, that, headed by Dixon, they flew to Mr. Lehunte's lodgings, forced him with violence into the ſtreet, and dragged him to the gaol, where they committed him to a condemned cell; on which Dixon informed him, that he ſhould have but fifteen minutes to live.* In his progreſs to the gaol they buffetted him very much, tore his hair, and gave him two ſlight wounds. They

* See in Appendix, No. XX. 2. Taylor's affidavit who was in gaol.

They would inſtantly have put him to death, but that Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan, and Keugh, informed the populace who ſurrounded him, that the obſervations of Dixon were falſe and groundleſs; but their authority, being proteſtants, did not continue long.

The artillery men, whom the rebels took when a detachment of the Meath regiment was defeated, on the thirtieth of May, were impriſoned in ſeparate cells in the gaol of Wexford, where they were almoſt ſtarved from the bad quality and the ſcantineſs of their food.

Andrew Sheppard, a proteſtant, and a corporal of that corps, was taken into a ſmall court, within the gaol, to be ſhot. The executioner having burned priming four times at him, father Murphy, who had entered the gaol, cried out, "he has longer days to live; let the heathen go back to priſon;" having imputed his eſcape to the Divine interference.

While theſe men were in priſon, many attempts were made by the rebel guards to force it, and put the priſoners to death, having ſaid, that they would not ſtand guard over hereticks.†

General Roche, the layman, and Thomas Dixon, urged them to ſerve in their army as artillery men, having promiſed them commiſſions, and in ſome time eſtates, if they would comply. As they had no other means of making their eſcape, they conſented, and were led firſt to Gorey, and thence to the battle of Arklow, where they ſerved as artillery men.

A Roman catholick of the utmoſt veracity, who reſided in Wexford aſſured me, that the rebel ſoldiers began to be envious of their ſuperiors, and to expreſs the warmeſt indignation againſt the council and the committee, for living in great luxury and abundance, while they were wretchedly fed; and he was decidedly of opinion, that they would have maſſacred them, if the republick had laſted a few days longer.

A ſhort time before the king's troops were victorious, and entered the town, the committee intended to have made a requiſition of plate, and to have inſtituted a mint.

To animate the rebels, reports were conſtantly propagated by their leaders, that Dublin was in poſſeſſion of their friends; and when they were undeceived, they aſſured them that it was blockaded by five republican camps, and that it muſt ſoon ſurrender, as the inhabitants were labouring under the preſſure of famine.

From

† See Appendix, No. XX. 1.

From the very great ſcarcity of proviſions which took place in conſequence of the waſteful conſumption of ſo many ſavages, the embryo republick muſt ſoon have fallen to the ground, if the king's troops had not put an end to it.

So completely deluded and deceived were the rebels in Wexford, that it was univerſally ſaid, and believed there, that they were conſtantly ſucceſsful; and that the very days that they were beaten, they frequently huzzaed in the ſtreets, to expreſs their joy on the taking of Roſs; and one man rode with ſpeed into the town, waving a piſtol, and crying out, "Roſs is taken!"

Mr. William Hughes, a reſpectable inhabitant of Wexford, of the proteſtant religion, and a rigid loyaliſt, generouſly entertained in his houſe ſome of the wives of the officers of the North Cork regiment, after their huſbands had retreated. Governor Keugh frequently preſſed him to join his party, but he peremptorily refuſed. One day he ſaid to him, "Though your wife is nearly related to mine, and to Bagenal Harvey, and though you have protections, you cannot expect to eſcape, unleſs you enrol yourſelf in one of our corps;" but he ſternly refuſed. Keugh ſaid, "I will give you two days to conſider of it;" and he replied, "If you gave me ſeven years, I would give you the ſame anſwer." And this in the preſence of his wife and ſix children. Mrs. Snowe, one of the officer's wives, who was preſent, ſaid to Mr. Hughes, "Conſider ſeriouſly what you are about, for your life belongs to your wife and your ſix children;" whoſe preſence were ſufficient to ſhake his firm reſolution, and inſpire him with a love of life; but he continued ſteady in his principles.

A prieſt ſometimes attended Mr. Hughes's houſe, and urged the officers wives to embrace his religion, aſſuring them, that no perſon could be ſaved who was not within its pale, but he could not ſucceed.

Before I deſcribe the maſſacre at Wexford, and the evacuation of it by the rebels, it will be neceſſary to give the reader an account of the battle of Vinegar-hill, and the very judicious diſpoſition which general Lake made of the troops who were to attack that ſtrong poſt, which was the citadel and the grand rendezvous of the rebels, as the victory obtained there preceded that dreadful event.

The movements of the different columns who were to attack it, will be beſt explained by the inſtructions iſſued by general Lake, the ſixteenth of June, 1798, to the general officers who commanded them.

General

General Dundas, will be directed to move on the ſeventeenth to Hacketſtown, and to iſſue his orders to general Loftus at Tullow,* to unite his force with him on the eighteenth at Carnew.†

General Needham, to move at three o'clock, A. M. on the nineteenth to Gorey; general Dundas having ſent a ſtrong patrole under general Loſtus from Carnew, at ſix o'clock on the ſame morning to Grove's-bridge,‡ four or five miles on the road to Gorey,‖ to ſupport general Needham, in caſe he ſhould meet with reſiſtance at Limerick-hill or at Gorey, and to communicate to general Dundas general Needham's ſituation.

General Johnſon, on the nineteenth, at four o'clock, A. M. to move to Old Roſs,§ and unite with general Moore in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne-hill.** He will take up his poſition that day near Old Roſs, and ſend a ſtrong patrole to ſcour the country towards the Black-ſtair mountains,‡‡ in junction with ſir James Duff. This movement will require a very particularly concerted arrangement between general Johnſon and ſir James Duff. The patroles to return to their reſpective corps on the ſame day.

Sir Charles Aſgill, on the eighteenth, will occupy Grove's-bridge, Borris‖‖ and Graigenamana,§§ and will remain in thoſe poſitions until the twentieth, three P. M. when he will return, unleſs he ſhall receive orders to the contrary.

Lieutenant-general Dundas, on the twentieth, will march to Ballycarney-bridge,*** keeping the eaſt-ſide of the Slaney to Scarawalſh-bridge,‡‡‡ to arrive there at twelve at noon.

Sir James Duff will alſo move on the twentieth, by the road on the weſt-ſide of the Slaney to Scarawalſh-bridge, where he will arrive at twelve o'clock.

General Needham, on the twentieth, will move from Gorey to Oulart,‖‖‖‖ to be there at twelve o'clock.

General Loftus. The corps from Grove's-bridge, will move on the twentieth, through Camolin and Ferns,§§§ and unite with general Dundas at Scarawalſh-bridge, at twelve o'clock.

* Plate II. 1, 2. † Ibid. 4. ‡ Ibid. ‖ Ibid. § Plate III. 5.
** Plate III. 5. ‡‡ Ibid. 2. ‖‖ Plate II. 6, 7. §§ Ibid. 8.
*** Plate II. 7. ‡‡‡ Ibid. ‖‖‖ Plate III. 2. §§§ Plate II. 6, 7.

General Moore, to land on the eighteenth at Ballyhack-ferry, and on the nineteenth, he will move at three o'clock, A. M. to Foulkes's-mill,* and unite with general Johnſon in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne-hill. He will take up his poſition that night at Foulkes's-mill, ſecuring the eſcape of the rebels between that and Clomines.†

General Johnſon, on the twentieth, will move with his column to Ballymacus-bridge,‡ either to unite in the attack on Enniſcorthy, if neceſſary, or prevent their eſcape in that direction.

Should the rebels have evacuated Enniſcorthy and Vinegar-hill, the columns under general Dundas and ſir James Duff will take up their poſition that day in front of Enniſcorthy; and general Johnſon will at the ſame time receive orders to take a poſition on the great road from Enniſcorthy to Taghmon.

General Moore, in this caſe, on the twentieth, will move from Foulkes's-mill, and take poſt at Taghmon, ſtill ſecuring the country between Taghmon|| and Clomines.

But ſhould the enemy maintain their poſition at Enniſcorthy,§ the attack will be made on the twenty-firſt at day-light, by the columns under general Dundas and ſir James Duff, and general Needham moving from Oulart.

The general forward movement and inveſtment of Wexford will take place on the twenty-firſt, when the ſeveral columns will be ſo united as to receive directions as circumſtances may point out.

Gun-boats. Orders are to be ſent to the naval commanders to ſtation their gun-boats and armed veſſels in Wexford harbour early in the morning of the twenty-firſt, to co-operate in ſuch manner as may be neceſſary for the attack of the town, with the gun-boats from Waterford, which will be directed to ſupport general Moore and the corps at Clomines on the nineteenth.

Such was the judicious arrangement made by general Lake, for ſurrounding the rebels on Vinegar-hill, for retaking Enniſcorthy and Wexford; and in ſhort, for putting down the rebellion in that county: But before I proceed to deſcribe the grand attack, it will be neceſſary to relate ſome events which took place previous to it in the north of that county.

After

* Plate III. 7. † Ibid. 8. ‡ Ibid. 5. || Ibid. 6. § Ibid. 2.

After the defeat at Arklow, the enemy took their ſtation on Limerick-hill,* to the north of Gorey, in great force, and continued to ſpread devaſtation over the adjacent country, murdering ſuch proteſtants as fell into their hands, and burning the houſes of thoſe who were ſo fortunate as to make their eſcape, till the eighteenth of June, when generals Dundas and Loftus marched againſt them, according to a preconcerted plan.

As Kilcavin-hill,† from its declivity, afforded a much ſtronger poſt than Limerick-hill, the rebels took poſt on it about eight o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth of June, as ſoon as our two columns made their appearance. General Dundas's column moved from Baltinglaſs, by Hacketſtown and Tinnahely.‡ General Loftus marched by Shilela.‖ A general action ſeemed unavoidable. General Dundas having reſolved to move round Kilcavin-hill, ſent orders to general Loftus to march on the Carnew§ road, and to begin the attack by that town; but the following circumſtance fruſtrated their deſign: When general Dundas had advanced a conſiderable way towards the point where he was to begin his attack, he ſuddenly found himſelf in a deep hollow road, with ſtrong fences on each ſide. He perceived alſo, that he muſt have proceeded ſome time in it, before he could have extricated himſelf, and recollecting the fate of colonel Walpole, he very prudently ordered the column to countermarch; and at the ſame time ſent orders to general Loftus to take ſuch a poſition as to cover this retrograde movement. By this unexpected event, the two columns became united, and the rebels had a clear country to the north, the eaſt, and the ſouth-eaſt, and were ſo ſtrongly poſted, that the main object of the generals was to protect themſelves on the weſt ſide, where the poſition of the enemy was ſo well ſecured by a ravine in front, by large banks and high hedge-rows, that general Lake, who arrived at this time with his whole ſtaff, thought it prudent to defer the attack till the reinforcements joined them. A briſk cannonade was maintained for ſome time, but without any material effect. At length, general Lake ordered the troops to march to Carnew, where they remained that night. Two rebel ſpies who entered that town were ſhot. Green ſaſhes and cockades were found in their pockets.

* Plate II. 2, 3. † Ibid. 3, 4. ‡ Ibid. 1. ‖ Ibid. 2. § Ibid. 4.

On the nineteenth of June, major-general ſir James Duff joined the army with his brigade from Newtown-barry,* and general Needham was moving on the road from Arklow to Gorey.† The troops at Carnew were under arms. A general attack was inſtantly to have taken place, and from the number of our troops, and the excellent diſpoſition made by general Lake, there could not be a doubt of its ſucceſsful iſſue; but at day-break it was diſcovered that the enemy had fled. Fearing to be cut off from their favourite poſition at Vinegar-hill, they retreated through Moneyſeed and by Gorey. Inſtead of taking this ſtep, had they puſhed forward with that celerity with which their movements were uſually made, in conſequence of having but little baggage or equipment to tranſport, they might have ſeized on the important poſt of Rathdrum, the key to the city of Dublin, from which they would have derived infinitely more advantage than from their retreat to cover Wexford and Enniſcorthy; becauſe our army muſt have purſued them, and then the excellent and well-digeſted plan formed by general Lake for ſurrounding them, would probably have been defeated.

I have already deſcribed this in the orders iſſued by him; and they were exactly fulfilled by the reſpective general officers to whom they were directed, except by generals Needham and Moore, who were prevented by unforeſeen and fortuitous circumſtances, which I ſhall hereafter explain.

General Johnſon took a poſition near Enniſcorthy,§ for the purpoſe of driving the rebels from that town, in which they were ſtrongly poſted. Lieutenant-general Lake and the entire ſtaff remained with general Dundas, who, as I before obſerved, marched to Scarawalſh-bridge.‡

Lieutenant-generals Lake and Dundas, and major-general Wilford, with their ſtaff, and the firſt brigade of light infantry under the command of colonel Campbell, remained all the night of the twentieth of June upon their arms, at Solſborough,‖ with a large body of cavalry, within two miles of Vinegar-hill. About one o'clock in the morning, general Johnſon reported his arrival on the other ſide of the Slaney, near Enniſcorthy. General Needham's column lay about half a mile off, on the left of general Lake's army, whither he had marched from Oulart by general Lake's orders.

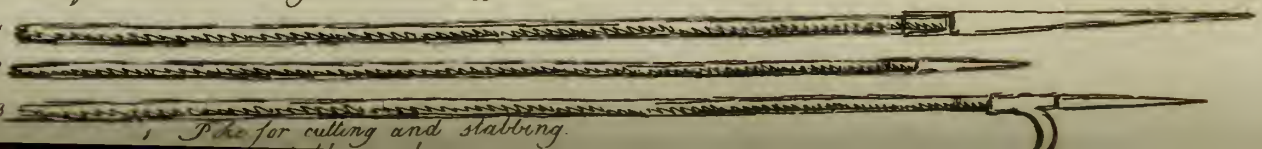
* Plate II. 5. † Ibid. 4, 5. § Ibid. III. 2. ‡ Ibid. II. 7, 8. ‖ Plate III. 1.

View of Vinegar hill on the North east side

Pl. V

1 Light Infantry with Howitzer
2 Gen. Lake where his Horse was kill'd.
3 Gen. Wilford's Brigade.
4 & 5 Gen. Dundass's Brigade.
6 Gen. Loftus's Brigade
7 Gen. S^r. J^s. Duff's Brigade
8 Rebels fort of Vinegar Hill
9 Rebel lines & forest of Pikes
10 Enniscorthy side of the Slaney.

IHS



1 Pike for cutting and stabbing.

ders. General Duff, with his guns, advanced on the Ferns road, on the eaſt ſide of the Slaney,† having that river on his right flank, and firing on the rebel lines on the hills, and throwing howitzers into them as he advanced. In this movement he was ſupported on each flank by the light infantry, under the command of general Loftus.

When they had arrived at the beginning of the aſcent of Vinegar-hill, general Loftus was detached by general Duff to occupy a green hill in a park encloſed with ſtone walls, which was on the ſide, and compoſed a part of Vinegar-hill.‡ General Loftus ſurpriſed the rebels by the celerity of this movement, becauſe the hill was ſteep; and the ground which he occupied there was divided by ſtone walls; but by breaking open gaps, he had two guns carried over at firſt, and ſoon after four more, by having untackled them from the horſes. From this poſition he was able to fire into the lower line of the enemy, rather on his left, with ſuch effect, that eighty-five of them were afterwards found in their trenches killed with grape-ſhot. General Loftus made his movement by a narrow road on the left, diverging from the main one, and then rapidly aſcended the hill. At the ſame time, generals Lake, Dundas and Wilford, with colonel Campbell's light infantry, were advancing up the hill || on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, and were firmly oppoſed by the rebels, who maintained a very briſk fire on them, retreating at the ſame time from one hedge to another, till they were driven over the hill. On that occaſion general Lake had a horſe ſhot under him. The movements of the two columns were ſo well timed, that they met at the ſame moment on the top of the hill. §

At that time, and not before, general Lake perceived how actively general Johnſon had been employed, and how ably he had ſupported him on the ſide of Enniſcorthy. From the numbers of the enemy, the height and the ſteepneſs of the hill, and its being interſected in many parts with encloſures, formed by high clay banks, with foſſes behind them, the rebels were completely protected from our fire. It is aſtoniſhing that our troops did not ſuffer more, and that the rebel army were ſo quickly diſlodged, and driven from ſo ſtrong a poſition. They had no leſs than thirteen

† See Plate IV. 8. ‡ Ibid. 6, 7. || Ibid. 10, 11.

§ In plate V. the reader will ſee an exact outline of Vinegar-hill, with the movement of the troops, which, though a ſlight ſketch, repreſents it with preciſion.

thirteen pieces of ordnance, and their infantry muſt have been well ſupplied with ammunition, as they maintained a very heavy fire. I ſhall refer the reader to general Lake's letter to lord Caſtlereagh, for an account of the action.*

Father Clinch, an Enniſcorthy prieſt, fell in this engagement. Being of a huge ſtature, with a ſcymitar and broad croſs belts, and mounted on a large white horſe, with long piſtols, he made ſo conſpicuous a figure on the hill, during the action, and the day preceding it, as to attract the notice of our troops, particularly as he ſeemed to be conſtantly employed in reconnoitring them. The earl of Roden having ſingled him out among the fugitives, overtook him after a mile's purſuit, and received his fire, which his lordſhip returned, and wounded him in the neck. He then diſcharged his ſecond piſtol at lord Roden, on which an officer of his regiment rode up and ſhot him. He wore his veſtments under his clothes; he had near forty pounds in his pocket, a gold watch, and a remarkable ſnuff box; all which, it is preſumed, he acquired by plunder. He had been as active in the cabinet as the field, having conſtantly ſat at the committee at Enniſcorthy; and mounted on his charger, and fully accoutred, he daily viſited the camp.

As general Needham's column did not occupy the poſt allotted to it in the firſt arrangement for ſurrounding Vinegar-hill, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of it leading to Wexford, I think it right to explain the circumſtances which prevented it. He advanced on the twentieth inſtant to Oulart, an inconſiderable village to the eaſt of Vinegar-hill, and within ſix miles of that part of it where he was to take poſt. On that evening, when the troops had taken up their ground, and driven back ſome advanced piquets of the enemy, and made a proper diſpoſition for protecting four hundred carriages laden with proviſions and ammunition, for the army which attended them, general Needham received an order from general Lake, about half an hour after eight o'clock, ſigned by the adjutant-general, deſiring him to march immediately with the troops under his command, to join general Lake at Solſborough, the ſeat of Mr. Richards, where he had taken up his head-quarters. The harneſſing and arranging in the proper order of march ſuch a number of carriages, occupied a good deal of

* See Appendix, No. XXI. 1.

of time. Thus incumbered, the movement of the column was ſlow; particularly as it paſſed through deep and narrow roads, with high and thick fences on each ſide, and in a country ſo much encloſed as to render it impoſſible to ſend out flanking parties; though from their proximity to the enemy, there was every reaſon to expect an attack, which, had it been made, might have proved fatal. However the column proceeded unmoleſted, and arrived at Solſborough, about half paſt three o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-firſt of July.

Major-general Needham, on reporting his arrival to general Lake, was informed, that he muſt immediately occupy the poſition firſt allotted to him, in the general orders. Thus, after a moſt fatiguing march, without having had any refreſhment for his troops from the time he left Gorey, he was obliged to repair to the poſt he was to occupy by a circuitous route, of eight miles.

General Needham, ſeeing the impoſſibility of reaching the hill in proper time, ſent to requeſt general Lake would defer the attack, but this was poſitively refuſed. General Needham therefore puſhed forward with his cavalry, and deſtroyed many of the fugitives from the hill; having purſued them as far as the nature of the country would admit. It is much to be lamented, that general Needham's line of march to his poſition, was changed; as had he been ſuffered to repoſe his troops at Oulart on the night of the twentieth, and to have proceeded next morning to his deſtination, very few of the rebels would have eſcaped.* General Lake refuſed to defer the attack, in conformity to general Needham's requeſt, for the following very good reaſon: General Johnſon was engaged with a numerous body of rebels who defended Enniſcorthy; and they would probably have been aſſiſted by their main body on Vinegar-hill, if general Lake had not immediately made a diverſion.

An immenſe column of the rebels which retreated from Vinegar-hill, by the poſition which general Needham was to have occupied, marched by the eaſt ſide of the Slaney, firſt to Carrick-bridge,† but commonly called Carrick-ferry, within three miles of Wexford, headed by the following generals: Father John Murphy, father Kearns the prieſt, Anthony Perry, Edward Fitzgerald, and John Hay. After paſſing Carrick-bridge, to

* His orders were to attack at three o'clock.

† Plate III. 5, 6.

one column entered Wexford, under Murphy, Kearns and Perry, where they remained about two hours, threatening the deſtruction of the town, and a general maſſacre of the remaining proteſtants, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition; but they were partly prevented by the combination and the determined reſiſtance of the inhabitants of the town, who feared the loſs of their property, and they dreaded the approach of general Moore's army.

Having left the town, they retreated over the bridge, headed by Eſmond Kyan, Edward Fitzgerald, Perry and Kearns, and took the high and direct road to the county of Wicklow; which, and the north part of the county of Wexford, they continued for ſome time to deſolate.

The proteſtants who had fled from Gorey and its vicinity to Wicklow, on the defeat of colonel Walpole, on the fourth of June, thinking that the victory at Vinegar-hill had reſtored peace and good order, were attempting to return to their reſpective homes, but were met by a large party of the rebels, who were retreating after their defeat, and who killed thirty-ſix of them. For a ſpecimen of their barbarity on that occaſion, I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XX. 20, 21. It happened on Friday the twenty-ſecond of June, which is now called in that country bloody Friday.

The other column, headed by prieſt Roche, John Hay and Murphy, proceeded from Carrick-bridge to the mountain of Forth, where they remained for about three hours, holding a council of war, in which as Roche and John Hay differed in opinion, they left them, and were taken in a day or two after, and hanged at Wexford. Father John Murphy, and another prieſt of the ſame name, then led the column by a circuitous route through the barony of Forth, by Maglas,* the moor of Mulrankin, and the Scar paſs of Barretſtown,† over the Scallogh-gap,‡ into the county of Kilkenny, ſpreading deſolation in their progreſs, having plundered and burnt the town of Caſtlecomer, and the ſuperb manſion of lady Ormond; and maſſacred ſuch proteſtants as they could lay their hands on.

As the part which general Johnſon took in the attack on Vinegar-hill was by far the moſt perilous and brilliant, I ſhall give the reader a more circumſtantial relation of it. In his march from New Roſs, he met a rebel armed with a pike, who, on being informed, that he deſerved to be hanged for having appeared in arms againſt the king, replied, "You may

* Plate III. 8. † Ibid. ‡ Plate II. 7.

may hurt my body, but you cannot injure my ſoul, as father Roche has taken care of it."

The evening before the attack on Enniſcorthy, he marched to Ballymacus,* about four miles from it; but wiſhing to have his men freſh for the onſet next morning, he moved forward to Daphne, within a mile and a half of it. Soon after his arrival there, a large body of rebels, marching in columns and intermediate lines, advanced within half a mile of his army, and ſeemed determined to attack it; on which the general prepared to receive them; but they ſent forward their ſharp ſhooters, who maintained a very ſmart fire on his line, till he brought up his cannon and diſlodged them with it.

The main body which marched from the town to attack him, occupied an eminence, on which three or four ſhots from twelve-pounders were fired; and when the balls lodged on the hill, numbers of the rebels emuloufly vied with each other to lay hold of them. After that ſome ſhells having been thrown on it, and a great body of them having ſurrounded them for the ſame purpoſe, they exploded, and blew them to atoms.

Next morning, after having driven the rebels from the high ground into the town, which could not be effected without much danger and difficulty, as the rebels diſputed every inch of ground, firing from behind the hedges, each of which afforded a ſtrong poſt; he kept that poſition for about an hour, during which he and the rebel army continued to cannonade each other; and he had the greater part of the Vinegar-hill army to contend with, as general Lake did not begin to attack them for ſome time.

In driving the rebels into the town, they made a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, by their pikemen in the ſtreets, and their muſketeers, who were excellent markſmen, from the windows.

Having advanced with one gun, to an open ſpace, where the court-houſe † lies, a numerous body of pikemen ruſhed from that building, with enthuſiaſtick vehemence, and ſeized and kept it for a few minutes, having overpowered the party which attended it; but it was ſoon retaken by a freſh column of troops, who killed moſt of the rebels concerned in that

* Plate III. 3. † Plate IV. 4.

furious onſet. The general then ordered the light infantry to charge over the bridge, and up the hill, which were occupied by a numerous body of rebels; but they having ſhewn an unwillingneſs to do ſo, he called on the county of Dublin regiment to perform that ſervice, on which they gave three cheers, and led on by colonel Veſey and lord Blaney, in conjunction with the light infantry, forced the bridge, and marched up the ſteepeſt part of the hill, driving the rebels before them.

Major-general Euſtace, who acted on this occaſion with general Johnſon, diſplayed great ſpirit and gallantry.

That ſide of the hill which general Johnſon aſcended is by far the ſteepeſt, and commands the town.

As the army commanded by general Johnſon loſt more men in killed and wounded than all the other troops that attacked Vinegar-hill, we may conceive the difficulties and the oppoſition which he muſt have encountered.

He ſuſtained the following loſs: Two field officers wounded, two captains killed, two ſubalterns killed and two wounded, two ſerjeants, one wounded, one miſſing, ſixteen rank and file killed, ſixty-two wounded, five miſſing.

The arrival of general Moore's army at Foulkes's mill occaſioned a very great alarm at Wexford and the Three-rock camp.* On the evening of the nineteenth, the drums beat to arms, and the church bell was rung. Keugh and Harvey were very buſy, but ſeemed much diſmayed. They ſent all the rebel ſoldiers in town to the Three-rock camp. For three miles, the diſtance from it to the town, each ſide of the road was crowded with old men, women and children, on their knees, praying for their ſucceſs, as they marched by. When they advanced about two miles, they met on horſeback father Keane, commonly called the bleſſed prieſt of Bannow. The rabble had uncommon veneration for him, becauſe they believed, from his ſuperior ſanctity, that he was more expert in working miracles, and had more ſupernatural powers, than any other prieſt. He was a little old grey-headed man. The rebels flocked to him with great eagerneſs, to obtain his benediction, which he gave, by laying his hand on their heads, and muttering a few words.

This

* Having given the reader a deſcription of the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill, I ſhall give him that on the mountain of Forth, in Appendix, No. XXI. 3.

This prieſt having been guilty of ſome irregularities, ſoon after he was prieſted, retired to Newfoundland, where he exerciſed, for ſome years, his ſacred function, and at the ſame time the apoſtolick purſuit of a fiſherman. A boat, in which he ſerved as a ſailor, having caught great quantities of cod fiſh, in a harbour where it had been ſought for in vain ſome years before, this ſudden change was imputed to his benediction beſtowed on it. He returned to his native country, with the title of the bleſſed prieſt of Bannow, which is his native place. During the rebellion he diſtributed many thouſand ſcapulars* among the rebels; and to numbers he gave two, one to protect them in advancing, the other in retreating. He aſſured the wearers of this ſacred ſymbol, that a ball from a heretick gun could do them no more injury than a pea. He conſtantly viſited the rebel camps, particularly that on the mountain of Forth; and a poney which he rode, was led by two men, who cried out, with a loud voice, "Make way for the bleſſed prieſt of Bannow!" I have been aſſured that he refuſed his bleſſing to ſome rebels, unleſs they brought him the head of Mr. Goff, of Horetown, a quaker, who was juſtly and univerſally eſteemed; and it is ſaid, that he would moſt certainly have been aſſaſſinated, but for the victory of general Moore, which ſtruck terror into the rebels.

A party of them took poſſeſſion of Mr. Goff's houſe, under the command of one Monk, and they were attended by father Byrne, a prieſt, who was purveyor to the party; and he compelled the Miſs Goffs, young and amiable women, to bake bread, and do every other menial office to ſupply the rebels. A party of them one day aſked his benediction, having knelt down for that purpoſe; but he refuſed to give it but to ſuch as produced their pikes ſtained with the blood of hereticks.

It was mentioned before that general Moore was to take poſt at Foulkes's mill, ten miles from Wexford, to prevent the rebels in their flight from Vinegar-hill, from eſcaping by Clomines. He remained in the demeſne of Mr. Sutton, of Longraige,‡ which is quite cloſe to it, on the evening of the nineteenth of June.

Next morning, general Moore had a ſmart action with the rebels, which is deſcribed by him in a letter to general Lake.†

* See in the Index, under the title of ſcapular, a full explanation of this religious emblem; and in Plate V, a figure of one.

‡ Plate III. 6, 7. † Appendix, No. XXI. a.

I have been aſſured by perſons well acquainted with the deſigns of the rebel general that this action was brought on in the following manner:

That general Roche intended to have taken poſſeſſion of Roſs, when general Johnſon had left it; that he ſent one party to Horetown, to watch the motions and engage the attention of general Moore, while the main body proceeded to Roſs; that the former ſuddenly and unexpectedly came on general Moore's army, and had a ſkirmiſh with them.

The main body having heard the firing, went to their aſſiſtance, which brought on a general action.

Roche, after being defeated, meant to have kept one diviſion of his army in the woods of Horetown, to the north, the other in thoſe of Roſsgarland, to the ſouth; and to have renewed the attack in the night, when aided by the darkneſs, which would have been favourable to the charge of his pikemen, and relying on the ſuperiority of his numbers,* he entertained ſtrong hopes of ſucceſs; but the arrival of the 29th and the Queen's regiment as a reinforcement to general Moore baffled his expectations.

There were many prieſts in the rebel army, exhorting their troops, and often horſewhipping, and even threatening the run-aways with ſwords and piſtols, to compel them to return to their ranks.

Having mentioned the occurrences which preceded and occaſioned the evacuation of Wexford, I ſhall now relate that event, and the dreadful maſſacre of proteſtants which took place the day before, and which has caſt ſuch an indelible ſtain on that county, that every Iriſhman who feels for the honour of his native country, ſhould wiſh that its very name was expunged from the map of Ireland. From the ſanguinary ſpirit which the rebels manifeſted on all occaſions during the rebellion towards that ſect of chriſtians, there is not a doubt but that they meant to extirpate them as ſoon as they had obtained a decided ſuperiority over the government; and their leaders never failed to practiſe every artifice they could deviſe, to make them believe they were in a fair way of attaining it: But when their deluſions were removed, and they ſaw a very numerous and well-appointed army march into the county of Wexford, they were

* He had at leaſt fifteen thouſand. General Moore had not more than one thouſand two hundred.

were ſtung with deſpair, and reſolved to indulge their fanatical hatred againſt proteſtants, by murdering ſuch of them as were their priſoners.

Joſeph Gladwin, the gaoler of Wexford, an Engliſhman, and reputed a man of veracity and humanity, has declared that Thomas Dixon propoſed to get rid of the proteſtant priſoners at once, by ſetting fire to the gaol; but Gladwin ſaid, that it would be impoſſible to accompliſh it, as the floors in every ſtory were arched. He then propoſed to burn them in the ſtreet; on which Gladwin ſlipped backwards, and related the infamous deſign of Dixon to Bagenal Harvey, who expreſſed great horror at it; and ſaid, he did not think that matters would ever have proceeded to that dreadful exceſs, and that he did not know how ſoon it might be his own caſe.

I ſhall give the reader an account of this tragical affair, as related to me by ſome reſpectable perſons who reſided in Mr. Hatchel's houſe,* very near the bridge, where it was perpetrated, and were eye-witneſſes of it.

"Between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock on the morning of the twentieth of June, we ſaw a body of rebels coming over the bridge, bearing a black flag, with a croſs, and the letters M W S inſcribed on it in white; which was ſuppoſed to mean murder without ſin; and on the other ſide a red croſs. After having made a proceſſion through part of the town, they fixed that woeful harbinger of death on the cuſtom-houſe quay, near the fatal ſpot where ſo much blood was ſoon after ſhed; and where it remained flying for about two hours before the butchery began.‡

"Soon after they arrived on the quay, they ſeemed to diſperſe; however many of them remained there, and repaired to one particular place, where drink was given to them; and where a prieſt was very buſy in diſtributing it, and who, they believed, remained there till they left the quay, ſhouting, "To the gaol! to the gaol!" when they all diſappeared, but returned about four o'clock to the bridge, with a number of priſoners, whom they maſſacred. They thus continued till about ſeven o'clock to convey parties of priſoners from ten to twenty, from the gaol and the market-

* Plate VI.

‡ Some reſpectable proteſtant ladies, priſoners at that time, aſſured me, that at that awful moment, they were informed, and with apparent ſorrow, by ſome popiſh women, in whoſe houſes they lodged, that the hour was come, when every perſon in Wexford of their religion, would be put to death. Others received this melancholy intelligence the evening of the preceding day.

market-houſe, where many of them were confined, to the bridge, where they butchered them. Every proceſſion was preceded by the black flag, and the priſoners were ſurrounded by ruthleſs pikemen, as guards, who often inſultingly deſired them to bleſs themſelves.†

"The mob, conſiſting of more women than men, expreſſed their ſavage joy on the immolation of each of the victims, by loud huzzas.

"The manner, in general, of putting them to death, was thus: Two rebels puſhed their pikes into the breaſt of the victim, and two into his back; and in that ſtate (writhing with torture) they held him ſuſpended, till dead, and then threw him over the bridge into the water.

"After they had maſſacred ninety-ſeven priſoners in that manner, and before they could proceed further in the buſineſs, an expreſs rode up in great haſte, and bid them beat to arms, as Vinegar-hill was beſet, and reinforcements were wanting. There was immediately a cry, "To camp! to camp!" The rebels ſeemed in ſuch confuſion, that the maſſacre was diſcontinued.

"In the moment of confuſion, the reverend Mr. Corrin, pariſh prieſt of Wexford, arrived on the bridge, to divert them from their ſanguinary deſigns, and which, it is ſaid, he did to the utmoſt of his power. Soon after his arrival, he knelt down on the very ſpot where the blood had been ſpilled, and ſaid ſome prayers. After which the rebels roſe from their knees, and exclaimed, "Come on, boys, in the name of God, to the camp! Thank God, we have ſent theſe ſouls to hell!" They then accordingly ſet out for the camp.

"It is remarkable that the ſavage pikemen knelt down, lifted up their hands, and prayed apparently with devotion, before they proceeded to commit any of the murders."

A lady, who was in Mr. Hatchel's houſe, near the bridge, where this ſanguinary ſcene took place, deſcribes it thus in her diary, which I quoted before: "About three o'clock, captain Dixon came to the quay, calling out, "To the gaol!" He was followed up the cuſtomhouſe lane by numbers. They returned ſome time after to the bridge. I thought ſome alarm induced them to leave the town, and ſat eagerly watching, till I beheld, yes, I ſaw, abſolutely ſaw, a poor fellow cry for life, and was then moſt barbarouſly murdered.

"To

† See Appendix, No. XX. 2.

"To give an account of this helliſh ſcene is beyond my ſtrength, nor could any perſon deſire to hear it. No ſavages ever put their priſoners to more deliberate torture. I ſaw a boat go to the priſon ſhip, and bring my friends and acquaintances (who on landing paſſed by our door) to torture and death. I ſaw the horrid wretches kneel on the quay, lift up their hands, ſeeming to pray with the greateſt devotion, then riſe and join, or take place of other murderers. Their yells of delight at the ſufferings of their victims will ever, I believe, ſound in my ears.

"To deſcribe what we all ſuffered, would be impoſſible. I never ſhed a tear, but felt all over in the moſt bodily pain. We expected life only till the priſons and the ſhip* were emptied; when an expreſs came, to ſay the army were marching againſt Vinegar-hill camp, and that if they did not reinforce it immediately, all was loſt. The town prieſts then, and not till then, made their appearance. The leader of the murderers called to his men, in theſe words, which I diſtinctly heard, "Come, my lads! we will now go; bleſſed be God we have ſent ſome of their ſouls to hell!" They went off really as if they had been performing a praiſe-worthy and religious action."

Mr. James Goodall, who had been taken out of the priſon ſhip, and conveyed to the bridge, to be murdered, but was ſaved by the interference of Roche, the lay-general, declared upon oath on his trial, "That the aſſaſſins on the bridge were like a pack of ſtarving hounds ruſhing on their game."

Mr. Corrin had ſlept the preceding night at Clonard, two miles off, to chriſten a child for Mr. Kellett, who was in the priſon-ſhip, and whoſe wife was of the popiſh perſuaſion. She, Mrs. Bland and Mrs. Crump earneſtly entreated him to ſave the lives of their huſbands, who were in the priſon-ſhip, and he faithfully promiſed to do ſo. This I heard from one of theſe ladies.

Previous to his departure, he ſeemed ſo much agitated by fear, as the king's frigates and gun-boats appeared outſide the harbour, that he could ſcarce go through the ceremony of baptizing the child; and he piteouſly beſought them to protect him, as he would protect their huſbands.

When they had put to death on the bridge between thirty and forty of the priſoners confined in the gaol, they ſent a boat to the priſon-ſhip,* and called for Meſſrs. Cox and Turner. After having plunged two pikes into

* It was but twenty-five tons burden, and twenty-two gentlemen were confined three weeks in its hold.

into the boſom of the former, he jumped into the water from the bridge, but was ſhot as ſoon as he roſe.*

Mr. Turner, a magiſtrate, who beheld this woeful ſpectacle, was next brought forward. They conſulted about raiſing his body on their pikes, and carrying it through the ſtreets, as they harboured the moſt inſatiable revenge againſt him, becauſe he was an active juſtice of the peace, and a zealous loyaliſt. His own poſtillion, Thomas Cleary,‡ inſiſted on having the gratification of ſhedding his blood; but the intemperate eagerneſs of the pikemen for carnage operated like mercy towards him, for a number of them joined him in perforating his body with pikes, and threw it over the bridge.

Mr. Lehunte was next ſent for to the priſon-ſhip, but he fortunately happened to be in the gaol, where he eluded their ſearch in the corner of a cell. Their miſtake, and the delay occaſioned by it, very fortunately ſaved his life, as the expreſs arrived, and the alarm took place in the mean time.

Mr. Hore, of Harper's-town, nephew to the earl of Courtown, a moſt amiable inoffenſive gentleman, and Mr. Kellett, were next brought from the priſon-ſhip. The former was aſked, Whether he had any perſon who could ſpeak in his favour? He ſaid, he had not, but requeſted time to find a perſon who could do ſo. He was then aſked, Whether he was not connected with Mr. Boyd, member for the town? He anſwered, by ſaying, that Mr. Boyd was married to his ſiſter; to which the rebels replied, that is enough; and having immediately maſſacred him with their pikes, they threw his body into the river.§

Mr. Edwards, taken out of the priſon-ſhip, was ſaved, becauſe he was married to a popiſh wife. It was aſked by one rebel, whether he had ever prevented his wife from going to maſs? Another, who was friendly to him, anſwered in the negative, and ſaid, he had often attended his wife to the chapel, and had gone for her when maſs was over; on which he was diſcharged.

Mr.

* He commanded the Taghmon cavalry, had been a captain in the 5th regiment of foot, and had retired on half-pay. He was taken at Coolcliffe.

‡ See Cleary's confeſſion in Appendix, No. XX. 22.

§ As Mr. Boyd's family were zealous loyaliſts, they, and every perſon connected with them, were peculiarly the objects of rebel vengeance.

Mr. Samuel Atkin, married to a proteſtant, was murdered.

Another perſon of the ſame name, and his two ſons, were ſaved, becauſe, it was believed, the father was married to a popiſh wife.

The bloody Thomas Dixon, and his wife, were preſent at, and ſuperintended this dreadful ſcene of carnage on horſeback.

When the rebels retreated from the bridge, on the alarm given by general Roche, Dixon and his wife attempted to follow them; but their horſes ſtartled at the immenſe quantity of blood which was ſhed on the bridge, and refuſed to paſs through it; on which they diſmounted, and led their horſes over the bridge; ſhe, at the ſame time, holding up her riding habit, leſt it ſhould be ſtained with blood. She was heard to deſire the rebels not to waſte their ammunition, but to give the priſoners plenty of piking.

It will reflect indelible diſgrace on the popiſh prieſts of Wexford, of whom there were no leſs than fifteen or ſixteen in the town during the perpetration of theſe maſſacres, that none of them, except father Corrin, ever interfered to prevent them. They evinced the moſt unbounded influence on all occaſions; for no proteſtant was ever injured who had been ſo fortunate as to obtain a protection from one of them. It has been ſaid in defence of the prieſts, that they were totally ignorant of the maſſacres till Mr. Kellett ſent to father Corrin.

It was well known, at an early hour, that the rebels meditated theſe ſcenes of ſavage cruelty, and their intention was announced by the proceſſion which they made with a black flag. The aſſaſſinations began at the gaol about two, on the bridge between three and four, and ended between ſeven and eight. At different times, the priſoners were conveyed in numbers of from ten to twenty, ſurrounded by ferocious pikemen, and preceded by that enſign of death, through the principal part of the town.

When every perſon of humanity in Wexford was petrified with horror at ſuch tragic ſcenes, which continued for five hours, could the prieſts alone have remained ignorant of them in ſo ſmall a town as Wexford? The idea is too abſurd.

I have been informed, that a young man from Roſs, who acted with the rebels, but who had more humanity than moſt of them, went to doctor Caulfield, informed him of the maſſacres which were going forward,

and beſought him to prevent them; but he refuſed to interfere himſelf, but ſaid he would ſend father Roche, his chaplain, who was preſent, for that purpoſe; but he never was known to exert himſelf. The perſon who gave this notice to doctor Caulfield, with whom father Corrin had dined, related it to many perſons who aſſured me of it.

Mr. George Taylor, a man of great veracity, wrote a hiſtory of the rebellion in the county of Wexford, of which he is a native; and he tells us, "That while this work was going on, a rebel captain, being ſhocked at the cries of the victims, ran to the popiſh biſhop, who was then drinking wine with the utmoſt compoſure after dinner; and knowing that he could ſtop the maſſacre ſooner than any other perſon, entreated him, for the mercy of God, to come and ſave the priſoners. He in a very unconcerned manner replied, "It was no affair of his;" and requeſted the captain would ſit down and take a glaſs of wine with him; adding, "That the people muſt be gratified." The captain refuſed the biſhop's invitation; and, filled with abhorrence and diſtreſs of mind, walked ſilently away.

Mrs. O'Neil went to the doctor to complain of the murder of her nephew, Mr. Turner, on the bridge: He was one of the firſt perſons taken out of the priſon-ſhip, yet doctor Caulfield did not interfere, nor did Mr. Corrin, though he was preſent, till Mr. Kellett ſent a meſſenger for him; and there were many perſons maſſacred in the interval between Mrs. O'Neil's complaint and the deliverance of Mr. Kellett.

While they were diſpatching Mr. Hore, of Harper's-town, Mr. Kellett, who was the next intended victim, ſent a perſon in the crowd, who had formerly lived with him as ſervant, for Mr. Corrin, who dined at doctor Caulfield's, the popiſh biſhop, to let him know his perilous ſituation; and he inſtantly repaired to the bridge, threw himſelf between Mr. Kellett and the pikemen, ſaying that they ſhould not kill him, without firſt butchering him. Having thus reſcued him, he firſt led him to his own houſe, and afterwards to Clonard, about two miles off, the ſeat of Mr. Kellett, who kept Mr. Corrin at his houſe till next day, to protect him from the military, who were expected in Wexford. It was univerſally believed, that father Corrin's interference did not proceed from pure motives of humanity, but from a preconcerted agreement with Mr. Kellett, for the following reaſons: He did not approach the bridge, or uſe any exertion,

till

till he received Mr. Kellett's meſſage at the biſhop's; and when he led him away under his protection, he left the other priſoners on their knees in the hands of the ruthleſs pikemen, without offering to interfere for their preſervation.

The following circumſtance tends ſtrongly to confirm this opinion: A gentleman of very great reſpectability, who was on board the priſonſhip, aſſured me, that on the morning of the maſſacre, a ſervant of Mr. Crump, went on board, and from the general tenor of his converſation, they could infer, that Meſſrs. Crump, Kellett and Bland, would be ſaved at all events; which we may ſuppoſe was in conſequence of the promiſe made to their wives by Mr. Corrin the evening before.

Charles Jackſon, an Engliſhman, who had practiſed the trade of a carver and gilder at Wexford, was among the laſt party of priſoners ſuppoſed to have been ſaved by Mr. Corrin. He publiſhed a narrative of his ſufferings, and of the events which occurred at Wexford during the rebellion. The popiſh clergy of that town have relied much on his veracity; and it is moſt certain that his relation of the events of which he was an eye-witneſs is ſtrictly true.

A popiſh prieſt of Wexford wrote a pamphlet under the ſignature of Veritas, with the aſſiſtance, and under the direction of doctor Caulfield, merely for the purpoſe of vindicating the conduct of the Romiſh clergy; in which he often quoted Jackſon's narrative, which gives a faithful repreſentation of the events which occurred, except while he was in priſon; and his account of them during that period was erroneous, for the following very obvious reaſon: They were communicated to him by his wife, who being a rigid papiſt, was completely under the influence of the prieſts.

He gives the following account of the eſcape of himſelf and his fellow priſoners on the bridge:

"General Roche rode up in great haſte, and bid them beat to arms; ſaying, "That Vinegar-hill camp was beſet, and that reinforcements were wanting;" that this operated like lightning on the rebels, who inſtantly quitted the bridge, and left Jackſon and the other victims on their knees. That the mob, (conſiſting of more women than men,) who had been ſpectators, alſo inſtantly diſperſed in every direction, ſuppoſing the king's troops were at hand: That the priſoners, ſtupified with horror, remained

ſome time on their knees, without making any effort to eſcape: That the rebel guard ſoon returned, took them back to gaol, telling them, that they ſhould not eſcape any longer than the next day, when neither man, woman or child of the proteſtants ſhould be left alive."

Different perſons at that time in Wexford, and ſome who lived near the bridge, have unanimouſly concurred with Jackſon's relation of it.

A perſon of the utmoſt veracity, who was led out to execution, and narrowly eſcaped, has poſitively aſſerted, that he believes father Corrin would not have interfered at all, but that he imagined there was a complete reverſe of fortune, in conſequence of the alarm occaſioned by the arrival of the meſſenger from Vinegar-hill; but this perſon was ignorant of the ſecret compact which he had made with Mrs. Kellett.

As ſtrong ſuſpicions were entertained, and inſinuations were thrown out, ſoon after the maſſacre at the bridge, that the popiſh prieſts in Wexford had more influence than any other perſons there, and that they could have protected thoſe whom they choſe; father Corrin went to Mr. George Taylor, one of the priſoners who eſcaped, when Mr. Kellett was reſcued, and aſked him to ſign a paper, containing a contradiction of it, and a general approbation of the conduct of the prieſthood in Wexford during the rebellion. He refuſed to do ſo, but at his inſtance gave him the following certificate:

"I do hereby certify, that the reverend John Corrin, by his humane exertion, has been the inſtrument in the hands of God, in ſaving my life, and even others of my fellow-priſoners, the twentieth of June, being the day of the general maſſacre on the bridge of Wexford.

Ballywalter, GEORGE TAYLOR."
Auguſt 28th, 1798.

Mr. Taylor, on giving Mr. Corrin this certificate, aſked him, "What uſe he meant to make of it?" he anſwered, "To employ it in my defence." The reader will draw but one inference from this anticipated defence againſt an accuſation which was not at that time even thought of. As Meſſrs. Taylor and Jackſon, who eſcaped from the maſſacre on the bridge, differed from each other in the relation of this dreadful event, I ſhall endeavour to account for their apparent contradiction.

Taylor imputes their preſervation ſolely to the interference of Mr. Corrin: Jackſon to the alarm and confuſion occaſioned by the arrival of the expreſs,

expreſs, in which every one concurs with him except George Taylor. The former ſays, they were led away from the bridge by Mr. Corrin. The latter, that they were left in the hands of the pikemen. I ſhould give greater credit to the relation of Jackſon, than that of Taylor, for the following reaſons: Mr. Kellett perſonally aſſured me, that Mr. Corrin led him away from the bridge; and it is moſt certain, that the remainder of the priſoners were led back to the gaol by the pikemen, where they remained until the king's troops entered the town. If Mr. Corrin had influence enough over the mob to check the maſſacre, and to reſcue Mr. Kellett, why did he leave the remainder of the priſoners in the hands of the ferocious rebels, who might have butchered them after his departure? In the ſtate of ſtupefaction to which the priſoners were reduced by terror, as Jackſon obſerves, it is very poſſible that Taylor might have miſtaken the real cauſe of their preſervation. They were ſurrounded by an immenſe mob, beſides the pikemen; and as many ſpectators in the houſe of Mr. Hatchell, near the bridge, have unanimouſly agreed, that the alarm and diſperſion of the rebels took place rather before the arrival of Mr. Corrin, it is poſſible that Mr. Taylor might have miſtaken the real cauſe of it, particularly, as he could not have ſeen Mr. Corrin until the multitude diſperſed; beſides he is uncommonly near-ſighted. I ſhall not pretend to diſpute his veracity, but I really believe he was miſtaken.

The following occurrence muſt diminiſh our belief of father Corrin's having acted from pure motives of humanity: Mrs. Margaret Lett, the wife of a brewer of Enniſcorthy, having been examined as a witneſs on the trial of Thomas Clooney on the fifth of July, 1799, at Wexford, depoſed: That ſhe had the protection of father Corrin; that her huſband was a priſoner in the gaol of Wexford; that Clooney wrote on the back of the protection, that he would go bail for Mr. Lett's good behaviour, and that he would not leave Wexford, if Mr. Corrin would *allow him* * to be taken out of gaol; and that ſhe went with the paper to Mr. Corrin, but he would not allow him to be liberated; that Clooney afterwards

* This ſhews that Mr. Corrin was conſidered as a perſon of great influence over the rebels, which he exerted on this occaſion, and not for a humane purpoſe.

afterwards went to the priſon, took him out, and left him at her lodgings.

In this manner they put ninety-ſeven proteſtants to death, at Wexford, on the twentieth of June. Some perſons have ſaid that the number did not exceed ninety-five; but the bloody calendar of all the proteſtant priſoners there, which I have in my poſſeſſion, puts this beyond a doubt.

On the trials of Peter Byrne and Ignatius Roſſiter, at Wexford, the former the fourteenth of June, 1799, the latter the twentieth of February, 1800, two members of the bloody committee that ſat in the gaol, the following facts were proved upon oath: Kennet Mathewſon, John Atkin, Richard and Joſeph Ganford, proteſtants, and priſoners in the gaol, were led before that ſanguinary tribunal to be tried. One of the priſoners having aſked Roſſiter, "What they meant to do with them?" he replied, that "They were on the black liſt." Peter Byrne, member of the committee, had a piſtol in his hand, and on ſeeing the priſoners, exclaimed in a rage, "It is not by two or three that you are to let us have the priſoners, (meaning to execute) for if you do not let us have them by the dozen, by J——s, I will blow up the gaol in two minutes." John Roſſiter, another member of the committee, ſhewed John Atkin the form of an oath which he ſaid the committee had taken, and the inſtructions which they had received to regulate the manner of proceeding;* that early on that day, a man went to him where he was confined, and ſhewed him a liſt which he ſaid was the black liſt, which he had got from the committee ſitting below ſtairs. The priſoners were then led to the committee-room door, but were kept out ſide it. The man who firſt accuſed Mathewſon, ruſhed into the room with a party of the rebels, who dragged him out. When the bloody committee were going out to ſee Mathewſon put to death, John Roſſiter having a regard for Atkin, and wiſhing to ſave his life, put him into the committee-room, deſired him to ſhut himſelf in, and not to appear at the windows, leſt he ſhould be ſhot. He entered the room, and ſaw Mathewſon ſhot and butchered with pikes in the ſtreet. There was a table in the committee-room, on which there were pens,

* It is evident that the monſters who compoſed the bloody committee were guided and governed by ſome ſuperior power; that they took an oath to proceed in the bloody buſineſs, and had written inſtructions how to act.

pens, ink, and paper, and a green book, which, having put into his pocket, he crept under a bed, where he lay concealed, till John Roſſiter afterwards, when the committee had adjourned, led him back to his cell, where he concealed the book, containing a calendar of all the proteſtants at that time priſoners in Wexford; the committee were much incenſed at the loſs of their book,* but could not account for it. The reader may well conceive the perturbation of John Atkin, who lay concealed under the bed, while the members of the committee were vowing vengeance againſt the perſon who carried off their book.

The amiable lady, whoſe diary I have quoted, ſays in it, "Mr. R—,† a Roman catholick, and one of the committee for proviſions, came to us the evening of the day the maſſacre was committed. He was like ourſelves, half dead with horror, and declared that he entreated the prieſts to come down with their crucifixes, and prevent the maſſacre; but they all refuſed to do ſo. We told him that father Broe ſaid he had ſaved nineteen priſoners.

This Mr. R—— denied, and ſaid, it was the expreſs that ſaved them. He told us, that the black flag meant that every one of that party had taken the black teſt oath. He ſaid, that a man went into a ſhop where he was, and aſked another to give him the black teſt oath. This was refuſed, and the perſon he aſked left the ſhop; on which the man who wanted to take the oath, ſaid, "That fellow ſhall be one of the firſt I will kill; but as to the oath, I don't care, for another will give it to me." This oath is to be found at the end of Appendix, No. XX. 7. and was found in various places, and on different rebels who were killed."

In many inſtances it has appeared, that the Roman catholicks even in the meaneſt ſituation, could ſave proteſtants. The following is a notable proof of it:

John Tate, a proteſtant, but carrying a gun among the rebels for the preſervation of his life, addreſſed himſelf to a common man, a rebel in their camp at Little Limerick, ſaying, "There is a brother-in-law of mine in priſon at Wexford, I ſhall be obliged to you, when you go there, to

* See a copy of it, Appendix, No. XX. 24.

† As he is no more, I may tell the reader that this was Mr. Pat. Redmond, a man of humanity, who filled his ſituation with reluctance.

to take him out and ſet him at liberty." This man, whoſe name is James Murphy, never thought of the requeſt made by Tate, until the day and inſtant they were murdering the priſoners on the bridge; when recollecting that the name of the man he wiſhed to liberate was Iſaac Stephens, he ſearched the different priſons until he found him among a great number in the market-houſe of Wexford, and not only brought him with him and preſerved him, but two more loyal yeomen who were in the ſame priſon, and begged of him, for God's ſake, to ſave them. He brought out theſe three men in the midſt of near one hundred pikemen who guarded the door, and ſaved them. Their names were, Iſaac Stephens, cooper, at Caſtle-bridge, Samuel Maud, farmer, and John Stedman, weaver.

The confeſſion of James Beaghan,* one of the murderers of the reverend Mr. Hayden in the ſtreets of Enniſcorthy, clearly proves what part the popiſh prieſts took in the conſpiracy and rebellion; and that the name of orangemen was fabricated merely to make the publick believe that the ſanguinary ſpirit of the rebels was not directed againſt proteſtants in general, but merely againſt ſuch of them as were members of that political ſect.

The evidence upon oath of doctor Mc. Nevin, a member of the Iriſh directory, before a ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, dated the thirtieth of Auguſt, 1798, proves that they were deeply concerned in it: His words are, "That the catholick prieſts had ceaſed to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well affected to the cauſe; that ſome of them had rendered great ſervice in propagating with diſcreet zeal † the ſyſtem of the Iriſh union."

Many perſons of undoubted veracity aſſured me, that the popiſh biſhop, doctor Caulfield, gave his benediction to the ſavage pikemen as they proceeded to the maſſacre on the bridge; yet I ſhould not think of inſerting it in this hiſtory, if it were not authenticated on the oath of a reſpectable gentlewoman who beheld it; becauſe, however ſanguine the doctor might have been in the cauſe, I could not have ſuppoſed that he would have been ſo void of diſcretion. Mrs. Crane, ſiſter to judge Chamberlain, made this affidavit.‡

I ſhall

* See Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

† He puts thoſe who acted with diſcreet zeal in contradiſtinction to thoſe who appeared without diſguiſe and in a military capacity.

‡ See Appendix, No. XX. 23.

I ſhall not take upon me to ſay, whether the doctor on this occaſion acted in obedience to the councils of Lateran, Conſtance, Toledo or Trent, all which are mandatory on perſons of his perſuaſion to extirpate hereticks; or whether he acted according to his oath of inauguration, which requires that he ſhould, to the utmoſt of his power, perſecute and impugn all hereticks, ſchiſmaticks, and rebels, againſt his ſovereign lord the pope; but in writing a hiſtory of the rebellion, I thought that I could not leave ſo extraordinary a tranſaction unrecorded.

On Monday the nineteenth of March, 1800, doctor Caulfield wrote a letter to Bryan Murphy, a prieſt of Taghmon, reproving him for having preſumed to give abſolution for ſin, without having obtained a faculty for that purpoſe. This letter, and two more on the ſame ſubject, one from ſaid Murphy to a proteſtant clergyman, and the other from father Kelly, pariſh prieſt of Taghmon, to doctor Caulfield, the reader will find in Appendix, No. XX. 23. Bryan Murphy is the perſon alluded to in Michael Aſkin's affidavit relative to Scullabogue, Appendix, No. XX. 9.

It is moſt certain, that a reſpectable inhabitant of Wexford ſent a meſſage to the friary near the chapel, to requeſt the friars would order the rebels to deſiſt from the maſſacres; but they ſaid, that they would adviſe but not order them to do ſo.

A proteſtant clergyman of Wexford aſſured me of the following fact: About ſix o'clock on the morning after the maſſacre, one of the friars expreſſed great joy to him on the proſpect of peace, (as the defeat of the rebels at Foulkes's mill was known); and he expreſſed great concern that the prieſts happened to be out of the way, and were ignorant of the maſſacre, for otherwiſe they *could have ſtopped it*; but ſoon after he ſaid, "We knew from the talk of the people in the morning, that we could not have ſaved Mr. Turner."

The black flag was carried in proceſſion again on the morning of the twenty-firſt of June by Thomas Dixon, and his band of aſſaſſins, as a ſignal to murder the reſt of the proteſtant priſoners; but the large army which had ſurrounded Vinegar-hill the day before, and the victory obtained by general Moore the preceding evening at Foulkes's mill, had intimidated the blood-hounds ſo much, that they fearing leſt they

might provoke the vengeance of the royal army, reſolved to ſue for mercy.

Doctor Jacob and his family were not moleſted for the following reaſon: Being a gentleman of great medical ſkill, not only as a phyſician, but as a ſurgeon, and as the rebels compelled him to take care of their ſick and wounded men, as before-mentioned, they were not only anxious to preſerve his life, but ſhewed conſiderable reſpect for him and his family who were lodged in Mr. Hatchel's houſe.

The news of the victory at Foulkes's-mill having been received at Wexford the ſame evening it was gained, a number of rebel leaders, who had been preſent at the maſſacre, aſſembled at governor Keugh's houſe, and concerted meaſures of conciliation, in hopes of procuring an amneſty. Next morning they waited on lord Kingſborough, requeſting that he would be their mediator, and write to the different general officers to ſpare the inhabitants of Wexford and their property, on laying down their arms, and returning to their allegiance; which he agreed to do, on their inveſting him with the military command of the town, and reinſtating the civil magiſtrates.

During this negociation, the bloody Thomas Dixon, and many other rebel officers and privates, flocked to his lodgings, and implored his protection in conſideration of their humane conduct in having ſaved the lives of many proteſtants.

General Keugh and his friends having acceded to lord Kingſborough's deſires, his lordſhip agreed to forward the following propoſals made by them to the different general officers:

"That captain Mc. Manus* ſhall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart,† accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious perſuaſions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without oppoſition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided their perſons and property are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will uſe every influence in their power to induce the

* Captain Mc. Manus of the Antrim, was a priſoner. E. Hay, was a rebel leader, who went to protect him.

† Plate III. 2.

the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance alſo. Theſe terms, we hope, captain Mc. Manus will be able to procure.

Signed by order of the inhabitants of Wexford,

MATT. KEUGH."

Captain Mc. Manus was to have gone to general Needham to Oulart; but finding that he had changed his poſition, he repaired directly to general Lake at Enniſcorthy, where he found captain O'Hea of the North Cork, and captain Burke of the Mayo, who were ſent on the ſame errand, the former to general Lake, and the latter to general Moore.

Soon after the departure of captain Mc. Manus, the rebel leaders being uneaſy leſt the victorious army of general Moore ſhould arrive before their terms had been accepted by general Lake, urged lord Kingſborough to ſend a ſecond meſſenger to general Moore, to requeſt he would encamp at Carrick-bridge,* before he advanced to the town. His lordſhip employed for that purpoſe enſign Harman of his own regiment, who was attended by one Carthy, a rebel captain.

Soon after he left the town, he was met by father John Murphy, and one Whelan his aid-de-camp, who were leading a large rebel column from Vinegar-hill. Murphy aſked Harman, (who unfortunately was in full uniform,) whither he was going? he anſwered, to propoſe terms to general Moore on the part of the people of Wexford. Murphy ſaid, in a great rage, "I will hear of no terms:" Then addreſſing his aid-de-camp, and pointing to Harman, he ſaid, "That fellow ought to die, for he has been condemned by a committee;" on which Whelan drew a piſtol, and ſhot Mr. Harman through the head.

As captain O'Hea met one of the rebel columns retreating from Vinegar-hill, I give the reader his deſcription of it: He was accompanied by two rebel captains, one of the name of Clooney, as guides and protectors. The column which he met was very numerous, and many of the men who formed it were well armed with muſkets, piſtols, and blunderbuſſes, and the remainder with pikes. General Edward Fitzgerald, who commanded, and rode at the head of the column, on ſeeing captain O'Hea in his regimentals, halted it; and after a cool ſalute, demanded his diſpatches, which he read and returned, with an appearance of diſſatisfaction. Many of the rebels cheered him, and ſeemed much pleaſed with the idea of peace; and but a few curſed the idea, and ſaid, they would

* Plate III, 5, 6, now called Carrickferry.

ſtill fight. At the rear of the column he met Edward Roche, the lay-general, who ſaluted him, and ſuffered him to paſs, when Clooney had explained the purport of his embaſſy.

General Lake gave the following anſwer to Keugh's letter:

"Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms againſt their ſovereign; while they ſo remain, he muſt uſe the force entruſted to him, with the utmoſt energy, for their deſtruction.

"To the deluded multitude, he promiſes pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, ſurrendering their arms, and returning with ſincerity to their allegiance.

Enniſcorthy, 22d June, 1798. G. LAKE."

The inhabitants of Wexford, who ſaw this rebel column advancing at a great diſtance, were very much alarmed, dreading that they would plunder and burn the town.

When lord Kingſborough was inveſted with the command of it, he ſent a note to Scallion,* who was on board the priſon-ſhip, to deſire he would bring Mr. Solomon Richards of Solſborough to him, as he wanted his advice and aſſiſtance, in the critical ſituation in which he then ſtood. The rebels attempted to ſink the boat in which he went, as he paſſed under the bridge, which was very high, by darting their pikes through it; and would have effected it, but that they were prevented by Scallion.

Soon after Mr. Richards waited on lord Kingſborough, the rebel column entered the town, headed by father Murphy, who advanced to his lordſhip's lodgings, mounted on a fine horſe fully capariſoned, having a caſe of piſtols and a broad ſword. Lord Kingſborough addreſſed him from his window, and told him he would endeavour to obtain favourable terms for him and his friends, provided they conducted themſelves properly; and ſaid, he hoped he was coming to give up his arms: On which, the ſacerdotal hero, in a paroxyſm of rage, diſmounted, and aſcending to his lordſhip's apartment, aſked him, with much rudeneſs and petulance, who he was? and on being informed, he ſaid, with great indignation, "I had you tried and condemned this morning at the camp at Vinegar-hill, and I'll have you taken out and executed this night."

Doctor

* He was created an admiral by the republick, for having taken his lordſhip priſoner.

Doctor Caulfield, the titular biſhop, who had juſt arrived, began to expoſtulate with him; on which lord Kingſborough deſired him to reſpect his biſhop; but Murphy flouriſhed his hand over the biſhop's head, ſaying, "I was once your prieſt; but I am now a general." However, when his anger cooled, he knelt down, kiſſed his hand, and acknowledged his ſuperiority.

Whelan, Murphy's aid-de-camp, who was preſent, had a large whiſkey bottle in his pocket, and a piſtol in his hand; and he boaſted that he had juſt ſhot his officer outſide the town, alluding to the murder of enſign Harman. He alſo ſaid, he would ſhoot lord Kingſborough; on which his lordſhip cocked his piſtol, preſented it at his breaſt, and declared he would ſhoot him, if he moved his hand, which prevented the perpetration of his ſanguinary deſign.

Mrs. Richards, her ſiſter, and ſome officers wives, had ſought an aſylum at his lordſhip's lodgings at this critical and alarming moment; and fearing that they ſhould all be maſſacred if lord Kingſborough ſhot Murphy, or his aid-de-camp, one was in hyſtericks, another fainted, and another fell on her knees to deprecate his lordſhip's anger.

While they were in this ſtate of perturbation, Perry the rebel general entered his lordſhip's apartment, and carried Murphy and Whelan off; and ſoon after he led the band of rebel aſſaſſins out of town, but left his two aid-de-camps, who were wounded, with lord Kingſborough, who had them taken care of.

The ſudden flight of the rebels is principally to be imputed to their fear of the king's troops, who were advancing; and the ſudden arrival of a few brave yeomen, which I ſhall deſcribe, and whom they took for the advanced guard of our army, occaſioned their precipitate retreat.

It is certain that doctor Caulfield uſed every means in his power, and ſucceeded in preventing the rebels from murdering lord Kingſborough; partly by his ſpiritual authority, and partly by telling them that he was a valuable hoſtage; and that by preſerving his life, and conciliating him, he would probably obtain favourable terms for them and their friends, and prevent the ſoldiers from deſolating the town and the country.

When general Moore's army was within about two miles of Wexford, they perceived the houſe of a proteſtant in the ſuburbs on fire, from which they concluded, that the rebels were burning the town. Mr. John Boyd, repreſentative

repreſentative for the town, who commanded the Wexford cavalry, trembling for the fate of his wife and children, aſked permiſſion of the general for him and as many of the yeomen cavalry as would accompany him, to puſh forward to the town, and to make a deſperate effort to ſave their families and their property. The following perſons, with great magnanimity, volunteered in that perilous ſervice, and ran a riſk of devoting their own lives to ſave the property and lives of the proteſtant inhabitants who remained in the town; they were all members of the corps but one. Captain James Boyd, member of parliament, lieutenant Perceval, high ſheriff for the county, corporal John Stetham, corporal William Hughes, A. H. Jacob, of the Enniſcorthy corps; and the following privates, John Tench, Joſeph Sutton, Archer Bayly, Marcus Doyle, Abraham Howlin, John Byrne, and William M'Cabe, Mr. Boyd's ſervant. Chriſtopher Irwine, permanent ſerjeant of the troop, followed them rapidly on foot, his horſe having been ſhot. They daſhed into the town with a degree of valour bordering on deſpair, and announced with a loud voice, that the army was at their heels. This gave the rebels ſuch an electrick ſhock, that, panick ſtruck, they fled in all directions, ſome over the bridge, others to the barony of Forth. Their conſternation was ſo great, that very few of them attempted on their flight to injure the inhabitants of the town. One rebel fired at Meſſrs. Jacob and Rudd, but the latter ſoon diſpatched him. A rebel fired at lord Kingſborough in the ſtreet, for which another perſon, a loyaliſt, inſtantly ſhot him.

During this ſcene of confuſion which their flight occaſioned, the bloody Thomas Dixon, mounted on a very fine horſe which he had taken from Mr. Cadwallader Edwards, rode through the ſtreets, with a broad ſword drawn, and upbraided the rebels for their timidity and their dilatorineſs; and ſaid, "If you had followed my advice in putting all the hereticks to death three or four days ago, it would not have come to this paſs." Mrs. Dixon, who accompanied him on horſeback, with a ſword and a caſe of piſtols, clapped the rebels on the back, and encouraged them, by ſaying, "We muſt conquer: I know we muſt conquer;" and ſhe exclaimed repeatedly, "My Saviour tells me we muſt conquer!"

They repaired to the bridge to ſtop the retreat of the rebels, but in vain, though Mrs. Dixon drew a piſtol, and ſwore vehemently that ſhe would ſhoot any one of them who would refuſe to return with her to put the

the remainder of the hereticks to death. They endeavoured to raiſe the portcullis of the bridge, to prevent their retreat, but were unable to do ſo.

Governor Keugh came into the ſtreet, and cried aloud, " Gentlemen, fly to the camp at the mountain of Forth; you have nothing elſe for it: Go there and defend yourſelves." Some of them as they were retreating (but particularly young M'Gauley, of Oulart, who was afterwards hanged) cried out, " Let us ſet fire to the town!" but they had not time to do ſo, for in a few minutes there was not a rebel in it.

A very reſpectable lady informed me, that father Roche, the general, on horſeback, and with a drawn ſword, harangued the rebels in the ſtreet, and endeavoured to inſpire them with courage, before her window. He told them, " That they were of the only true faith, which was the faith of Jeſus Chriſt; and that if they would ſupport him in the extirpation of hereticks, they would ſoon have but one religion;" but they were deaf to his exhortations, and ſome of them ſaid, " By my ſoul, father Roche, we have ſtood by you too long; we are ſorry we ever came to you, for you have deceived and ruined us!" I have already quoted the journal of a reſpectable lady, who reſided near the bridge. I ſhall now give the reader her obſervations on the events which took place the day that the town was evacuated. She mentioned before that the black flag had been carried about in proceſſion to announce that the maſſacre was to be renewed.

" About four o'clock Mr. R——, and doctor Jacob came to us. They had been fired at in the ſtreet. The doctor was as compoſed as I am now; but I really never ſaw ſuch firmneſs of mind as he poſſeſſes on all occaſions. Mr. R—— ſaid, " The general maſſacre is going to begin, and that he came to ſave us, or rather to ſhare our fate, for he feared we could not eſcape;" however he had got a boat, with men on whom he thought he could rely, to the end of our houſe, that we ſhould try to get into it, ſtand the fire of the rebels from the quay and in paſſing under the bridge; and if we got clear, throw ourſelves on the mercy of the gun-boats. This was truly deſperate: I walked up ſtairs, and went to a window; the rebels were ſettling themſelves as before, on the bridge, and ſending a boat to the priſon-ſhip; when, conceive my aſtoniſhment, I ſaw them all begin to run. I flew down ſtairs, doubting my ſenſes,

to

to tell doctor Jacob. He came to the window. It was no illuſion: Ran they did, in ſuch confuſion, that I was amazed numbers were not trampled to death. A general cry, "The army are come, they are in the town," explained their flight. Wretches ran out of the infirmary in their ſhirts. In an incredible ſhort ſpace of time the ſtreets were almoſt clear. Above fifty armed rebels ruſhed into our houſe, tore out their green cockades, threw their arms under the beds; and hoped to eſcape by being found under doctor Jacob's roof. He put on his regimentals, and went into the ſtreet. A villain that was going off, turned about, and fired at him, but miſſed him.

"Mr. Perceval, the ſheriff, galloped down the quay to our door, and ſaid, "Here are twelve thouſand ſoldiers with us." Imagine, if you can, our feelings! I never ſhall forget Elizabeth's countenance as ſhe came down ſtairs and ſhook us by the hand. The boat that was ſent to bring them* to torture and to death, brought them to liberty and to rapture. Several came to us. No kind of decorum was obſerved. Nothing but kiſſing and embracing. Moſt of the men cried violently. I ſaw above five thouſand men fly from one horſeman. It was ſuppoſed that four thouſand of them fled from one end of the town. My bridge acquaintances are thoſe who, under the command of Perry and Fitzgerald, have ſince ſpread miſery and deſtruction over the counties of Wexford and Wicklow. We never learned what became of Dixon. None of us ſaw him go over the bridge; and as he is a very large man, and rode a tall white horſe, he could hardly eſcape the obſervation of twelve of us who were anxious to ſee him depart. Mrs. Boyd told me, that ſhe and lady Ann Hore were ſitting in their lodgings, expecting the entrance of the murderers, when they heard a horſe gallop and ſtop at their door."

The lady whoſe journal I quote, and many others who were in Wexford at that time, have declared, that the preſervation of the town and proteſtant inhabitants can be imputed to nothing but the determination of the rebels to murder lord Kingſborough, to whoſe lodgings they repaired with father Murphy, and that that object diverted them from their nefarious deſign, till the alarm, which I have mentioned, occaſioned their general diſperſion and flight.

About

* The priſoners from the priſon-ſhip.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the twenty-firſt, the day of their deliverance, father Broe the friar having viſited the priſon-ſhip, and recommended to the priſoners to be chriſtened, as he ſaid it might be the means of ſaving them from the rage of the rabble, about fifteen of them conſented. He gave thoſe who ſubmitted to that ceremony the following certificate:

"I hereby certify that A. of B. in the pariſh of C. has done his duty, and proved himſelf a Roman catholick, and has made a voluntary oath that he never was an orangeman, nor took the orange oath. Dated Wexford, June twenty-firſt, 1798.

F. JOHN BROE."

This unqueſtionably proves that father Broe knew that a ſecond maſſacre was intended; and that there was no ſalvation for any perſon but a Roman catholick.

As the rebels were retreating over the bridge, one of them fired at the gentlemen on the deck of the priſon-ſhip, but the ball paſſed over their heads.

General Moore having ſent the Queen's regiment into Wexford, between eight and nine o'clock, encamped that night about two miles from it, on the ſouth of the Slaney. The army under generals Lake and Dundas encamped on the north ſide of the Slaney, between Temple-hill* and Carrick-ferry.† As they were encamping, they found in the hedges about fifty rebels, with their pikes, who had fled from Vinegar-hill, whom they ſhot; which induced them to ſearch ſome bruſhwood which was contiguous, and they found there many more, whom they alſo put to death.

General Johnſon remained on the ſouth ſide of the Slaney, and not far from general Moore. General Lake entered Wexford on the morning of the twenty-ſecond of June, and eſtabliſhed his ſtaff in Keugh's houſe, where he, as governor of the town, and a rebel general, had held his ſtaff a few hours before.

As many falſe and ſcandalous reports were propagated by the diſaffected, that ſeveral wanton and barbarous outrages were committed by the king's troops on their entering Wexford, that many perſons were immediately and without any criminal proceſs put to death, I think it right to ſay, that ſuch

* See Plate III. 4, 5. † Ibid. 6.

famous calumnies were perfectly groundleſs; that peace and good order were preſerved there, and that none but thoſe who took a very active part in the rebellion were puniſhed. I give the reader in Appendix, No. XXI. 4. a liſt of the delinquents who ſuffered there.

To palliate the atrocities committed in Wexford by the rebels, it has been falſely inſinuated, that they were provoked to perpetrate them by lord Kingſborough's having violated the terms which he had made with them, but this is totally without foundation.

Keugh on his trial made a very able and manly defence, during the whole of which he was cool and deliberate, and ſo eloquent and pathetick, as to excite the moſt tender emotions in the breaſts of his auditors. Lord Kingſborough, Mr. Lehunte, and other reſpectable witneſſes, proved that he acted on all occaſions with ſingular humanity, and endeavoured to prevent the effuſion of blood; and that they owed their lives to his active interference. He ſaid, "That after the maſſacre on the evening of the twentieth of June, he was ſitting in his own houſe, when he received the following meſſage from the commander in chief, Roche, the prieſt, by Thomas Dixon, that as he was leaving town, on particular buſineſs, he ordered him under pain of death, on the next morning before twelve o'clock, to put to death one hundred more of the priſoners* in the ſame manner that ninety-ſeven had ſuffered that day. He then ſtated that his brother, who had lived many years in his houſe, and had long ſerved the king with reputation as an officer,† was as noted for his loyalty, as for every moral virtue: That on hearing the ſanguinary mandate of Roche, delivered by Dixon, he ordered himſelf to be put to bed, as, from feebleneſs and decrepitude, he had not been able for many years, to move from one place to another: That next morning he crept, all fours, to the governor's apartment, in his abſence, where having found a caſe of piſtols, he blew out his brains. He was frequently interrupted in the courſe of this doleful narration, by crying and ſobbing. He declared that his only object was to reform and improve the conſtitution; but that popiſh fanaticiſm had defeated his deſigns, and borne down every thing. He lamented that he had totally neglected the cultivation of the proteſtant

* This ſhews that the maſſacre intended next morning, which was announced by a ſecond proceſſion with the black flag, was a deliberate act, and planned by the rebel leaders.

† He was regarded as a very amiable old man, and was very loyal.

proteſtant religion in which he had been bred; however, he was attended in his laſt moments by a proteſtant clergyman. After having prayed devoutly on his knees, he roſe and then prayed aloud and fervently for the king and royal family, and that his majeſty might long ſit upon the throne, and that the conſtitution in church and ſtate might never be overthrown. His pathetick eloquence and ſtrength of argument on his trial moved the audience ſo much, that a general officer, who was preſent ran haſtily to general Lake, and requeſted that he might be reſpited; but he aſſured him, that he found among his papers ſufficient indications of his guilt. See in Appendix, No. XXI. 5. a liſt of rebel leaders found among them. Roche, the prieſt and the commander in chief, one Fenlon a ſchoolmaſter, and two obſcure perſons were executed at the ſame time with Keugh. The former, about forty years old, was tall and corpulent, and had a ferocious countenance. While Keugh and the other priſoners were on their knees he continued motionleſs, and ſhewed no appearance of devotion, except that when they were preparing for his execution, he knelt down and kiſſed the ground.*

Soon after Roche was ſuſpended, the rope broke and he fell ſenſeleſs on the ground; but on recovering, he aroſe and exclaimed, "G--d's blood, what are you about? why do you pull my ſtock ſo tight?" He then mounted the fatal ſtep a ſecond time, and was launched into eternity!

Some of our officers who converſed with him, while in priſon, aſſured me that they thought he was born a general, from the judicious remarks which he made on ſome actions, particularly that of Vinegar-hill. He ſaid, that they were very much deceived in the county of Wexford, as they imagined that the inſurrection would have been general all over the kingdom, and then they muſt have ſucceeded. He allowed that the object of the Iriſh union was the ſubverſion of the conſtitution.

John Hay, the rebel general, was taken at his own place, hiding in a ſhrubbery, by general Dundas's army who encamped near it on the twenty-ſecond of June, and was hanged next day. He was of an ancient popiſh family, and the ſon of Mr. Harvey Hay of Ballankeele,† noted for his hoſpitality. He had lived a great while in France, and had ſerved in the French army. Though his manners were poliſhed, and he appeared generous and liberal, he was a bigot, and diſplayed a moſt cruel and ſanguinary

 diſpoſition

* A common practice among his ſavage ſectaries.

† Plate III. 3.

diſpoſition during the rebellion. He was ſo beſotted with ſuperſtition, as to wear a ſcapular, which was found hanging on his breaſt when they were going to execute him.

On the trial of general Edward Roche, Thomas Hatchell proved that he heard Mr. Hay at Vinegar-hill propoſe the murder of all the proteſtants, and that Roche oppoſed it. The cold-blooded murder committed by him of Gray Thomas, at the ſame place, was alſo proved on Roche's trial.* Thomas Smithſon confirmed the evidence of Thomas Hatchell.

The arreſt of B. B. Harvey and John Colclough was attended with ſome curious circumſtances, which I ſhall relate. On the flight of the rebels from Wexford the twenty-firſt of June, they retreated to the largeſt of the Saltee iſlands,‡ which Mr. Colclough rented from Mr. Grogan. Doctor Waddy, a phyſician, who ſerved in the yeomanry, having got intelligence of their retreat, applied to general Lake for a proper party, and an armed veſſel, to go in queſt of them, which he readily obtained,

About three o'clock on Sunday evening the twenty-third day of June, he ſet ſail in the Rutland cutter of ten guns, commanded by captain Willoughby, with lieutenant Turner of the Queen's, a detachment of his regiment, and a man of war's boat, with a party of ſailors well armed. The iſland is about ſix leagues from Wexford, and four or five miles from the ſouthern coaſt of the county. The weather was ſo tempeſtuous, that they were obliged to reef their ſails; and the wind being adverſe, they did not deſcry the iſland till about four o'clock in the morning, and could not caſt anchor along ſide it till eight. When they were approaching it, they ſaw a ſmall boat paſs from the iſland to the main land. As it is ſurrounded with high precipices, and is inacceſſible but in one place, and as they expected to be oppoſed by a party of armed rebels, who it was believed had accompanied Harvey and Colclough, captain Willoughby prepared to cover their landing with the cutter's guns, and they were attended for the ſame purpoſe by the man of war's boat. On landing, they repaired to the only houſe on the iſland, occupied by one Furlong, who rented it from Mr. Colclough. They found there an excellent feather-bed, with fine ſheets, which were warm, a handſome tea equipage, ſome genteel wearing apparel, belonging to both ſexes; particularly, a pair of pantaloons,

* See Appendix, No. XX. 9. ‡ Plate III. 12.

loons, which doctor Waddy had ſeen on Mr. Colclough before the rebellion; and near the houſe ſome ſilk ſhoes and other articles, hid in high ferns. They ſearched every ſuſpected ſpot in the iſland, particularly a place called the Otters cave, but in vain; though they had not a doubt of their having been there, as they had found, among other things, a cheſt of plate in a concealed place belonging to Colclough.

The doctor reſolved to make another effort, by going round the iſland in a boat, for the purpoſe of reconnoitring the ſides of it: In doing ſo, he perceived on the edge of a high precipice, one rock lighter-coloured than the adjoining ones; and as the earth near it ſeemed to have been recently ſtirred, he ſuſpected that they had been making preparations there for their concealment. He therefore again aſcended the iſland, and found that the approach to the place which he wiſhed to explore was ſteep, ſerpentine, and through ſome crags. The light-coloured ſtone covered the mouth of the cave, and above it there was an aperture to let in the light. The doctor called out to Colclough, and told him, that if he did not ſurrender immediately, and without reſiſtance, he ſhould receive no quarter. Colclough aſked, "Is that doctor Waddy?" and on his ſaying, "Yes," he ſaid he would ſurrender; and ſoon after he, at the doctor's deſire, gave up his arms through the hole in the cave. The doctor threw down the precipice the ſtone which covered the mouth of it, which fell with a monſtrous craſh; on which Mr. and Mrs. Colclough came forth, dreſſed in the meaneſt habits of peaſants, for the purpoſe of diſguiſing themſelves. Then B. Harvey came out, ſaying, "My God! my God!" and ſo pale and weak from fatigue and anxiety of mind, that the doctor was obliged to ſupport him. He alſo had a cheſt of plate concealed, which he gave in charge to the doctor and his party.

They arrived in Wexford harbour about nine at night; but as the tide was out, the priſoners could not be committed till next morning.

Meſſrs. Grogan and Harvey, and Patrick Prendergaſt, a rich maltſter, were executed at the ſame time.

The former was a weak man, who fell a ſacrifice to the malign influence of baſe and deſigning men, who cheriſhed in him diſaffection to the ſtate; which made him a ſanguine advocate for reforming our conſtitution; the various excellencies of which he was as incapable of diſcerning, as an inſect was the grandeur and the elegance of a magnificent edifice.

Mr.

Mr. Grogan, who was executed at the ſame time, denied his guilt, and declared on his trial that he had acted by compulſion; but it was proved that he had been frequently ſeen with a green cockade, marching in and out of Wexford, at the head of a large body of rebels; and that as commiſſary to the republick, he had ſeized the proviſions of different people in its vicinity, ſo as to leave their families quite deſtitute.

Mr. Harvey, in his defence on his trial, ſaid, "That he became a member of the Iriſh union three years before, but that he imagined the only object was to reform the conſtitution; and that he did not till recently diſcover that the popiſh prieſts were deeply concerned in it, and that the extermination of proteſtants was their main deſign:* That having oppoſed their ſanguinary views, he was depoſed, and the command was given to that infamous villain father Roche: That he was then carried to the Three-rock camp as a priſoner, where he remained a few days, and was ſo far at liberty as to be allowed to walk about; but ſo cloſely watched, that with every wiſh to make his eſcape, he found it impoſſible, till the evening the rebels fled in every direction on the approach of the king's troops."

He died in a very decent manner, having been attended by a proteſtant clergyman, and prayed moſt fervently. A ſhort time before his trial, a particular friend of his and mine, having aſked him, how he came to conſent to the bloody buſineſs of Scullabogue, he, very much ſhocked, replied, "That it was brought about by an infamous ſanguinary popiſh faction."

Mr. Harvey wrote the following letter to lord Kingſborough, a ſhort time before his execution. It was the laſt graſp for life, and ſhews manifeſt ſigns of perturbation:

"My lord,

"I take the liberty of requeſting your lordſhip will let me have an opportunity of ſeeing your lordſhip before you leave Wexford. You cannot but recollect how repeatedly I wiſhed to ſpeak to your lordſhip alone; that I was always prevented by fear; and whenever I met you and was allowed to ſpeak to you, I was ever ready to accede to propoſals of reſtoring order and government.

I am, with ſubmiſſion,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
B. B. HARVEY."

Mr.

* This was kept a profound ſecret from the proteſtant leaders.

Mr. Harvey, in a numerous company, and at the houſe of a relation in Dublin, in the year 1796, began to broach ſome of his republican opinions, which I endeavoured to refute. At laſt, I ſaid to him, with much emphaſis, "Beware that your life and property do not fall a ſacrifice to your abſurd republican notions!"

The following fact proves that he was a man of humanity: The reverend Mr. Wilſon, miniſter of the pariſh of Mulranken, in which he lived, and ſuch of his proteſtant pariſhioners as could not make their eſcape were taken priſoners, and ſent to Wexford gaol, on the firſt of June; but Mr. Harvey ordered them home, on their taking the united Iriſhman's oath.

From the following incidents we may infer, that with the beſt military talents, and the warmeſt zeal in the rebel cauſe, his power could not have been of any duration. Mr. Solomon Richards aſſured me, that a prieſt refuſed to grant him a protection the day after our troops evacuated Wexford; but on applying to B. Harvey he gave him one, which afforded him liberty and ſecurity till Mr. Harvey's power began to decline, and then no reſpect was paid to it, and he was committed to priſon.

Matthew Green, an inhabitant of Wexford, who was hanged there for being a rebel captain, and for having been concerned in the murder of Murphy on the third of June, went on board the priſon-ſhip, and ſaid, with an air of inſolence, to Mr. Richards, "So, you would not take my advice in joining us, and in taking a command. See whether B. Harvey's advice or mine is beſt, and whether he or I will be the greateſt man in a day or two; but mark my words, that he and all the proteſtant generals and priſoners will *go*, for we will have but one people. I doubt whether you can eſcape with your life."

John Colclough, of Ballyteige,* died with much decency and firmneſs. He was the only perſon of his name who was a papiſt, and who was publickly accuſed of being a rebel. He was deſcended from John Colclough, who became a convert to popery about the beginning of this century, and who from his great bigotry was called the Saint. He left only one child, an infant ſon, who he deſired might be bred a proteſtant; conſcious, I ſuppoſe, that the religion which he profeſſed, would have a tendency to make him a bad ſubject of a proteſtant ſtate. With a loud voice, and much compoſure, he exhorted the bye-ſtanders to avoid the abſurd prejudices and

* Plate III.

and opinions which had brought him to an untimely and ignominious death; and he expatiated on the extreme folly of endeavouring to overturn a regular and well-eſtabliſhed government; and he ended with theſe notable words, "From what I have ſeen theſe laſt three weeks, I am not ſorry for dying." Alluding, I ſuppoſe, to the maſſacres.

Fanaticiſm had made the lower claſs of people ſo blind to their own intereſt, and ſo inſenſible to danger, that ſome of them were convicted in Wexford, ſoon after the king's troops arrived there, of uſing ſeditious language, and of endeavouring to ſeduce them; though ſo many of their fellow-traitors had recently ſuffered capital puniſhment.

Some attempts of this kind were made on the Queen's regiment, the firſt which entered the town on the twenty-firſt of June; though it conſiſted of Engliſhmen. Thomas Graham, an inhabitant of Wexford, was convicted of trying to ſeduce John Nailor of that regiment, while a ſentry on his poſt, a few days after the regiment had landed in Ireland.

The ſailors continued ſo diſaffected, that they refuſed, in the autumn of the year 1798, to convey goods from Dublin to Wexford for a Roman catholick merchant of that town, becauſe he was notorious for his loyalty, though he had offered a very high price for the freight. This ſpirit of diſaffection and combination was inveſtigated, and fully proved, before a committee of the houſe of commons.

Soon after the maſſacres at Wexford, on the twentieth of June, the following ſentences were carved on the rails of the portcullis of the bridge, the place where they were perpetrated; and they were legible in the month of June, 1799: "Sacred to the chriſtian doctrine of ſending orangemen to the meadows of eaſe, June 1798: The holy hereticks that were ſlain."

The rebel column, which, after the defeat at Vinegar-hill, had retreated to the north of the county of Wexford, and the county of Wicklow, were joined by a large body belonging to the latter, headed by Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, and his brother William, and continued to ſpread deſolation there, burning the houſes of proteſtants, and murdering ſuch of their occupiers as fell into their hands. The firſt achievement which they endeavoured to perform in this new ſcene of action, was an attempt to deſtroy Hacketſtown.*

As

* There was an attack made on this town the twenty-fifth of May, by a numerous body of rebels; but they were repulſed by the yeomen and a ſmall party of the Antrim militia.

As numbers of the people of the country were ſeen on the twenty-fourth of June, aſſembling on all the adjacent hills, no doubt for the purpoſe of joining the column which I have already mentioned, the garriſon, conſiſting but of forty of the Antrim militia, commanded by lieutenant Gardner, and fifty of the Hacketſtown infantry, commanded by captain Hardy, ſent intelligence of it to the officers commanding yeomen corps in the neighbourhood.

At ſix o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fifth, captain Chamney, with thirty of his infantry, captain Hume, with thirty of the Talbot's-town cavalry, and lieutenant Braddell, with twenty-four of the Shillelah cavalry, reinforced the garriſon, and marched with them a ſhort diſtance from the town, to meet the rebels who were thought to be thirteen thouſand ſtrong, and were commanded by generals Garret and William Byrne, Meſſrs. Perry, Mc. Mahon, Michael Reynolds, and Edward Fitzgerald. The garriſon had got but a ſhort diſtance from the town, when the rebels began to file off on each ſide, for the purpoſe of ſurrounding them. In conſequence of this, the Talbot's-town and Shillelah cavalry were obliged to retreat, for fear of being cut off, by the road to Clonmore, and could not afterwards return to aſſiſt in defending the town.

In the retreat, captain Hardy, a brave and intelligent officer and a moſt amiable gentleman, and four men were killed. The infantry, about one hundred and twenty in number, took poſt in the barrack, part of them having lined a breaſt-work which the captain had raiſed ſome days before in the rear of it. The remainder defended the front.

The reverend James Mc. Ghee collected nine proteſtants, and with them occupied and reſolved to defend a houſe which commanded the main ſtreet, and one ſide of the barrack, which was thatched, and which thoſe inſide it could not defend. The family of Mr. Mc. Ghee, all the proteſtant women of the town, and even the wife of general Byrne, (whom, it is ſaid, he wiſhed to get rid of,) took refuge in it. Mr. Mc. Ghee barricaded the lower part of the houſe, placed four of his men in its rear to prevent it from being burnt, and the other five in the front, not only for its defence, but to cover the ſide of the barrack which was expoſed.

The town was ſoon ſurrounded by a prodigious number of pikemen, who ſet fire to it in different quarters, and one thouſand and fifty muſketeers commenced a heavy fire on it. In about two hours the whole

town, except the barrack and two houſes more, was in flames, which preſented a terrifick ſcene, the horrors of which were much heightened by the inceſſant fire which the rebels maintained, and the very thick ſmoke in which the town was involved, and which entered even into the houſe, ſo that its defenders could ſcarcely ſee each other. About one o'clock the houſes fell in, and a wind having ſprung up which diſperſed the ſmoke, they were able again to ſee the rebels; who finding that they could not ſet fire to the barrack, which was ably defended by captain Chamney, without having burnt the houſe in which Mr. Mc. Ghee kept garriſon, they relinquiſhed the former, and approached the latter in great numbers, and with dreadful yells, crying, "Liberty or Death!" having their colours flying, and ſounding their bugle-horns, they puſhed cars before them with feather-beds in them as breaſt-works to cover their approach. A well-directed fire from the houſe, for about twenty minutes, made them retreat, leaving behind them their cars, and twenty-eight men killed.

During the engagement, which laſted from ſix in the morning till half after three in the afternoon, the loſs of the proteſtants was but eleven men killed and fifteen wounded. It was univerſally believed, that no leſs than five hundred of the rebels were killed. They carried off upwards of twenty car loads of dead and wounded. When any of their men were ſo badly wounded as to be unfit for ſervice, they threw them into the flames, in which they alſo burnt many of their killed. It was a common practice with the rebels to put their wounded men to death, leſt they might turn informers.

Next day great numbers of dead bodies were found in ditches; and immediately behind Mr. Mc. Ghee's garriſon they found fifty dead men with their pikes, and thirty over whom a little clay had been thrown. That gallant party would have been unable to defend themſelves for want of ammunition, had not lieutenant Fenton, of the Talbot's-town cavalry, been providentially prevented from attending his duty by a contuſion, occaſioned by a fall from his horſe, as he ſat behind a pier between two windows making cartridges; and to the immortal honour of Mrs. Fenton, ſhe continued to go about the houſe, and to ſupply the beſieged with refreſhment during their laborious and perilous ſervice; and when their ſtock of balls was exhauſted, ſhe broke up her pewter plates, and caſt bullets of them with her own hands, which her huſband made up into cartridges.

The

The garriſon were obliged to retreat to Tullow the evening of the action, for the following reaſons: They were exhauſted with fatigue; their ammunition was expended; and all the houſes in the town, except three, were conſumed, and the rebels returned and burned them. Thus circumſtanced, had they waited for a ſecond attack in the night, which the enemy meditated, it muſt have been fatal to the garriſon.

This body of rebels burnt every proteſtant houſe within ſix miles of Hacketſtown, in every direction, and murdered ſuch of their inmates as they could ſeize.

Wherever they encamped, they, as uſual, ſent out parties in queſt of proteſtants, whom they murdered. Mr. William Byrne, of Ballymanus, frequently was preſent at, and gave orders at the maſſacres, for which he was ſoon after hanged.

Iſaac Langrell, a proteſtant, was piked near Gorey; after which, as ſome ſigns of life appeared in him, a ruffian, with a hay knife on the end of a ſtick, gave him a ſtroke acroſs the neck, which almoſt ſevered his head from his body; on which William Byrne, who was preſent with a drawn ſword, and ſeemed to command the party, ordered them to march off, ſaying, "For the heretick will riſe no more."

The following fact was proved on a court-martial at Wexford, the nineteenth of May, 1800: Henry Hinch, a proteſtant, was taken from his own houſe, near Gorey, by a band of aſſaſſins, and conveyed to the rebel camp, where Mary Forde ſaw him on his knees, begging his life; when Mary Redmond, his neighbour, whom he had regarded as a friend, inſiſted that he ſhould be killed; on which he was ſhot, and when he fell ſhe ſtruck his body with a ſtone, and called him an orange rogue. Then a rebel of the name of Philips fired another ſhot at him. This poor man, who had lived by his induſtry, left a wife and nine children.

As that column ſtill continued to infeſt the country contiguous to Gorey,† general Needham, on the morning of the thirtieth of June, ſent Hunter Gowen, captain of the Tinahely cavalry, with a part of his corps, to reconnoitre near Moneyſeed.* From a hill near that town, about three o'clock in the morning, he perceived the rebels in a hollow under him in very great force, having received great reinforcements ſince

† Plate II, 4. * Plate II, 3, 4.

their flight from Vinegar-hill. He ſent intelligence of it to general Needham, who ordered colonel Puleſton, of the Ancient Britons, to join him immediately with detachments from his own regiment, the 4th and 5th dragoons, the Ballaghkeene, Gorey, and Wingfield yeomen cavalry. The latter, before the reinforcement arrived, killed eight or ten ſcattered rebels, and among them one Brien, who the day before went to general Needham, pretended to return to his allegiance, ſurrendered a pike, and in conſequence of it obtained a protection; but on that day he was armed with a muſket.

The rebels advanced to Tinahely,* and having turned off to Wingfield,† burned the old manſion there, and then proceeded to Moneyſeed, where our troops firſt got ſight of them. From thence they purſued them for two miles, to a place called Ballyellis,‡ where the rebels, being cloſely preſſed, placed their baggage and their cars in the road, and poſted a number of pikemen in their front. As ſoon as our cavalry came in ſight of them, at the turn of a road, they charged them with great impetuoſity; but when they were within a ſhort diſtance of them, the pikemen leaped over the hedges at each ſide, on which the horſes in front were entangled in the cars; and thoſe in their rear preſſing on them, a ſhocking ſcene of confuſion enſued; both men and horſes were involved, and tumbled over each other: The rebels fired on them from behind the hedges and a park wall which was near, and while they were in this ſtate of embarraſſment, killed numbers of them with their muſkets, and piked ſuch of them as happened to be unhorſed.

Colonel Puleſton, whoſe horſe they ſhot or piked, was with difficulty ſaved by his men. Captain Giffard, of the Ancient Britons, and Mr. Parſons, adjutant of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, who had ſerved with reputation abroad, and about ſixty privates of the military and yeomen, were killed.

I have been aſſured, that this action would have been more fatal to the loyaliſts, but that the Wingfield corps who were on the right, went through a lane to a hill which commanded the rebels, whom they put into confuſion by a well-directed fire, and of whom they killed from twenty to thirty.

The

* Plate II. 1. † Ibid. 2. ‡ Ibid. 4.

The deſign of the rebels was to ſurpriſe the town of Carnew, which was about a mile diſtant, to have killed fifty yeomen, who garriſoned it, and to have burnt the few houſes which they had not deſtroyed before; but the garriſon having been apprized of their deſign by ſome of the cavalry in their retreat, took poſt in a malt-houſe, and defended the town ſo well, that the rebels, unable to paſs through it, retired to Ballyellis,‡ and in their retreat burnt a fine new houſe of ſir John Jervis White.

They then took poſt on Kilcavan-hill,* near Moneyſeed, and to the north weſt of Gorey, where the Wexford rebels ſeparated from thoſe of the county of Wicklow, who were commanded by Garret Byrne of Ballymanus; for, ſoon after the battle of Vinegar-hill, they had united and co-operated. This ſeparation was occaſioned by a diſpute between their leaders. They repaired from Kilcavan, where they remained but an hour, to Ballyraheene-hill, which lies between Carnew and Tinahely.

In their progreſs they killed twelve proteſtants, among others a farmer of the name of Driver, and burned ſome houſes. They were purſued by detachments of the Wingfield and Shillela cavalry, the Tinahely infantry commanded by captain Morton, the Coolatin by captain Chamney, and the Coolkenna, by captain Nixon, the whole making about one hundred and twenty. They endeavoured to gain the hill of Ballyraheene, which was high and ſteep, before the rebels, but could not ſucceed. However, though they were poſted on an eminence, and behind hedges, and notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority of numbers, the brave and loyal yeomanry, with a degree of valour bordering on raſhneſs, attacked and engaged them for three quarters of an hour; but were at laſt obliged to retreat, as the rebels were endeavouring to ſurround them. Captains Chamney and Nixon, and ſeventeen privates were killed, and many were wounded. Though Garret Byrne had been the particular friend of captain Chamney, he ordered his houſe, which was within a quarter of a mile of the action, to be burnt; but lieutenant Chamney having taken poſt in it with forty yeomen, defended it all night againſt the whole hoſt of rebels, of whom they killed great numbers. One of them was ſhot in endeavouring to ſet fire to the hall-door, bearing a feather bed on his back for his defence. This engagement took place the ſecond of July, two miles from Tinahely, and four from Carnew.

Garret

‡ Plate II. 4. * Ibid. 3, 4.

Garret and William Byrne of Ballymanus, who headed the banditti, who committed theſe outrages and barbarities, piqued themſelves on the antiquity of their family. Garret, the eldeſt brother, had an eſtate, and was reputed a gentleman, from his birth, property, and education. Edward Fitzgerald alſo was a man of independent fortune, and received a good education.

On the fourth of July, general Needham, who was ſtationed at Gorey with a ſmall force, received information that this body of rebels had for two nights been aſſembled at the White heaps,* a very elevated ſpot, which had an extenſive plain on the top. It is about ſix miles to the north of Gorey, and near the village of Coolgreney. Thinking it a very favourable opportunity for attacking them, he concerted meaſures for that purpoſe with general ſir James Duff and the marquis of Huntley; the former commanded at Carnew,† the latter at Arklow.‖

General Duff's column was deſtined to cut off the retreat of the rebels by the Wicklow gap, that of the marquis of Huntley was to occupy the ſummit of Croghan-mountain,§ which lies to the north of Coolgreney, and to intercept their flight by that aſcent.

General Needham was to make the attack. At dawn of day he approached within half a mile of the White heaps, when his advanced guard was perceived by ſome videttes of the rebels, poſted near a farm-houſe, in which ſeveral of the rebel leaders had ſlept the preceding night. Theſe videttes gave the alarm to the main body, and it unfortunately happened that ſoon after a fog aroſe, ſo thick, as to retard the movement of our troops, and to afford a cover to the rebels to eſcape. When general Needham arrived on the White heaps, he found very viſible marks of the enemy having ſlept there the night before; however he met but a few ſtragglers, who were put to death. About twelve o'clock, the fog clearing off, he obſerved the rebels aſcending Croghan mountain, where, meeting by ſurpriſe, the marquis of Huntley's corps, they deſcended rapidly, and endeavoured to eſcape by Wicklow-gap, which lies to the ſouth-weſt of Croghan; where, approaching in the fog, cloſe to ſir James Duff's column, a few rounds of grape ſhot compelled them to change the courſe of their flight towards a hill near Moneyſeed, where they were cloſely purſued by ſir James, when, on the diſperſion of the fog, they

* Plate II. 1, 2. † Ibid. 4. ‖ Ibid. 1. § Ibid.

they were perceived by general Needham, who, though at two miles diſtance, joined in the purſuit; and finding that his infantry could not advance with ſufficient celerity, he puſhed on his cavalry, which joined that of ſir James Duff. At length the rebels, after having been purſued and haraſſed by our cavalry, for above twelve miles, and finding themſelves unable to proceed, reſolved to try the iſſue of a conteſt, and for that purpoſe formed behind hedges, and under cover of a coppice wood, at Ballygullen, near Mount Nebo,* and three miles from Gorey.

They waited our attack, which began by grape ſhot, from four ſix-pound curricle guns, but finding that our guns were protected by cavalry only, and the few gunners who worked them, they made many deſperate efforts to take them, having maintained a very heavy fire of muſketry, and advanced a numerous body of pikemen; but they were repulſed by the ſingular bravery and ſteadineſs of lieutenant Hemmings, who commanded the artillery, and captain Ledwell with a detachment of lord Roden's fencibles. At length the head of ſir James Duff's column arriving, the rebels were ſoon routed, and a vigorous purſuit was made, in which the earl of Roden,† at the head of his regiment, acted with his uſual ſpirit and gallantry. About three hundred of the rebels were thought to have fallen. On that day the yeomen cavalry under captain White, cut off great numbers of the rebels.

Some farmers and labourers who were concerned in this affair, declared to their landlords, after an amneſty had been granted by government, that in this purſuit they threw away their clothes to lighten themſelves; and that they were ſo much overcome with hunger and fatigue, that they wiſhed for death. After this defeat the rebels never appeared in any part of the county of Wexford, in ſuch force as to meet the military or the yeomen in a pitched battle; but many bands of aſſaſſins continued to rob and murder. Part of thoſe who were diſperſed on this occaſion, went into the counties of Kildare, Carlow and Meath, under Fitzgerald, Aylmer, Garret Byrne, Perry and Kearns, and ſpread deſolation in their progreſs. The two former ſurrendered themſelves at the caſtle; the two latter were hanged at Edenderry. Many of their followers died by the ſword and the gibbet; others turned robbers; and but few returned to their reſpective homes.

The

* Plate II. 4.

† That gallant nobleman was in the moſt perilous ſervice during the rebellion, and volunteered whenever his regiment was not on duty.

The mountains of Wicklow continued for many months after the aſylum of a deſperate banditti, who, under Holt and Hacket as leaders, committed plunder and aſſaſſination in all the adjacent country. That county, from the ſtrong poſts and faſtneſſes which its ſteeps, craggy mountains and deep defiles afford, was the laſt place in Ireland in which rebellion was ſubdued in the reigns of Elizabeth, Charles I. and king William.

Some perſons of acute diſcernment in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow have made the following obſervations to me, which proves that the war was a religious one: That no papiſt ever lamented, or does ſo to this hour, the relations they have loſt in the rebellion: No wife was ever ſeen to ſhed a tear for the death of her huſband, or a father or mother for the loſs of a ſon. In one inſtance only, nature prevailed, and a tear ſtarted from the eye.

Another circumſtance obſerved by the ſame perſons proves it to have been founded in religious bigotry: That men who bore formerly very excellent moral characters, were guilty of murder, robbery, and perjury without remorſe; and that numbers were perſuaded, contrary to the ſentiments of nature, and the obligations of true religion, not only to neglect, but to violate, all the ties of duty, friendſhip, gratitude and humanity, in proſecuting the war.

In the courſe of the rebellion, ſome pariſhes were more cruel and ſanguinary than others. Wherever the rebels happened to be encamped and to have the country at their devotion, they maſſacred proteſtants for ſome miles round them; which is fully proved by the atrocities perpetrated by them in the vicinity of Carrickbyrne, Enniſcorthy, and Gorey.

In the pariſhes of Killan, Roſſdroit, Clonmore, Adamſtown, and Newbawn, no proteſtant was ſpared. In the former, which lies near the weſt-ſide of the Black-ſtair* mountains, the rebels were on the point of committing the following barbarous act: A band of aſſaſſins was ſent out to collect all the proteſtant women and children in it, in order to burn them in the church. They droye the victims into an out-houſe, belonging to a Mrs. Kelly, within gun-ſhot of it, where they were to be kept till they could procure a ſufficient number of faggots to accompliſh their horrid deſign. The ruffians who were employed in it, frequently called the church

* See Plate III. 1.

church the proteſtant pie. In this dreadful ſituation were theſe helpleſs and miſerable women, embracing each other, and preſſing to their boſoms, for a laſt farewel, their innocent babes, when Providence interfered, and ſaved them in a moſt miraculous manner. The army commanded by general Johnſon, in their way to Enniſcorthy, drove the rebels from Lacken-hill. One of them, a native of Killan, fled home in great conſternation with the news, and added that the king's troops were cloſe at his heels. The guilty keepers, fearing the juſt puniſhment of their crimes, forſook their charge and fled. A few, more brutal than the reſt, detained twelve of the youngeſt girls all night, and forced and dreadfully abuſed them. Four of theſe aſſaſſins were afterwards convicted of theſe crimes at Newtown-barry, and, by the orders of general Taylor, were executed in the village of Killan, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1798, oppoſite to the houſe where they had committed that brutal act, and not far diſtant from the ſpot which gave them birth. All theſe circumſtances were proved on the trial of theſe monſters by the concurrent teſtimony of the ſufferers.

Michael M'Grath proved, by affidavit, that a few days before the action at Vinegar-hill, he ſaw five proteſtant girls, viz. Eliza and Hannah Shields, Anne and Hannah James, and Rachael Murphy, all in tears, in cuſtody of Chriſtopher Drohan and four other men; that he aſked Drohan, where he was conducting them? that he anſwered to Killan priſon; and that at the riſk of his life, he reſcued them from ſaid perſons.

Rachael Murphy, Anne and Hannah James ſwore on the trial of theſe men, that Drohan, while they were his priſoners, informed them, that their intention was (meaning himſelf and his party) to raviſh them, viz. the ſaid five girls, that night, and to burn them next morning; and that previous to this, their fathers had been murdered.

The following paper was found in the pocket of a rebel, who was ſhot near Coolgreney, by captain Hugh Moore, of the 5th dragoon-guards:

" Jeſus I H S Maria
" I truſt in Thee.

" This is meaſured of the wounds of the ſide of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was brought from Conſtantinople unto the emperor Charles, within a gold cheſt, as a relief moſt precious to that effect, that no evil or any thing might take him which reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be

hurted by any tempeſt, fire, water, knife, ſword, lance or bullet. Neither the devil ſhall hurt him; he ſhall be victorious, and never die an unnatural death, and ſhall be a ſure ſafety to women with child."

Many of the ſame purport were found in the county of Wexford during the rebellion. One of them was found on Pat. Prendergaſt, a rebel in the county of Mayo, while the rebellion raged there. One of them is to be ſeen in doctor Bernard's hiſtory of the ſiege of Drogheda.

Another piece of ſuperſtition to which the common people in Ireland of the Romiſh religion are much attached, is the ſcapular, a religious order, the myſteries of which are various and profound.† Its ſectaries wear on their ſhoulder or breaſt, and next to their ſkin, a piece of cloth, about three inches ſquare, with I H S. worked on it; meaning Jeſus hominum Salvator. It is ſuppoſed to avert much moral and phyſical evil; and that it will prevent a perſon from dying, though ſhot through the heart, till he receives the rites of his church.

I mentioned before a practice of putting red tape on the necks of popiſh children: It prevailed much in that part of the county of Carlow bordering on the county of Wexford.

A popiſh ſchoolmaſter at Tullow inflicted a ſevere puniſhment on a proteſtant boy, for having worn it. A magiſtrate received information, that John Hannigan, pariſh prieſt of the pariſhes of Coolkenno and Clonmore, ordered pieces of red tape to be put on the necks of popiſh children, to diſtinguiſh them from proteſtants; and that he knew that a maſſacre of the proteſtants was to take place.

Some officers who, when on duty, traverſed many parts of the county of Wexford, aſſured me, that they ſaw, in various places, the ſign of the croſs on the doors of ſome dwelling-houſes; and on others, the following words: "Protection for this houſe." They were inſcribed on the houſe of Mr. Devereux, of Carrigmannon, and even on the gates leading to it; which, it is believed, was done becauſe he was a Roman catholick.

In the neighbourhood of Gorey, the chapels of father Francis Kavenagh and ſome other prieſts, who had acted very treacherouſly and cruelly towards the proteſtants, were burnt by the latter, who compelled them to fly

† They are to be found in a little book called the Scapular, publiſhed by Elſaner Kelly, in Dublin. The form of one of them is to be found in Plate V.

fly to Wexford, where they continued to receive their parochial dues. During their reſidence there, the prieſt of each pariſh announced, by letter, to his pariſhioners, that he would ſay maſs preciſely at a certain hour; and they went regularly at that hour to the walls of their reſpective chapels, where they prayed, and went through the ceremony of maſs, at the time appointed, with as much devotion as if the prieſts were preſent, on a ſuppoſition that they were acting in uniſon with them.

The following calculation of the inhabitants of the county of Wexford, will in a great meaſure ſhew the reader their number, and the proportion of thoſe who were in actual rebellion againſt the beſt of kings, and the only conſtitution in Europe that affords its ſubjects any degree of rational liberty. It will alſo prove by induction, that the population of Ireland is much leſs than is generally imagined.

A hearthmoney collector, well verſed in calculation, made an exact cenſus of the people in three baronies and a half, ſo late as the month of March, 1800; and he included in it the populous town of Wexford. Theſe baronies contain at leaſt one-third of the population of the county, and they were leſs depopulated than any other parts of it; beſides, this calculation has been made ſince the rebellion.

I conſider the county of Wexford, which is very populous, a good average from which to deduce the number of inhabitants in Ireland, according to the quantity of ſquare acres which it contains, in proportion to thoſe in the kingdom at large; and I conceive that it is nearly a thirty-fourth part of it. The following table will in a great meaſure eſtabliſh the poſitions which I have made:

Baronies.	Population.	Total.	Population of the county Wexford.
Wexford,	7,405		
Forth,	5,575		
Bargy,	6,072		
Shelmalier, weſt of the river Slaney	3,977	23,029	69,087

Acres in the county of Wexford.	Acres in Ireland.	Population of Wexford.	Population of Ireland.
343,000	11,607,650	69,087	2,348,958
			Dublin 200,000
		Total of the population of Ireland	2,548,958

On the trial of Mr. William Byrne, of Ballymanus, at Wicklow, on the twenty-fourth of July, 1799, it was proved, that he, Perry and Redmond, who were leaders, made a regular muſter of the rebel army before they marched from Gorey to attack Arklow, and that they amounted to thirty-one thouſand.

The inhabitants of the county of Wexford, -		69,087
The army that attacked Arklow, -	31,000	
There were three large rebel camps beſides, one at the mountain of Forth, one on Vinegar-hill, one on Carrickbyrne, and allowing 5000 for each, - -	15,000	
Allow for ſmall rebel poſts, - -	3,000	
		49,000
		20,087

On the ſame trial it was proved, that when the rebel army under William Byrne went to burn Tinahely in the night, they ordered ſuch of the inhabitants as were Roman catholicks to put up lights in their houſes, which they did; and none of them, in conſequence of it, were burnt, but that all thoſe of the proteſtants were. It was proved alſo, that father Toole, a prieſt, ſaid maſs near the town, while it was in a ſtate of conflagration.

It is aſtoniſhing how ſucceſsful the rebels were in their endeavours to ſeduce the king's troops, and they never failed to exert themſelves for that purpoſe, though they might have been quartered ever ſo ſhort a time in one place.

Lord Blayney aſſured me, that there was a dreadful mutiny in the 4th light brigade of militia under his command, at Ferns,† in the month of Auguſt, 1798: That he diſcovered one morning, that they were to have riſen that night, and to have murdered him and all the proteſtant officers and privates in the brigade; but he ſeaſonably defeated their deſign, by ſuddenly marching them off to another camp at Scarawalſh-bridge.‡ It appeared that they had been plentifully ſupplied with money, and had a conſtant and unremitting intercourſe with a neighbouring prieſt, who lord Blayney had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to think was active in ſeducing them.

The following proofs appeared of the mutinous ſtate in which they were by the examinations of ſerjeant Mc. Man, and other ſoldiers of the Antrim

† Plate II. 6, 7. ‡ Ibid. 8.

trim regiment, ſworn before Cornelius Wallace and William Moore, eſquires, both magiſtrates, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, 1798; that there was a conſpiracy in the 4th light brigade of infantry quartered at Ferns, to murder their officers and all orangemen, and that lord Blayney was to be the firſt murdered.

By informations ſworn before colonel Hugh Clinton, it appeared, that they were to have attacked and ſtormed the camp at Ferns, and then to have proceeded to that of Scarawalſh; and that part of the Clare, Kildare, Queen's county, Antrim, Kilkenny, and Donegal regiments, were engaged in it; and that one Dogherty, a ſoldier in the latter, ſaid he muſt go and conſult the prieſt about it.

Patrick Mc. Mahon, of the Clare militia, ſtated in his examinations, ſworn before William Moore, eſquire, the thirteenth of Auguſt, 1798; that Murray and Gallagher, privates in the ſame regiment, aſked him, in the church yard of Ferns, to be ſworn to be true to them and their cauſe, meaning an inſurrection; but added at the ſame time, that if he had any underſtanding of his religion, there would be no occaſion to ſwear him.

By a court-martial, held at Waterford, the thirteenth of November, 1798, by order of general Johnſon, the mutiny of the 4th light battalion was proved in the cleareſt manner: That it was to have taken place the night they marched from Ferns; and that they were to have murdered their officers, and all the orangemen and proteſtants of the regiment.

It is ſurpriſing how ſimilar the rebellions in Ireland have been in their origin and progreſs, and how uniformly deſtructive in their effects.

The county of Wexford was deſolated in the year 1641; and the houſes of the biſhop of Ferns and Mr. Ram of Ramsford, were deſtroyed as well in the rebellion of that period as in the late one; which appears by an affidavit, ſworn by Mr. Ram the twelfth of January, 1641, and lodged in Birmingham-tower.‡

The rebels, who eſcaped from our troops after the battle of Whiteheaps, fled into the county of Kildare, under the command of Garret and William Byrne, Edward Fitzgerald, general Perry, and Kearns, a popiſh

‡ See it in Appendix, No. XXI.

popiſh prieſt, having been induced to join their fellow-traitors there by Michael Reynolds, who being reinforced by them, was encouraged to undertake, what he had long meditated, an attack on the little garriſon of Clonard,§ defended by a few yeomen, commanded by lieutenant Tyrrell, of Kilreny, high ſheriff of the county, and of whom I made mention before.

A report having prevailed, that they had this in contemplation, lieutenant Tyrrell acted for ſome time on the defenſive. At laſt, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the eleventh of July, his nephew Mr. Richard Allen, who was a member of his corps, galloped into the yard, and announced that he had been cloſely purſued by a large party of rebels, that he narrowly eſcaped being taken, and that he was ſure they were advancing to Clonard.

It unfortunately happened that ſome of the guards were abſent, not having the moſt remote ſuſpicion that the garriſon would be attacked. Lieutenant Tyrrell, notwithſtanding his utmoſt exertions, could muſter but twenty-ſeven men, three of whom were his own ſons, the eldeſt not ſeventeen years old, the youngeſt but twelve. He had no ſooner cloſed the gate of the court-yard, than the firing began.

Though lieutenant Tyrrell had never acted in any military capacity, the coolneſs, the ſkill, the good ſenſe, and energy of mind, which he ſhewed in this critical and perilous ſituation, would have done honour to a veteran. He ſtationed in a turret in the garden, which commanded the road by which the rebels were expected to advance, ſix of his corps, including Mr. Allen and his ſon, only fifteen years old. After fixing ſome other out-poſts, he retired into the barrack with the main body, of whom he ſelected the beſt markſmen, placed them at thoſe windows from which they were moſt likely to annoy the enemy, and deſired them not to fire without taking good aim.

The advanced guard of the rebels, conſiſting of about three hundred cavalry, approached towards the turret, in a full trot, without apprehending any danger. Their leader, one Farrell, was mortally wounded by the firſt ſhot fired by young Mr. Tyrrell; and the main body having been thrown into confuſion by a general volley, fled out of the reach of their

§ Plate I. 6, 7.

their fire. The rebel infantry then coming up, paſſed by the turret under cover of a wall, and part of them having taken poſt behind a hedge, maintained a conſtant fire on it, but without effect. The remainder joined another party, who came by a croſs road from a different quarter, for their object was to have ſurrounded the town. They then ſtationed a guard on the bridge, to prevent any reinforcement from arriving in that direction. The markſmen from the windows ſoon diſperſed and put to flight that guard, after having killed about a dozen of them. This proved afterwards to be of the utmoſt conſequence to the little garriſon, as it preſerved a communication with the weſtern road.

The rebels, diſappointed in their attack both on the houſe and the turret, reſolved to make one deſperate effort to ſtorm the latter. A party of them having penetrated into the garden, ruſhed into the turret. The yeomen ſtationed there had the precaution to draw up through a trap-door the ladder by which they aſcended to the loft. The rebels endeavoured to mount to it on each other's ſhoulders, but were conſtantly killed in the attempt. Some fired through the floor, others drove their pikes through it, but without effect. The rebels perſevered in the attempt with inflexible obſtinacy, though twenty-ſeven of them lay dead on the ground-floor. At laſt they ſet fire to a large quantity of ſtraw under the turret, which was ſoon in flames.

Two of the beſieged, Mr. George Tyrrell and Mr. Michael Cuſack, were ſhot in endeavouring to make their eſcape, by ruſhing through the ſmoke. The remainder eluded the vigilance of the rebels, and arrived ſafe to the main body, by leaping from a very high window, and paſſing under cover of a wall.

Afterwards they ſet fire to the toll-houſe, and ſome cabbins near the bridge, and threw ſome of the dead bodies into the flames, for the purpoſe of conſuming them, leſt their numbers ſhould be known.

The conflict had now laſted ſix hours, and the rebels ſeemed determined to maintain it; but very fortunately an event happened, which at the ſame time that it depreſſed their courage, inſpired the loyal garriſon with renovated valour. One of the guard, who had been excluded on the ſudden ſhutting of the gates in the morning, fled to Kinnegad, and informed the garriſon there of the perilous ſituation of his friends at Clonard; on which, eleven of the Northumberland fencibles, under a ſerjeant,

ſerjeant, and fourteen of the Kinnegad infantry, under lieutenant Houghton, marched for Clonard.

Lieutenant Tyrrell, with great gallantry ſallied forth from the houſe, and formed a junction with them. After having poſted this reinforcement in the moſt advantageous ſituation, to gall the enemy, he, with a few picked men, undertook to drive the rebels from the garden, which about four hundred of them ſtill continued to occupy. Some of them were on a mount thickly planted with fir trees, which afforded them a protection, and prevented them from being ſeen; the remainder were intrenched behind a privêt hedge. Lieutenant Tyrrell, with great gallantry, diſlodged the latter, who fled to their friends on the mount.

The conflict then became very warm, the rebels appearing determined to maintain this advantageous poſt; and the yeomen, but few in number, though ſix of them were badly wounded, and the remainder were overcome with fatigue, reſolved to die ſooner than retreat.

Mr. Richard Allen received a ball which paſſed through his arm, and lodged in his ſide.* At laſt, lieutenant Tyrrell's party, after having diſplayed prodigies of valour, routed the party on the mount, and drove them out of the garden; and the Northumberland and Kinnegad corps killed many of them in their flight. This victory, obtained by a handful of loyaliſts over a numerous body of rebels, was one of the moſt ſplendid achievements performed in the courſe of the rebellion. No leſs than one hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and a great many wounded.

During the engagement, the rebels plundered the houſes of lieutenant Tyrrell at Kilreny, and Mr. George Tyrrell at Ballinderry, and deſtroyed the whole of the furniture in both.

The joy which lieutenant Tyrrell and his garriſon might have felt, on gaining ſo ſplendid a victory, was loſt in their great ſolicitude for Mrs. Tyrrell, who had gone in her chaiſe to her houſe at Kilreny that morning, about ſome domeſtick concerns; and on hearing that the rebels were approaching, ſhe drove back, and endeavoured to arrive at Clonard before them: But ſhe had not gone far, before ſhe heard the noiſe of muſketry, which convinced her of the impoſſibility of accompliſhing it, and therefore turned back; but was ſoon overtaken and ſtopped by two men

* He died of his wounds.

men on horſeback with drawn ſwords, who after many oaths and imprecations, compelled the poſtillion to turn about, and proceed towards Clonard: They met in their way two hundred men armed with ſwords, pikes and muſkets, who ſearched the carriage for arms. Then three men, armed with muſkets, mounted the boot of the chaiſe, and three behind it, attended by the reſt, compelled the ſervant to drive to the other end of the village of Clonard, where they had a warm altercation about the treatment which Mrs. Tyrrell ſhould receive; ſome urging that ſhe ſhould be treated with civility, others with brutality. At laſt ſhe prevailed on them to permit her to go into a cottage, where two men armed with muſkets were poſted over her as ſentinels. She remained there, till the whole body of them, when retreating, ſtopped at the cottage; and one of their officers approaching her, informed her, that ſhe muſt go into her carriage, and accompany them. She implored them in the moſt pathetick manner to let her remain behind, and as an inducement to do ſo, ſhe offered her carriage and horſes to general Perry: At firſt he ſeemed obdurate, but on her falling on her knees, he granted her requeſt. Soon after he left her, a common fellow ſeized her by the arm, dragged her to the door, and ſaid, ſhe muſt attend them on horſeback, as ſome of their wounded men muſt go in her chaiſe. She addreſſed herſelf again to the officer, who had been ſo kind to her before; but he ſaid, that ſhe muſt go and remain with them as a hoſtage, till the fate of one of their general officers, a priſoner at Clonard, was determined; but added, that ſhe would be permitted to go in her chaiſe.

When they had proceeded about a mile, general Perry requeſted to join her in the carriage: Soon after, a low fellow ſtopped it, and got into it, ſaying, "That he had a right to it, as it was he that firſt obtained it;" and notwithſtanding the rank of general Perry, he could not prevent his intruſion, nor check his inſolence. At laſt, one Kearns, a popiſh prieſt, rode up to the carriage, and as he had been kindly and hoſpitably entertained at different times by Mrs. Tyrrell for a week together, ſhe implored him to interfere in obtaining her releaſe; but he coldly anſwered, by ſaying, "Oh! yes madam!" and having retired, ſhe ſaw no more of him. At laſt, Mrs. Tyrrell was liberated by a captain Byrne,* and permitted to return to her family at Clonard, but on foot.

* This was Mr. Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, who afterwards obtained his pardon on ſurrendering himſelf.

The rebels, after their defeat, retreated to Carbery, where they got poſſeſſion of lord Harberton's houſe, which they plundered of various articles, and paſſed the night in drinking what liquors they found in his lordſhip's cellars.

On the twelfth of July, they marched into the county of Meath, by Johnſtown and the Nineteen-mile-houſe: They were purſued by colonel Gough, who, with but ſixty infantry and twenty cavalry, attacked and routed them with conſiderable ſlaughter. They were next purſued by general Myers, with detachments of the Dublin yeomanry and Buckinghamſhire militia, and though he was not ſo fortunate as to overtake them, he drove them towards Slane, where general Meyrick encountered and killed many of them. They were afterwards attacked by different detachments of the military, who in the courſe of a few days cut off great numbers of them, and finally diſperſed them.

Perry and Kearns made their eſcape into the King's county, where attempting to croſs a bog near Clonballogue, they were apprehended by Meſſrs. Robinſon and Ridgeway, of the Edenderry yeomen, who conveyed them to that town, where they were tried and executed by martial law. Perry was chearful and communicative, acknowledged the part he had taken in the rebellion, and ſeemed to glory in it. Kearns was ſullen and ſilent, except when he upbraided Perry for his candour in frankly confeſſing his guilt.

This reverend gentleman was at Paris in the year 1794, when in the adminiſtration of Roberſpiere, the French were extirpating the Romiſh clergy. He was actually hung up at Paris, but the weight of his body (as he was of a huge ſtature) bent the iron of a lamp-poſt to which he was ſuſpended ſo much, that his toes touched the ground, and prevented animal life from being extinguiſhed. An Iriſh phyſician, who perceived this, had him conveyed to his houſe, and recovered him. Having fled to his native country, he was appointed curate of a chapel near Clonard. From the vehemence with which he unremittingly inveighed againſt French republican principles, and the warm encomiums which he beſtowed on our conſtitution, he was regarded as a ſteady loyaliſt, and a good ſubject; in conſequence of which he was well received, and even at times domeſticated in the houſes of ſome of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen in the counties of Meath, Kildare, and the King's county.

As

As the defenders were at that time formidable in thoſe counties, he was not only admitted to the conferences of the magiſtrates, but even aſſiſted them in their nightly patroles againſt thoſe miſcreants.

It having been diſcovered that he betrayed the counſels of the magiſtrates to the rebels, he was excluded from their conferences; and poſitive information having been received, that he had incited ſome perſons to commit a murder, he fled into the county of Wexford, where he became a rebel leader.

On Sunday morning the ſecond of June, intelligence having been received, that a number of rebels had appeared in force near the Scalp and Enniſkerry, in the county of Wicklow, the drums beat to arms, and in leſs than three hours, a large body of yeomen, conſiſting of detachments from the Stephen's-green and Rotunda diviſions, the Lawyers and Attornies cavalry and infantry, with their uſual ſpirit and alacrity ſet out to meet the inſurgents, under the command of general Myers.

On June the ninth, a detachment of captain Beresford's corps patrolling near Rathfarnham, came up with a party of rebels who were on their way from Dublin to the Wicklow mountains, conveying ammunition to the banditti who infeſted them. They were armed, and had a green flag and green cockades in their hats. Three or four of them were killed, and three who had acted with ſingular treachery by firing after they had ſurrendered themſelves, were hanged at Rathfarnham; five more were led into town as priſoners.

A numerous body of rebels who eſcaped from Vinegar-hill retreated into the county of Kilkenny, under the command of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, by the Scullagh gap,* and thence they proceeded to Caſtlecomer, deſtroying the houſes and property of proteſtants, and murdering ſuch of their inhabitants as fell into their hands.

Lieutenant Dixon, of the Wexford regiment, was ſtationed at Gore's-bridge,‖ a neat village on the river Barrow, and county of Kilkenny, with twenty-five of his own regiment, and a ſmall party of the 4th dragoon guards.

On the twenty-ſecond of June, they received intelligence that father John Murphy's column was in motion, and on that night they burned

* Plate II. 6, 7, 8. ‖ Ibid.

the village of Kil Edmond. An expreſs was ſent to ſir Charles Aſgill, to Kilkenny, eſcorted by all the dragoons quartered at Gore's-bridge, to inform him of their movements; but as the hedges at each ſide the road were thickly beſet with rebels, who kept up a conſtant fire on them, they were under the neceſſity of returning. This was towards the morning of the twenty-third. Lieutenant Dixon being determined to protect the village of Gore's-bridge, and to prevent it from ſharing the fate of Kil Edmond, ſtationed his men on the bridge, which croſſes the river, not ſuſpecting that the main body of the rebels were near him. He had no ſooner taken his poſt, than he ſaw the adjacent hills covered with them, and at the ſame time ſaw a column, of which he could not diſcover the extent, move along the road from Kil Edmond. Not knowing that the river was fordable, which it happened to be in many places, he thought there might be a poſſibility to maintain his poſition till a reinforcement ſhould arrive; but he ſoon perceived their intention to ſurround him, having croſſed over the river for that purpoſe, and that they meant to break and embarraſs his party, by driving a number of cattle againſt them, which they were collecting in the adjacent fields; a common expedient among the rebels. Wiſhing to provide againſt this artifice, he procured a number of cars, and made a barricade of them in his front.

But he ſoon perceived from the greatneſs of their numbers, and the ſmart fire the rebels kept up, that they had no other reſource but to retreat. Beſides, the rebels had brought a ſwivel to bear on the bridge, and had alſo planted ſome large pieces of cannon in a commanding ſituation. When they had retreated to Low Grange, they were ſurrounded by the rebels, who aſſured them, they ſhould receive no injury if they laid down their arms. At that moment, lieutenant Dixon was ſo fortunate as to make his eſcape, having mounted behind a quarter-maſter of dragoons, who was retreating; and at the ſame time he heard the rebels exclaim, "Have we got the officer?" The rebels then proceeded to Kellymount, where they put nine of their proteſtant priſoners to death, with circumſtances of ſavage cruelty.

It appeared by the joint information of the ſoldiers who eſcaped, ſworn before lieutenant-colonel Ram, that the following circumſtances attended the murder of the ſoldiers: That Walter Devereux, who ſaid he

he was commander in chief in the abſence of the general, (meaning father John Murphy,) ordered the proteſtant priſoners to be ſelected from the reſt; and they were pointed out by one of their own ſoldiers, of the name of Bruton, of the Romiſh perſuaſion: They were ſurrounded by a circle of about eight thouſand rebels, when Devereux ordered corporal Orange to be dragged out of the circle and ſhot, having ſaid, inſultingly to him, "Orange by name, and Orange by nature."

They proceeded in the ſame manner to put to death ſix of the Wexford regiment, and two dragoons: That they remained priſoners with them till the twenty-ſixth of June, when the rebels were routed with great ſlaughter at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, where the Wexford ſoldiers made their eſcape: That while they remained priſoners with the rebels, they had no other food but raw meat and water.

Walter Devereux had been principally concerned in the maſſacre at Scullabogue, and yet he remained unnoticed till the month of November, 1798, when being on the point of embarking on board a ſhip at the Cove of Cork, to ſail for America, he was fortunately recogniſed by ſome of the Wexford ſoldiers, who had been his priſoners, was apprehended, and afterwards hanged. When arreſted, he had the protections of five general officers.

The rebels, in their progreſs to Caſtlecomer,* maſſacred two more of the Wexford ſoldiers.

The priſoners declared, that they received the moſt ſavage treatment from this band of traitors. Half famiſhed, and overcome with fatigue, they were hurried on precipitately without reſt, except when their prieſts ſtopped for a few minutes to ſay maſs; which they frequently did, for the purpoſe of kindling fanaticiſm in them, as their courage emanated from no other ſource, and as it never failed to animate them, even when overcome with the want of food and ſleep.

On Saturday morning the twenty-third of June, a man arrived at Kilkenny, and informed ſir Charles Aſgill, that he had been taken priſoner by the rebels at Gorey, and had been obliged to repair with them to their camp at Vinegar-hill; that he had been compelled to attend a numerous body of them, thirty thouſand in number, as he believed, who had fled from thence, and who under the command of father John Murphy had marched into the county of Kilkenny, through the Scullagh-gap, and that he was detained

* Plate I. 8, 9.

detained by them till that morning, when he made his eſcape; on which ſir Charles Aſgill ordered the garriſon under arms, and marched from Kilkenny in purſuit of the rebels, between eight and nine o'clock; and having proceeded about three miles, in the line where the rebels were ſuppoſed to be, he halted, and called the honourable viſcount Loftus and the honourable colonel Howard, whoſe regiments were on that ſervice, and conferred with them and the other field officers on the plan which he intended to adopt.

On deliberation, they concluded it would be imprudent to proceed farther, without knowing the number of the enemy, and the route they had taken, as ſir Charles had left in Kilkenny a large quantity of ammunition, and had well-grounded apprehenſions that its diſaffected inhabitants only waited for an opportunity of riſing; beſides, ſhould he miſs the rebels in purſuing them, they might have ſlipped by him and come to Kilkenny, and have plundered and burnt it in his abſence. He had ſent, in the mean time, major Lawder, a gallant and intelligent officer, with a party of dragoons acroſs the country towards Leighlin-bridge, to reconnoitre the rebels, and bring intelligence of their movements. Juſt before he returned, the wives of ſome of the men who had been taken by the rebels at Gore's-bridge, and had eſcaped, arrived, and informed him of their poſition, and of their numbers, which appeared to have been much leſs than he imagined; and ſoon after major Lawder arrived, and confirmed their account. On this he ordered the troops to move forward to Kelly-mount, but they had quitted it, and proceeded towards Caſtlecomer.

As the troops had been faſting and under arms all day, he returned to Kilkenny, after he had ſent a large detachment of the cavalry to reconnoitre them; and they having approached very near the rebels, would have attacked them, but that a bog happened to intervene.

I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the progreſs of the Wexford rebels, who found in the county of Kilkenny the popiſh multitude as much diſaffected as themſelves. The town of Caſtlecomer being contiguous to extenſive collieries, it was to be apprehended that the perſons who worked in them would be very ſuſceptible of being infected with the doctrines of united Iriſhmen, as they are under little or no control of their employers, as they are led, from the nature of their laborious occupations, to uſe ſtrong liquors,

ſiquors, and they are more prone to turbulence, diſcontent, and combination, than any other ſet of men.

ATROCITIES COMMITTED AT CASTLECOMER AND IN ITS VICINITY.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, the colliers firſt appeared in arms, and attacked the barrack of Doonane, (about three miles from Caſtlecomer,) in which there was a company of the Waterford militia. The object of the rebels was, it is ſaid, after taking the barrack, and putting all the loyaliſts to death, to march to Carlow, and join the body deſtined for the attack of that town. It unfortunately happened, that moſt of the Waterford were billeted through the village of Doonane; however, the few that were in the barrack, though taken by ſurpriſe, completely beat the rebels off, conſiſting of at leaſt ſeven hundred men. Several of the ſoldiers turned out of the barrack in their ſhirts, and kept up a ſmart fire for a few minutes, when the rebels fled precipitately. As they carried with them their killed and wounded, it never was aſcertained how many fell in that action.

The honourable James Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, who commanded the Faſſaghdineen yeomen cavalry, as ſoon as he got intelligence of the attack on Doonane, collected as many of his corps as were near the town of Caſtlecomer; and, together with a detachment of the Waterford militia then quartered in the town, marched with the utmoſt ſpeed to the relief of Doonane; however, too late to come up with the rebels, who by that time had gained the mountains, and were diſperſing.

It providentially happened, that the proteſtants of Caſtlecomer were not attacked that night, while the garriſon had marched to Doonane; as they muſt have inevitably fallen a ſacrifice to their ſavage fury. Had they ſucceeded in the attempt on the barrack of Doonane, they would unqueſtionably have afterwards attacked the town.

On the twenty-fourth of May, captain Butler's yeoman corps was ordered on permanent duty; and the day after a troop of the 5th, or Royal Iriſh dragoons, under the command of captain Green, marched in, to ſtrengthen the garriſon. With this reinforcement, they conceived themſelves tolerably ſecure.

Early

Early in the month of June, ſir Charles Aſgill received information againſt ſeveral of the Faſſaghdineen cavalry, as rebels, and in conſequence ſeven of them, all papiſts, were lodged in Kilkenny gaol. The people of the neighbourhood continued to give up their pikes, and to take oaths of allegiance, in order to lull the magiſtrates and proteſtant inhabitants into a ſupine and fatal ſecurity.

They were frequently alarmed by reports of the rebels coming to attack them, and the garriſon were ſeveral nights under arms; but thoſe reports were generally occaſioned by ill-grounded apprehenſions. The minds of the people were in ſuch a ſtate, that any unuſual noiſe at night occaſioned infinite alarm. However, at length they heard that a body of rebels, who eſcaped from Wexford, were making their way to that country, in order to join the colliers, and then proceed to attack Kilkenny.

In the courſe of Saturday the twenty-third, ſeveral loyaliſts from the mountains, between Caſtlecomer and Leighlin-bridge, brought intelligence, that the rebels were bending their courſe that way. They ſtill remained in heedleſs ſecurity. They had often been alarmed by falſe reports, that they would not now believe the approaching danger, though each ſucceſſive expreſs ſtrengthened the former; and though a poor man who was moſt dreadfully mangled and left for dead by the rebel advance-guard was brought into the town, to have his wounds dreſſed. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the diſtreſſing ſcene which on that evening preſented itſelf, all the proteſtants with their families flying from the mountains and the colliery. For ſeveral hours the roads were crowded with thoſe unfortunate fugitives, with infancy and decrepitude in their train, dreading the ſpirit of fanaticiſm.

On Saturday night the garriſon was reinforced by a troop of the 4th dragoons, a company of the Waterford militia from Doonane, a company of the Downſhire, twenty of the Cullinagh infantry, and forty of the Cullinagh cavalry, ſo that the whole might conſiſt of nearly three hundred, but being moſtly cavalry, they were not at all calculated for that country, where the ground is much broken up with colliery pits. That night, the rebels ſlept at a place about five miles from Caſtlecomer, on a ridge of mountains, near Leighlin-bridge.

Among the loyaliſts who fled from the colliery and the adjacent country, there were about one hundred who had arms, but very little ammunition.

nition. They were ordered out in different parties, to watch the movements of the rebels, many of them with not more than ſix rounds of cartridge. The whole force was drawn ſeparate on the bridge, and in the main ſtreet; and a reconnoitring party, conſiſting of one hundred men, were ſent out about four o'clock in the morning, to watch the rebels motions. There was ſuch an immenſe fog early on Sunday morning, that it was utterly impoſſible to diſcern objects at twenty yards diſtance.

About four o'clock, the rebels arrived at a place called Gurteen, near three miles from Caſtlecomer,* where they heard maſs. It being St. John's day, they had prayers again about two miles off, where they halted. They had proceeded under cover of the fog, ſo that the troops who were ſent to reconnoitre, were fired on before they could ſee them. At length the fog began to diſperſe a little, which opened to the aſtoniſhed troops a view of not leſs than from eight to ten thouſand rebels, thoſe armed with muſkets in the front, the pikemen in the rear. The main body had halted on the road, and two wings were extending themſelves on each ſide; the whole formed a creſcent. In order to underſtand the perilous ſituation of our troops, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that for nearly two miles of the road to the town of Caſtlecomer there is a long range of wall on each ſide; and about half a mile of it is planted. While the fog was ſo thick, the troops could not perceive that the wings of the rebel army had conſiderably ſpread themſelves, and were advancing in a ſmart trot, to ſurround the town, while the main body remained ſtationed in the road; ſo that when captain Green, judging from their numbers that all reſiſtance was fruitleſs, ordered a retreat; and the rebels who had got before them, and lined the walls, kept up a ſmart fire on them. The retreat was very diſorderly; and many of the infantry were overturned by the cavalry, and left expoſed to the rebels fire.

An inſtance of uncommon audacity occurred within a few perches of the town: A rebel captain, with a green ſaſh, ruſhed out from a bye road on horſeback, and accoſting captain Butler, at the head of his corps, deſired him to ſurrender, and that he, his men, and the town ſhould be ſaved. Captain Butler miſſing fire at him, the rebel wheeled about, fired without effect, and was ſhot by a yeoman within a few yards of the rebel army.

* Plate I. 8, 9.

The retreat of our troops had not been ſo precipitate, but that many of the rebels had ruſhed to the bridge, almoſt as ſoon as the ſoldiers; but with ſuch a confuſed rapidity did the retreating party gallop into the town, overturning every thing before them, that the reſt of our force that was poſted on the bridge joined the throng, and fled up the ſtreet. A very few of the Waterford and Downſhire militia kept their ground on the bridge for a few minutes, killed ſeveral rebels, and gave the whole a check. At length they took refuge in four houſes which were next to, and completely flanked the bridge; and, together with a few loyaliſts of the town, kept up a warm fire from the houſes. The right wing of the rebels forded the river above the town, and being joined by the traitorous inhabitants, ſet fire to the ſuburbs.

The perilous ſituation of the loyal few in thoſe houſes already mentioned, can be better imagined than deſcribed; the bridge crowded with rebels, yelling with rage, crying out for blood, and not a ſoldier to oppoſe them: the back-houſes all on fire. Here, amidſt ſurrounding flames, and to the very breaſts of the rebels, might be ſeen the gallant captain Butler, ſingle and unſupported, riding down the ſtreet, within a few yards of the rebels, endeavouring to rally the ſcattered force, calling them back in words that would animate the dead. Amidſt balls thick as hail, twice did he ride up and down the ſtreet, with an heroick intrepidity, as laudable as it was unavailing. And now commenced a very ſharp, but ill-directed fire from the rebels on the bridge, which was as warmly and more effectually anſwered from the houſes; for three hours and a half this fire was kept up, and not a rebel was ſuffered to croſs the bridge alive. At length when their ammunition was almoſt expended, general father Murphy, who had kept aloof from the heat of the action, near the church, where they tried their priſoners, ſent a black ſervant of the counteſs of Ormond, whom they had taken priſoner, to inform thoſe who fired from the houſes, "That if they marched out with their hats on the top of their guns, their lives ſhould be ſaved; that it was in vain to reſiſt any longer, as he expected a reinforcement from Ballyragget immediately." They detained his ambaſſador for ſome time, and at length ſent the reverend general word, that they would ſubmit if he would, by the ſame meſſenger, ſend them a written aſſurance of mercy. This they did to gain time; and ſoon after they obſerved the troops from Kilkenny lining the hills,

hills, and taking their poſitions to attack the rebels. General ſir Charles Aſgill with nine hundred men, went to their relief, and a few rounds of grape-ſhot ſoon diſlodged the rebels, who retreated the way they came, in a ſlow pace, and in an irregular manner.

When ſir Charles arrived near the town, he ſent a detachment of the Wexford, under lieutenant-colonel Ram, (which were ſoon joined by the grenadiers of the Wicklow) and a party of cavalry, to take poſt on a bridge contiguous to it, and on the Doonane ſide of it; and after firing a few rounds of grape into Caſtlecomer, they marched into it. At that time the rebels, a few ſtragglers excepted, had abandoned it; but two of them, who remained under the bridge, fired up the ſtreet ſeveral times, and wounded two of the Wicklow regiment. Lady Ormond's manſion, and ſeveral other houſes in the town were then in a blaze; and the heat was ſo great, that the bombadier of the Wicklow regiment requeſted that ſir Charles would change his poſition, as he was afraid that the guns might go off; upon which he took poſt on an eminence which commanded the town.

The family of Mr. Kane, agent to lady Ormond, had been in a deplorable ſtate. The females had been priſoners in their own houſe, which the rebels locked up and ſet on fire; and they retired to the cellar to avoid the flames, but the troops arrived and liberated them before it was conſumed. They had taken Mr. Kane priſoner, and carried him before father Murphy, who continued in the body of the church, trying, as orangemen, ſuch proteſtants as they had taken priſoners; and two of whom they maſſacred before ſir Charles arrived. He tried and would have had Mr. Kane put to death as an orangeman, but that ſome poor women of the colliery by their tears and entreaties (as he is a gentleman of great humanity) prevailed on the reverend general to let him eſcape.

Sir Charles having taken an elevated poſition, poſted his guns ſo as to rake the woods, in which he killed a good many of the rebels, who compoſed the rear guard of the main body, at that time two miles out of the town, and ſuppoſed to be between ſix and ſeven thouſand men.

As ſir Charles Aſgill returned to Kilkenny without leaving a ſoldier in Caſtlecomer, the proteſtants were obliged to deſert their houſes, and leave them and their property to the mercy of thoſe, of whom they ſoon found they had formed but too juſt ſuſpicions. To remain in the town,

without military protection or ammunition, would ſurely have been madneſs; for at the time of the general's orders to return, the rear of the rebel army was ſtill in view.

I ſhall not attempt, for I could not deſcribe, the heart-breaking ſight of all the proteſtants quitting their homes. The whole road, from Caſtlecomer to Kilkenny, was one continued and melancholy train of fugitives, men, women and children, who but a few hours before were poſſeſſed of peace and comfort, now outcaſts from their houſes, ſeeking an aſylum among ſtrangers, from the mercileſs hands of their popiſh neighbours. That evening the rebels of the town burned every loyaliſt's houſe; infuriate with the plunder of lady Ormond's cellar, they committed every exceſs. From Sunday to Thurſday thoſe ſavages rioted in the pillage of the town, when at length ſir Charles Aſgill, on the twenty-eighth of June, ſent a party of the Glangary fencibles and the Faſſaghdineen cavalry, who ſurpriſed them in the midſt of their exceſſes, and killed about twenty-four, and took ſeveral priſoners, from whoſe confeſſion it appeared, that a party of Caſtlecomer rebels, all Roman catholicks, had gone to meet the Wexford army, on Friday the twenty-ſecond, and induced them to come on to attack it. Moſt of theſe have ſince been hanged or tranſported.

It would be tedious to mention the ſeveral inſtances of atrocity which occurred at that time in Caſtlecomer and its vicinity: I ſhall, however, ſubjoin a few undoubted facts, which are well known.

On Sunday morning the twenty-fourth of June, James Anderſon, who was a vidette in the colliery, was met by the advance-guard of the rebels, as he was returning from his watch, not ſuſpecting that the rebels were in the neighbourhood. They aſked him if he was a *chriſtian*; on anſwering that he was, they deſired him to *bleſs himſelf* as a proof of it. This he could not do; they then dragged him into a houſe on the road ſide, drove a pike through him, under his arms, raiſed him up from the ground on their pikes, and ſtabbing him under the ear, bled him like a pig, in a crock which had milk in it. He was a quiet, inoffenſive man. He was not an orangeman, but, what is the ſame in the eyes of the rebels, a proteſtant.

An inſtance occurred, which very ſtrongly marks the deſigns and ſentiments of the rebels: A poor man of the name of Coogan, was purſued by a party of rebels through lady Ormond's plantation; he was

was overtaken, and moſt miſerably mangled with pikes; when almoſt expiring, he begged of them to ſend for the prieſt. They curſed him for a ſtupid vagabond, that he did not tell them at firſt he was a chriſtian,* and they would not have uſed him ſo. This poor man luckily ſurvived to tell the ſtory.

Arthur Williams, a quiet induſtrious tradeſman, was taken priſoner in Mr. Kane's houſe in Caſtlecomer, and was brought to the church, and then was on the point of being ſhot, when the army appearing in view, they took him with them to Wolf's-hill, where his diſtracted wife followed him, and endeavoured to have him ſaved by the interference of a rebel captain; but as father Murphy was not then on the ſpot, he could not be releaſed.

The Downſhire militia from Maryborough appearing at a diſtance, the whole rebel army moved off about ſeven o'clock in the evening (Sunday) to Doonane, and thence to the Ridge, bringing Williams along with them. Here they put him on his knees, and in the act of prayer, they run him through with pikes, and then ſhot his face almoſt off. This happened on Monday morning; his wife could not find him till Saturday after, when ſhe diſcovered him in a lonely part of the mountain, two miles off the road, ſo disfigured, that ſhe could ſcarce recogniſe him: He was not an orangeman.

Two men of the name of Conn and Salter, having taken refuge in Caſtlecomer the night before the attack, brought their families with them. In the buſtle and confuſion of the engagement they were ſeparated from their wives and children: When the action was over, anxiouſly looking for their families, they met a man who had been a ſervant for many years to the former, (Conn,) who told them that he would ſhew them where their wives and children were; when bringing them about two miles from the town, collecting near twenty rebels, and ſnatching a gun from his old maſter's hand, he ſhot him almoſt in the preſence of his wife, and then they piked both him and Salter: They buried them immediately; the latter not quite dead: They then took the bodies up, ſcooped out Salter's eyes, and buried them in a place where they could never ſince be found.

William

* Meaning thereby a papiſt.

William Bradley, his daughter Catherine Neſbitt, and nephew David Leycock, going from their houſe on Wedneſday the twenty-ſeventh of June acroſs the hills, in order to reach Kilkenny, were purſued by a party of Caſtlecomer rebels, robbed and barbarouſly murdered: The woman was pregnant. Their bodies were not diſcovered until the Chriſtmas after. Neither Bradley or Leycock were orangemen.

The county of Wexford rebels, after having burned Caſtlecomer, encamped within four miles of Athy, intending to attack it next morning, and thence to have joined Doorly, the traitorous yeoman and aſſaſſin of Rathangan, and William Aylmer at Proſperous.

General Dunn, at that time quartered at Monaſtereven, hearing the perilous ſituation of Athy,* with that ſpirit which he diſplayed on all occaſions, flew to its aſſiſtance, with a ſix-pounder and one hundred of the city of Cork militia. His arrival gave ſuch ſpirit to the yeomanry, that they only wiſhed to be led againſt their enemies. The general ſelected one hundred of the yeomen, in addition to the city of Cork detachment, and conſcious of the goodneſs of his cauſe, at twelve o'clock at night marched to the attack of the rebel camp. His intentions were fruſtrated, as the moment he arrived at Athy, the reverend Mr. K——, a popiſh prieſt, was ſeen poſting to the rebel camp with great expedition, to inform them of the intended attack.

When the general arrived there, he found it had been deſerted at an early hour in the night, and that they had retraced their ſteps. He purſued them for many miles without any ſucceſs, except that in flying from him, they fell into the track of the gallant major Mathews of the Downſhire, who, with four hundred men, purſued them; and having appriſed ſir Charles Aſgill of it, he joined in the purſuit, overtook them at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, and completely defeated them.

A body of troops having marched from Maryborough, on the twenty-fourth of June, by order of ſir Charles Aſgill, for the purpoſe of co-operating with him, proceeded towards the collieries of Caſtlecomer and Doonane, and on the road they ſaw Caſtlecomer on fire, after ſir Charles Aſgill had retreated from it to Kilkenny; they conſiſted of four hundred of the Royal Downſhire militia, commanded by major Mathews, captain Poole, with the Ballyfin yeomen cavalry, and captain Gore, with the Maryborough corps.

As

* Plate I. 8.

As ſoon as they arrived at Moyad, they ſaw the rebels under father Murphy in great force, on the high grounds above Doonane. As it was late in the day, they reſolved on retiring to Timohoe, and to attack them early next morning. Soon after they received an expreſs from ſir Charles Aſgill, deſiring them to return to Maryborough; but they anſwered, by propoſing to him to attack the rebels next morning on the Doonane ſide, and that they would attack them on the road from Timohoe in the oppoſite direction: Sir Charles anſwered them next morning, at ſeven o'clock, by ſaying that his troops were too much fatigued to co-operate with them, but that they might engage the rebels, ſhould circumſtances prove favourable for that purpoſe.

They then returned to Moyad, with an intention of attacking the rebels next day; but the cavalry who were ſent out to reconnoitre, having brought intelligence that the rebels had retreated to the bridge of Old Leighlin, they again purſued them, but were diſappointed in their deſign of bringing them to action, as they had marched to Gore's-bridge. The cavalry having proceeded to Old Leighlin,* captain Poole ſent an expreſs to ſir Charles Aſgill of the enemy's motions, and of their intention of attacking them the firſt opportunity that offered. At Old Leighlin they met Mr. Vigors, an active and intelligent officer, who had retired from the ſervice; and he ſupplied them with a number of cars to carry their men, as ſome of them were overcome with hunger and exceſs of fatigue; and he alſo accompanied them to the ſcene of action, giving them at the ſame time his advice, and every aſſiſtance in his power.

About twelve o'clock at night, they arrived at Leighlin-bridge, and in two hours after received an expreſs from ſir Charles Aſgill, deſiring them to meet him at Gore's-bridge, at five o'clock in the morning. They inſtantly marched in purſuit of the rebels; but ſoon after, major Mathews having received intelligence that they had bent their courſe towards the mountains, changed his route for the purpoſe of intercepting them; and ſent intelligence of his deſign to ſir Charles Aſgill, by Mr. Moore, collector of Leighlin, who, with his brother, Mr. Pierce Moore, attended them, and to whoſe advice and aſſiſtance major Mathews attributed their having intercepted and overtaken the enemy.

After a march of three hours, they came in ſight of the rebels poſted on Kilcomney-hill, near Gore's-bridge,‡ and fired ſome cannon ſhot at them.

* Plate II. 3, 4. ‡ Ibi 6.

them, on which they retired about a mile and a half, to form their line. Our troops followed them in column, with the cannon in front, and the cavalry in the rear. They no ſooner formed, than they heard ſir Charles Aſgill's cannon on the other ſide of the hill. After a few diſcharges of our artillery, the rebels were broken and fled, and our troops continued to purſue them for ſix miles with great ſlaughter.

All their cannon, baggage, horſes, ſtores and proviſions, fell into our hands, and ſome unfortunate ſoldiers and proteſtants, who happened to be their priſoners, were retaken. The remainder of the rebels fled into the county of Wexford, through the Scullagh-gap.

Father John Murphy, a prieſt, who acted as aid-de-camp to the great ſacerdotal hero John Murphy, of Boulavogue, and who had accompanied him from Vinegar-hill, fell in this action. He had a dove and a crucifix on his buttons; and letters directed to him were found in his pocket, recommending to him proper places for encamping.

Father John Murphy, the commander in chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken at an alehouſe by three yeomen, one of them of the name of Mc. Cabe, and was led a priſoner to Tullow,* the head-quarters of ſir James Duff. He was introduced into a room where the general, his aid-de-camps, colonels Foſter and Pigot, the earl of Roden, captain Mc. Clintock, and in all about twenty officers were ſitting. Major Hall having aſked him ſome queſtions which gave him offence, he in a violent rage made a blow of his fiſt at the major, which would have knocked him down, but that he warded it off with his arm, on which he received a ſevere contuſion. On ſearching him, they found in his pockets his veſtments, and ſome letters from Mrs. Richards and other ladies priſoners at Wexford, imploring him to ſave the lives of their huſbands and relations. He was hanged on the ſame day. His body was burned, and his head was fixed on the market-houſe of Tullow. He was about forty-five years old, light complexioned, bald-pated, and about five feet nine inches high: He was well made, uniting ſtrength and agility: He was iraſcible, and when in a paſſion, had ſomewhat the aſpect of a tiger. His pix, his oil ſtock, and a ſmall crucifix were found in his pocket.

In order to do away in ſome degree the ſtain which his infamous conduct might bring on the Iriſh prieſthood, it has been ſedulouſly propagated that he was excommunicated; but this is abſolutely falſe, for he

continued

* Plate II. 1, 2.

continued to exercise his clerical function, and was regarded as a pious and learned prieſt, till the breaking-out of the rebellion; when,

" He did ſo ill tranſlate himſelf,
" Out of the ſpeech of peace that bears ſuch grace,
" Into the harſh and boiſterous tongue of war,
" Turning his books to glaives, his ink to blood,
" His pens to lances; and his tongue divine
" To a loud trumpet, and a point of war."

SHAKSPEARE.

It is no leſs ſingular than true, that the lower claſs of Iriſh papiſts never think that their prieſts can ſuffer any ſtain or contamination from the commiſſion of crimes, how heinous ſoever; juſt as Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego remained uninjured from the flames.

Father Nicholas Sheehy is added to the bead roll of their ſaints; and I need not give any other proof of the reverence in which the memory of that famous ſacerdotal hero, John Murphy, is held, than the following:

A piece of ſuperſtitious trumpery is now printed by William Jones, No. 75, Thomas-ſtreet, Dublin, entitled, " Revelations revealed to ſaint Auguſtine, ſaint Bridget, and ſaint Anne, by our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt." The ſecond part of it is ſaid to explain the twelve golden Fridays in the year; and the devotions, together with ſome ſolitary acts, by the late reverend father John Murphy, D. D. In this he points out the number of paters and aves that are to be ſaid each golden Friday, and on certain holy days; and it is ſtated in it, " That what man or woman ſoever ſhall carry it about them, ſhall be not only free from our enemies, but alſo from a ſudden and unprovided death; and if any woman travelling with child, ſhall wear it about her, ſhe ſhall be not only ſafely delivered, but likewiſe be free from the fear of death in child-bed; and what houſe or place it is kept in, ſhall be free from evil ſpirits; to him or her who ſhall carry it about them, the bleſſed Virgin ſhall appear to forewarn them of their future bleſſed ſtate: The devil ſhall have no power over them at their laſt hour: They ſhall ſee our bleſſed Saviour nailed to the croſs, (in the ſame manner as he ſuffered for our redemption,) before their death."

This curious piece is in the hands of the popiſh multitude in the county of Wexford, who regard this church militant hero as a martyr in the cauſe of French republican liberty and religion.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

No. 1. Where the rebel columns from Ballyclare and Templepatrick joined.

2. The rebels in close column with a six-pounder in front, when the curricle guns under lieutenant Neville opened their fire on them.

3. Lieutenant Neville, with two six-pounders, flanked by the yeomanry and dragoons under colonel Lumley firing on the rebels.

4. Colonel Lumley charging the rebels after passing the church-yard.

5. The church-yard lined with rebels, who are represented by the dotted lines, firing on the dragoons, charging as they passed, and among whom they did great execution.

6. The guns under lieutenant Neville, after retreating from No. 3, firing on the second column of the rebels advancing up Bow-lane.

7. The second rebel column.

8. The dragoons, after charging, drawn up under the dead wall of lord Massareene's garden, and covered on their left flank by a demi bastion.

9. The yeomanry firing over the wall on the rebels who attempted to get possession of the guns at No. 6, after the artillery had abandoned them, and the dragoons had retreated across the river.

10. The watering-place over which the dragoons retreated.

11. The entrance to lord Massareene's court, the dotted lines from it, represent the road the yeomanry retreated to take post in the garden where they could only be attacked by the narrow walk through which they got in.

12. Lord Massareene's castle.

13. Lord Massareene's domain.

14. Lord Massareene's walled garden.

15. The Six-mile water.

16. Colonel Durham with the Monaghan militia, and captain Coulson of the artillery, firing on the rebels retreating by the Ballymena road.

17. The light battalion from Blaris camp under colonel Clavering drawn up.

18. Distillery.

19. Barracks.

20. Doctor Macartney's.

21. Flour-mills.

22. Market-house with the prisoners.

23. Little guard-house, behind which lord O'Neil was killed.

24. The rebel reserve column under colonel Orr.

Plate IX.

A MAP
of the
TOWN OF
ANTRIM.
Road from Dunsilly
Road from Shanescaigle
Close Planting
13
Boulane
Bridge
Road from Lough neagh
Road to Ballymena
Paans Lane
Massereene Bridge
Masserene
Scotch Quarter
Milrow
Road to Ballyclare
Road to Belfast
Road to Dublin
W
E
S
Scale of Yards
25 50 75 100

THE BATTLE OF ANTRIM.

The conſpiracy had been more alarming in the north than in any other part of the kingdom, as numbers of preſbyterians concerned in it there had more improved intellects, more courage, and knew better the uſe of arms, than the inhabitants of Leinſter and Munſter; but the conciliatory meaſures uſed by government had detached numbers from the union, and the ſalutary coercion uſed by the general officers in diſarming the multitude, abated the ſpirit of the conſpirators, by diminiſhing their hopes of ſucceſs.

For theſe reaſons we may ſuppoſe, the conſpiracy did not break out in the North for ſome days after it exploded in the province of Leinſter. Though the detention of the mail coaches had been the ſignal for a general inſurrection, the preſbyterians, wary and cautious, heſitated to riſe, till they had heard that their friends in the ſouth were actually in arms, and yet had made preparations for that purpoſe; but in Leinſter, the war being purely religious, and the people being blinded by fanaticiſm, and impelled by the irreſiſtible influence of their prieſts, ruſhed into action on the night of the twenty-third of May, appointed for the general riſing.

Lord O'Neil, who reſided at Shane's-caſtle in the county of Antrim, having received certain intelligence that an inſurrection was ſhortly intended, as governor of the county, ſummoned by publick notice the magiſtrates of it, to meet at Antrim, on the ſeventh of June, 1798, for the purpoſe of concerting meaſures to prevent it. To counteract his deſign, the leaders of the conſpiracy reſolved to bring forward the riſing on that day, to attack the town of Antrim, to ſeize his lordſhip and the magiſtrates, and to keep them as hoſtages; and they intended at the ſame time to have ſeized a quantity of arms ſurrendered at different times, which were depoſited in that town.

General Nugent, having received intelligence of their intentions, ſent orders to Blaris camp for the ſecond light battalion, conſiſting of the 64th regiment, and the light companies of the Kerry, Dublin, Tipperary, Armagh, and Monaghan militia, and one hundred and fifty of the 22d light dragoons, with two curricle ſix-pounders, and two five and a half inch howitzers, to march to Antrim with all poſſible diſpatch; and two hundred

and fifty of the Monaghan militia, a troop of the 22d light dragoons, and the Belfaſt cavalry, under the command of colonel Durham, to march to Antrim, by Carmoney and Templepatrick; and the light battalion from Blaris, commanded by colonel Clavering, and the dragoons by the honourable colonel Lumley. He alſo diſpatched orderly ſerjeants to major Seddon at Antrim, to inform him of the intended attack, and of the reinforcements which were going to his aſſiſtance.

The orderlies arrived at Antrim at nine o'clock, but did not perceive any extraordinary movement in the country, or any indication of inſurrection. However, the drums immediately beat to arms, the yeomanry aſſembled in a ſhort time, and the inhabitants of the town were called on to turn out in its defence. In ſending the ſummonſes through the town, it was diſcovered that all the notorious united Iriſhmen had left it early in the morning, which convinced major Seddon that general Nugent's information was well founded. Of four hundred men, capable of bearing arms, two hundred turned out on the occaſion; but they could be ſupplied with no more than eighty ſtand of arms, as there were no more ſerviceable; and there was ſo great a ſcarcity of ammunition, that after borrowing eight hundred rounds from major Seddon, the yeomanry had but twelve rounds a man, and thoſe who volunteered but five.

About ten o'clock, many perſons came in from different parts of the country, with intelligence that the rebels were forcing great numbers to join them, and that the maſs of the people were in motion.

At twelve o'clock, James Stewart Moore, eſquire, captain of the Dunſcoverick cavalry, and Mr. Gamble, lieutenant of the ſame, with fifteen men, came into Antrim from Ballymena, after having cut their way through about two hundred rebels near Kells: Both theſe gentlemen were magiſtrates.

Lord O'Neil ſlept at Hillſborough the night of the ſixth of June, on his way from Dublin to Antrim, and paſſed through Liſburn at ten o'clock in the morning of the ſeventh, without being known, and got to Antrim at half paſt twelve. He did not perceive any movement in the country, though his ſervants, who were about ten minutes after him, were robbed of their arms by the rebels. Had lord O'Neil been known in Liſburn, he would have been prevented from proceeding, as general Nugent had ſent

orders

orders to have the intended riſing communicated to all the magiſtrates in that neighbourhood, and to prevent them from going to Antrim.

The plan of the rebels was, to advance with four columns, one from the diſtrict between Antrim and Belfaſt, and to enter the town by the Belfaſt road;* the ſecond from Ballynure, Ballyclare and Doagh, to enter by the Carrickfergus road, and join the Belfaſt column at the end of the Scotch quarter; a third from Connor, Kells, and Ballymena, and to enter it by Paty's-lane; a fourth from Shane's-caſtle, Randalſtown, and Dunoilty, to enter by Bow-lane. The three firſt columns were to make their attack at half paſt two o'clock; and at the ſame moment, the fourth, under the command of colonel Samuel Orr, brother to the famous William Orr, was to make its attack a few minutes after. The two firſt columns reached the end of the Scots quarter, juſt as the advanced guard of our ſecond battalion was coming over the bridge from Liſburn, which is at right angles with the main ſtreet, and nearly the centre of the town.

The advanced guard was commanded by the honourable colonel Lumley, and conſiſted of one hundred of the 22d light dragoons, and two curricle guns, which opened with caſe ſhot from the centre of the main ſtreet, oppoſite the bridge, and were flanked by the yeomanry. The cavalry were drawn up in the rear.

The town of Antrim is nearly a mile long, and that ſpace from the Scots quarter to the market-houſe, is about two-thirds of its length, and nearly a ſtraight line. The main ſtreet is a continuation of the Scots quarter, and is at right angles with the wall of lord Maſſareene's garden, which is about forty yards from the market-houſe, and lies nearly in the centre of the ſtreet. The wall of the garden completely commands the main ſtreet, and the entrance to the market-houſe, which is a ſquare building, ſupported by ſtone pillars, and very difficult to ſet fire to. The guard-houſe was there, and a number of priſoners confined in it. There was a ſecond wall at right angles with the garden wall, which flanks it, and commands Bow-lane. The two walls are joined with each other, and with one part of an old fortification. The wall is about fifteen feet high towards the ſtreet, and being but four feet high on the garden ſide, forms a good parapet or breaſt-work. The church is about half way between the market-houſe and the end of the Scots quarter. It is built on a riſing ground, and is ſurrounded

* See Plate IX.

ſurrounded by a wall, which is about eight feet high towards the ſtreet, and four on the inſide. The church is nearly in a line with the houſes on one ſide of the Scots quarter, and part of the wall is parallel to the houſes at the oppoſite ſide, and the diſtance between it and the houſes is about twelve yards.

The church is about ſeventy yards from Maſſareene-bridge, where the guns began to play on the rebels, who were at that time about ſeventy yards above the church, advancing from the upper part of the Scots quarter, in a cloſe column of about twenty-two in front, and about four thouſand ſtrong. Their front was compoſed of about eight hundred muſketeers, who were excellent markſmen. Whenever they came within ſight of the dragoons and yeomanry, they commenced ſtreet firing, and by the time they came within one hundred and fifty yards of the army, they filed to the rear. Their ſix-pounder* was then in front, with which they fired two rounds of grape ſhot, and did great execution, having killed and wounded three yeomen, two artillery men, and four or five dragoons. The recoil of the ſecond ſhot diſabled the gun ſo much, that they could not fire any more. The caſe ſhot from our curricle guns did ſuch great execution, that the rebels perceived they could not advance without immenſe loſs. However, their muſketeers preſſed on, and got poſſeſſion of the church-yard, from whence they maintained a heavy fire.

The greater part of the pikemen went acroſs the fields, and formed in Bow-lane, to take our army in the rear, which being perceived, the gunners were ordered to retreat under lord Maſſareene's wall, where the guns could play on the rebels advancing up that lane; and at the ſame time the dragoons were ordered to charge, in order to cover the retreat of the guns: but before they could reach the rebel column, they had to paſs the church-yard, within four or five yards of the rebel muſketry, planted in ſecurity behind the wall. About eighty dragoons, headed by the honourable colonel Lumley, having made the charge, near twenty of them were killed and wounded.

* They brought this gun from Temple-patrick, where they had it and another braſs ſix-pounder, concealed under one of the ſeats of the diſſenting meeting-houſe. They cut a tree, of which they made a trail, and they mounted the gun on the wheels of Mr. M'Vickar's carriage, lord Templeton's agent, and had wedges to elevate and depreſs it. It was formerly attached to the Belfaſt volunteers, but lay concealed for ſix years. They had originally eight, which alſo lay concealed, but ſix of them were diſcovered by general Nugent about a week before.

wounded. However, they bravely cut their way through, totally broke the rebel column, returned and renewed the charge by the church-yard wall, after leaving ſeventeen men dead in the ſtreet, about thirty wounded, and forty horſes killed, all in the ſpace of about two minutes. The officers who made that charge, were colonel Lumley, major Seddon, captain Baker, cornet Dunn, cornet Reid, and Mr. Gamble of the yeomanry, of which, cornet Dunn and Mr. Gamble were killed; the former ſhot through the heart, the latter had his horſe ſhot under him, and was afterwards perforated with pikes. Colonel Lumley, major Seddon, and cornet Reid, were wounded; the two latter with pikes. The former was ſhot through the ankle bone. Quarter-maſter Simpſon was likewiſe killed. The yeomanry retreated, and took poſſeſſion of lord Maſſareene's garden, from whence they could command the main ſtreet and Bow-lane, and in ſome degree protect the guns, which were under the wall along with the dragoons. Lord O'Neil and the reverend doctor Macartney, of Antrim, had remained in the ſtreet, with a party of dragoons, during the whole of the action.

When the rebels came within the range of the caſe ſhot in Bow-lane, they were warmly received. However, they continued to advance with great intrepidity; on which, colonel Lumley, who was wounded, ſeeing the loſs he had ſuſtained in the charge, ordered a retreat, and the guns to be abandoned. The former retreated acroſs the river, and proceeding by the ſhore of the lake, to the Liſburn road, joined the ſecond battalion of our troops which were within two miles of the town. Lord O'Neil's horſe having been wounded, became reſtive and refuſed to advance. Doctor Macartney ſtaid with him a conſiderable time, after the dragoons had retreated, endeavouring to get him to proceed with him; but finding it impoſſible, he galloped his horſe through the rebels; and being unable to overtake the dragoons, he joined Mr. Staples, member for the county, and got with him into a boat, rowed acroſs to the county of Tyrone, and informed general Knox, at Dungannon, of the events which had taken place at Antrim, and of which he had been ignorant until that moment. The general immediately aſſembled all the yeomanry of the country, marched to Toome with one thouſand five hundred of them, and prevented the county of Derry rebels from riſing, and joining the other inſurgents.

Lord

Lord O'Neil, while endeavouring to get his horſe forward, was knocked down by a pikeman, and then mortally wounded, within thirty yards of the yeomanry behind the wall. His lordſhip ſhot one of the men who attacked him, and the yeomanry two more; but the man who had given him the mortal wound eſcaped.

On the retreat of the dragoons, the rebels, fluſhed with ſucceſs, ruſhed on with a horrid yell, and ſeized the curricle guns; but every man of that party was killed by the yeomen, and the remainder retreated into the houſes and bye lanes of the town. On that, Mr. John Macartney,* lieutenant of the Antrim yeomanry, aſſiſted by his brother, Mr. Arthur Macartney, lieutenant of the Royal Iriſh Artillery, who volunteered on the occaſion, made a ſally from the garden, with twenty of the Antrim corps, and drew up, in the midſt of the rebel fire, the guns and the ammunition cart; and having planted them on the garden wall, they diſlodged the rebels by a few diſcharges of round ſhot; however, they aſſembled again in ſeveral places round the town, to renew the attack; but colonel Orr, frightened on hearing the cannon, marched his column, which was one thouſand five hundred ſtrong, back to Randalſtown.

Before the rebels had arranged matters for a ſecond attack, the reinforcement from Blaris and Belfaſt arrived, on which they fled in all directions. But a great many of them were killed by the dragoons and the light companies of the Armagh and Monaghan militia, who were detached acroſs the fields to cut off ſtragglers. Colonel Durham on arriving over the town, was informed that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of it; and therefore opened his guns on it with round ſhot, and was on the point of doing much miſchief before he found his miſtake. The rebels left about one hundred and fifty dead in the town, and nearly two hundred were

* At that time this young gentleman was little more than ſixteen years old, and his brother was but in his eighteenth year. The courage and the loyalty of theſe amiable gentlemen render them an honour to their parents and their country. Mr. Arthur Macartney diſplayed great ſpirit and patriotiſm, in detecting and oppoſing the baſe deſigns of ſome traitors who had inſinuated themſelves into the univerſity of Dublin. Their father, the reverend doctor Macartney, a gentleman highly reſpectable, was the firſt perſon who gave any important information to government on the alarming ſtate of the conſpiracy in the North. It conſiſts of papers inſerted in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, under the head of papers ſeized by a magiſtrate in a diſtant part of the county of Antrim.

were killed in the purſuit, in which lieutenant Murphy of the dragoons was ſeverely wounded with a pike.

It has been ſince diſcovered, that a conſiderable number of rebels had got into the town previous to the action in ſmall parties, through lanes and the back doors of the houſes. About one o'clock, and before the rebels arrived, ſeveral pikes were diſcovered in a garden in the Scots quarter: in conſequence of which, the houſe to which the garden belonged was ſet on fire, and the flames communicated to ſeven more, which were conſumed. The rebels having perceived the fire as they were marching towards the town, halted for near half an hour, doubtful if they ſhould make the attack, not knowing the real cauſe of the fire. During that delay, there aroſe a diſpute among the Roman catholicks and proteſtants of Orr's column; the former inſiſting on putting the orangemen in Antrim to death, but were oppoſed by the latter, who declared they would not conſent to any act of cruelty.

The attack upon Antrim was made a quarter before three o'clock. The reinforcements arrived at four. If the rebels had not halted on ſeeing the fire, they would have been in Antrim before colonel Lumley arrived; and of courſe would have taken the town.

Nearly one half of the rebel force which attacked Antrim was compelled to join them by terror. In their flight they left behind them about three thouſand pikes and muſkets; and as they could not mount the two ſix pounders at Temple-patrick, they fell into the hands of our army on the ninth of June.

The rebels attacked Randalſtown at half paſt one on the ſeventh of June, and got poſſeſſion of the lower part of the market-houſe, in which there were fifty of the Toome yeomanry, and ſet fire to it; on which they ſurrendered, and were taken out of the windows by ladders.

Colonel Clavering and colonel Durham marched to Shane's caſtle the evening of the ſeventh. The rebels evacuated Randalſtown at ten that night, and marched to Toome, where they remained two days; and on ſeeing general Knox advancing towards them, they broke down the bridge to prevent him from croſſing the Bann. The rebels went from Antrim* to Ballymena and Donegore hill, where they remained till Monday the eleventh, when colonel Clavering granted them an amneſty, on ſurrendering their arms, and promiſing to return to their allegiance. The

* See Plate I. 3.

rebels poſted at Ballymena, ſaid to be ten thouſand ſtrong, attacked Larne on the morning of the ſeventh, but were repulſed by a detachment of the Tay fencibles, aided by the yeomanry, and the loyal inhabitants.

The death of lord O'Neil was univerſally and deſervedly lamented, as he poſſeſſed in a very eminent degree every good and amiable quality. He was generous and humane, warm and ſteady in friendſhip, and ſo mild and beneficent, that he was ever ready to forgive injuries. He had ſuch innate goodneſs and philanthropy, that he could ſcarce be induced to think ill of others; and he had ſuch fine feelings, that he never heard a tale of woe without ſympathizing with the ſufferer, and wiſhing to adminiſter to his relief. It might be truly ſaid, that,

" He had a tear for pity, and a hand
" Open as day for melting charity."

BATTLES OF SAINTFIELD AND BALLYNAHINCH.

As a report prevailed on the ninth of June, that there was a riſing at Newtownards* in the county of Down, colonel Stapleton marched with a detachment of the York fencibles, and ſome yeomen cavalry and infantry, and two pieces of cannon, towards Saintfield, and was informed between Comber and that town, that there was no appearance whatever of a riſing. The main body of the rebels lay in ambuſh, in a hollow way, through which he was to paſs, within a quarter of a mile of Saintfield. The hedges on each ſide were very high and numerous, and the rebels who were concealed behind them and in ſome plantations, having ſuffered the principal part of colonel Stapleton's party to paſs unmoleſted, opened a very heavy fire on their rear, conſiſting of the yeomen cavalry, whom they threw into confuſion; as they were expoſed to the enemy in a narrow road, where they could not deploy, or make any movement for their defence. The reverend Mr. Mortimer, vicar of Portaferry, his nephew, and ſeven or eight yeomen, who had juſt joined them, were inſtantly killed. Thoſe who attempted to croſs into the fields to form, were butchered with pikes. At laſt, colonel Stapleton, with the moſt cool intrepidity, diſmounted, went into the fields, and formed the grenadiers there. Captain Chetwynd, lieutenant Unit and enſign Sparks, in attempting to follow him, were killed. Colonel Stapleton having attacked the inſurgents with the grenadiers and the cannon which he brought to bear upon them, repulſed and killed three hundred and fifty of them.

The

* See Plate I. 3.

The rebels having retreated towards Newtownards attacked, next day, a ſmall party, conſiſting moſtly of invalids and old men, who were poſted in the market-houſe there, to guard a quantity of baggage and ammunition, and who repulſed them; but, expecting next day to be attacked by a much larger party, they capitulated, evacuated the town, and marched to Belfaſt, eight miles off.

The rebels, fluſhed with their ſucceſs, and with the acquiſition of a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, formed a committee, and having laid a plan for their future operations, ſent horſemen round the country, to ſummon their friends, and by force compelled thoſe to join them who ſhewed an unwillingneſs to do ſo.

In conſequence of this, a large body having aſſembled, they, on Sunday, entered the town of Bangor, where they compelled great numbers to join them, and plundered Mr. Ward's houſe of arms. The reverend James Clewlow, with laudable fortitude, and in the moſt pathetick manner, repreſented to them the fatal conſequences of their conduct, and adviſed them to lay down their arms; but could not ſucceed. They then repaired to a hill near Newtownards, where, having diſagreed, the Bangor people quitted them, returned and reſtored Mr. Ward's arms to Mr. Clewlow, in hopes of his getting for them a protection from general Nugent; to obtain which, he repaired to Belfaſt; but before he could return, two preſbyterian clergymen, Meſſrs. Townſend and Hull, abuſed them as cowards and traitors to their cauſe, compelled them to re-aſſume their arms, and marched them to a hill called Scrabo, near Newtown, and thence to Saintfield, where they took poſſeſſion of the houſes of Meſſrs. Price and Clewlow, which they plundered. They ſent a party from Saintfield to the houſe of a farmer in the neighbourhood, and having ſet fire to it, he and his whole family periſhed in the flames. He was obnoxious to them, becauſe he had proſecuted ſome united Iriſhmen. He, at firſt, with very great bravery, beat off a party of about twenty, but was overpowered by a large reinforcement. Though old, he diſplayed great ſpirit, having been ſeen firing at them in the midſt of the flames.

A numerous body of rebels kept poſſeſſion of Saintfield, till Monday the eleventh of June, when they marched to Ballynahinch, and joined the main body, who were poſted in what they called a camp, on the lawn before lord Moira's houſe, which was a favourable poſition, on a

commanding eminence, and ſkirted with thick wood. The commander in chief was general Henry Munroe, a linen draper, and inhabitant of Liſburn, who had been formerly adjutant to a volunteer company, and acquired ſome reputation for military knowledge.

On the morning of the twelfth of June, general Nugent marched againſt them from Belfaſt, with the Monaghan regiment of militia, part of the 22d dragoons, and ſome yeomen infantry and cavalry; and was joined by lieutenant-colonel Stewart, near Ballynahinch, with his party from Downpatrick, making in all about one thouſand five hundred men. Information having been received at the rebel camp, that general Nugent was on his march to attack them, a party of five hundred was detached by Munroe, under the command of one Johnſon, to annoy the general, and retard his progreſs. They advanced near four miles to Creevy rocks, at the Ballynahinch ſide of Saintfield, but were diſperſed by the flanking parties of the army, and did not return to their friends at Ballynahinch.

A numerous body of the rebels were poſted on the Windmill hill, about a quarter of a mile from the town, but were ſoon driven from their poſition by the diſcharge of the artillery, and joined the camp at lord Moira's houſe. On that occaſion, one M'Cullogh, a rebel colonel, was taken priſoner, and immediately hanged. General Nugent and his party then occupied the Windmill hill, where he halted that night, and made proper diſpoſitions for attacking them next morning.

A council was held in the rebel camp, in which the expediency of an immediate attack was debated with ſome warmth. Munroe adviſed them to wait till morning, and his recommendation ultimately prevailed.

Between two and three o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth, colonel Leſlie and the Monaghan militia marched into the town, and were vigorouſly attacked by a detachment of the rebels, and obliged to fall back. They, however, immediately rallied, and repulſed them with conſiderable ſlaughter. The rebels were ſo furious in their charge as to lay their hands on the carriages of the battalion guns, and ſome of them were almoſt burnt to a coal by their exploſion.

The detachment under lieutenant general Stewart, conſiſting of a part of the Argyleſhire fencibles, and ſome of the 22d dragoons, and ſome yeomanry corps, were likewiſe attacked; but they defeated the rebels, and killed a great number of them. The diſperſion now became general,

and

and though the retreat was made in a confuſed and irregular manner, it was much favoured by the woods and the nature of the country, which prevented the cavalry from any long or effectual purſuit. Near five hundred rebels are ſaid to have been killed. The town of Ballynahinch was burned by the military.

Munroe fled towards the mountains without any guard or eſcort, and was afterwards accidentally diſcovered and taken by three orangemen, as he lay concealed in a potatoe furrow, under ſome litter, in an open field, about ſix miles from Ballynahinch. He offered them forty guineas to let him eſcape; but the loyalty of his captors was not to be corrupted. They brought him to Hillſborough, together with a young man of the name of Kane, taken with him in the ſame furrow, and who was formerly employed as a clerk in the office of the Belfaſt Northern Star. They were ſent under a guard to Liſburn, where Munroe was tried by a court-martial, and executed oppoſite to his own door. His head was fixed on a pike, and placed on the market-houſe. Juſt before he was ſuſpended, he ſaid that he wiſhed to ſettle an account with a neighbour, to whom he was indebted. He accordingly got a pen and ink, and adjuſted it with all the coolneſs of deliberation.

The rebel army at Ballynahinch chiefly conſiſted of preſbyterians, and other denominations of proteſtant diſſenters, with few, if any, Roman catholicks, as they deſerted the night before the battle, which inflamed the preſbyterians very much againſt them.

On the night of the ninth, and the morning of the tenth, the inſurrection from Newtownards to Portaferry was general; and a body of rebels, to the number of one thouſand, attacked the latter about four o'clock in the afternoon. They were ſaid to be chiefly under the direction of one Warwick, a preſbyterian probationer, ſince hanged; and they were headed by one Mc. Mullin, of Portaferry, a ſhopkeeper, and two farmers in its vicinity. The town was gallantly defended by that brave veteran, captain Charles Mathews, and the Portaferry yeomanry, who took poſt in the market-houſe, and converted it into a garriſon.

Captain Mathews having received intelligence in the morning, that the town was to be attacked, had the arches of the building filled up with a dry temporary wall, to prevent the rebels from ſetting fire to the loft, which their leaders had reſolved to do. Captain Hopkins being in the

the river, with the revenue cruiſer which he commanded, rendered the moſt important ſervice on the occaſion with his guns. The loſs of the rebels was conſiderable, while not a ſingle yeoman was hurt. Three volunteer loyaliſts, who worked two ſwivels outſide the market-houſe, having no cover, were killed.

The event of this action was of the utmoſt conſequence, for had the rebels ſucceeded in it, they were to have croſſed the lake at Strangford; and the rebels in the barony of Lecale, who were numerous, were to have joined them.* Downpatrick muſt have fallen, and an immenſe force, thus prevented, would have encreaſed the army of Ballynahinch.

The boldneſs and courage which the inſurgents in the North diſplayed during the very ſhort period that the rebellion exiſted, prove how dangerous and terrifick it would have been, but that government very wiſely and ſeaſonably averted the horrors of it, partly by conciliatory meaſures, and partly by coercion; and the dreadful and cold-blooded maſſacres of proteſtants perpetrated in the ſouth, having convinced the northern rebels of the cruelty and treachery of their Roman catholick confederates, and that their own deſtruction would be involved in that of the conſtitution, detached them from the union, and completely extinguiſhed the flame of rebellion in the north.

Dickey, a rebel leader, who was hanged at Belfaſt, declared a ſhort time before his execution, that the preſbyterians of the north perceived too late, that, if they had ſucceeded in ſubverting the conſtitution, they would ultimately have to contend with the Roman catholicks.

Some reſpectable gentlemen of the county of Donegal have aſſured me, that the preſbyterians and Roman catholicks of a large and populous diſtrict in it, called Fanet, were ſo jealous and ſuſpicious of each other, as ſoon as the maſſacres in the ſouth were known, that they continued for ſome time watching each other, without going to bed at night; the former dreading the fate of the proteſtants in Leinſter, and the latter fearing that the preſbyterians would be revenged of them for the maſſacre of their brethren. Numbers of preſbyterians who had been united, deſerted their aſſociates, joined the yeomanry, and became orangemen.

The judicious diſpoſition and active exertions of lord Henry Murray, under lord Cavan, from Coleraine, in June, 1798, aided by the yeomanry

* See Plate I. 1.

Plate 10

NB. The Lord Lieutenant's March is marked thus ——, Gen.l Lake's thus — — and the French thus ——

manry of that town, and the like conduct on the part of colonel Leith, aided by the Londonderry and Bevagh corps of cavalry, not only checked the deſigns of the ill-affected in the country which they occupied, but completely checked the progreſs of the Antrim rebels, and kept them at the Antrim ſide of the Bann; all the bridges of that river having been well ſecured, and the boats drawn on ſhore to the Derry ſide.

The maſſacres of the ſouth alarmed and animated many thouſand proteſtants, who ſuddenly volunteered, armed themſelves, and joined general Knox, whoſe approach from Moneymore, towards Toome, convinced the Antrim rebels, that they had no buſineſs to quit their own country; and he would have given them a complete overthrow, and have extinguiſhed, for a century, a diſpoſition to rebellion in that county, but that colonel Clavering, who had made terms with them at Ballymena, went expreſs to ſtop the general's approach.

The amneſty granted to the rebels by colonel Clavering, though it was done with the beſt intentions, has been condemned by many northern gentlemen of very good ſenſe, as it was ſaid to have fed the flame of rebellion in the county of Antrim for many months after it took place, as much as general Dundas's negotiation did in the county of Kildare.

It ſhould be remembered with the livelieſt ſenſe of gratitude by the loyal ſubjects of Ireland, that ſome regiments of Engliſh militia, feeling for their danger and diſtreſs, voluntarily offered to go to their relief and aſſiſtance; that ſome of them went there ſo early as the month of June, 1798, and that no leſs than thirteen of them arrived there in that year.

It will reflect immortal honour on the marquis of Hertford and the marquis of Buckingham, that they firſt ſet the example, and arrived in Dublin early in the month of June, at the head of their reſpective regiments.

THE REBELLION IN THE COUNTIES OF MAYO AND SLIGO.

The gentlemen and landholders in the province of Connaught, piqued themſelves on the peaceable demeanour, and a reſpect for the laws, which the lower claſs of the people there continued to evince, when moſt other parts of the kingdom were diſturbed by the united Iriſhmen. But it has ſince appeared, that the maſs of the people were univerſally infected with their malignant doctrines, though they had not broken out into acts of

open

open outrage; for at a provincial committee held at Dungannon,* the fourteenth of September, 1797, it was ſtated, that the province of Connaught was in a tolerable ſtate of organization; that a great number of united Iriſhmen had been made there, and more ſince the proclamation.§

In the beginning of the year 1798, a number of fugitive families arrived in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, from the north of Ireland; who, as they alleged, ſought for protection from the orangemen, who were perſecuting them on account of their religion. They were all Roman catholicks, and from their appearance of decency and induſtry, the plauſibility with which they repreſented their ſufferings, and the knowledge which they poſſeſſed of the linen manufacture, they readily obtained an aſylum from the gentlemen of the country, and were conſidered as a great acquiſition in it. They had alſo an apparent ſolemnity and ſincerity in their manners, and ſhewed ſuch attention to the duties of their religion, as procured them the eſteem, not only of perſons of their own perſuaſion, but excited the pity of proteſtants, who conſidered them as an innocent perſecuted people.

This was the general idea entertained of them; but ſome gentlemen, who conceived that their improper conduct muſt have been the cauſe of their perſecution and expulſion, were not inclined to encourage or protect them. Nevertheleſs, ſome hundred families of them ſpread themſelves over the country, particularly near the ſea-coaſt, and for ſome time demeaned themſelves in a peaceable and induſtrious manner.

But it was ſoon diſcovered, that they were much addicted to ſpeculate on politicks; that they held clubs and meetings, where newſpapers, for which they ſubſcribed, were conſtantly read; and that they were perfectly well verſed in all the political ſubjects which were then the topicks of converſation. They alſo brought with them a number of ſtrange and abſurd prophecies, which they pretended were delivered by the ancient Iriſh bards and prophets, foretelling the wars and calamities which were ſhortly to take place in the country, and which were to prove nearly fatal to the catholicks.‡

In

* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 104.

§ This alludes to the proclamation of the ſeventeenth of May, inviting the people to return to their allegiance, and offering an amneſty to ſuch as ſhould do ſo; and it proves the contumacy of the traitors in ſpurning at the benign and conciliating meaſures of government.

‡ In the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, ſuch prophecies were uſed during the civil wars, to rouze the people, as may be ſeen in Spenſer, Morriſon, Temple, Laurence, and Harris.

In one of theſe it was aſſerted, that the upper part of the county of Mayo, particularly the mountain of Croagh Patrick, near Weſtport,§ would be the ſafeſt place of refuge, whenever theſe calamities would commence; which induced numbers of people to repair there, ſome for protection, others to perform pilgrimage, and to do other pious offices, as it has been always conſidered as a holy place.

Theſe prophecies ‖ have a very great effect on the minds of the lower claſs of people, who are perſuaded that the events predicted muſt neceſſarily come to paſs; and they were ready to catch at every rumour which ſeemed to correſpond with the ideas which they had inſpired. They breathed nothing but death, bloodſhed and devaſtation, painted the rivers as running crimſon with blood, and a peſtilence raging through the country, occaſioned by the effluvia of putrid carcaſes, which remained unburied; with every other horror which a dreadful civil war produces.

Such prophecies were one of the many artifices uſed to excite hatred in the popiſh multitude againſt proteſtants, who were figured under the title of the black army, and were deſtined to commit thoſe atrocities againſt the catholicks; and to furniſh a pretext of maſſacring them, whenever an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf.

Theſe northern families were but a ſhort time in the county of Mayo, when a perſon of high reſpectability informed the magiſtrates and country gentlemen, that they were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy then carried on in the north, and that moſt of them, conſcious of their crimes, fled from a country, where they were cloſely watched, and dreaded the vengeance of the law, to one where, not ſubject to ſuſpicion, they might eaſily execute their deſigns.

Orange ſocieties had at that time commenced in the North, whoſe avowed object was, to protect themſelves, and their country, from the machinations of a ſet of popiſh traitors, who had bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn ties to overturn the conſtitution and extirpate the proteſtants; and that in ſo ſecret a manner, that many thouſands were united before a diſcovery could be obtained. At their ſecret meetings, which were generally held at night, they methodized their operations, employed

§ Plate X. 6.

‖ I have already mentioned that many popiſh families had emigrated from the county of Tyrone to Connaught, in conſequence of prophecies.

emiſſaries to propagate their doctrines; collected money for the purchaſe of arms and ammunition; laid plans for attacking the houſes of proteſtants, and taking away their arms; and finally concerted the means of a general rebellion and maſſacre, in conjunction with the rebels of every other part of the kingdom.

The gentlemen and magiſtrates of the country were well aware that ſuch miſchiefs were hatching; but found it very difficult to procure full and convincing proofs to ſubſtantiate the facts, and to bring the traitors to puniſhment.

It was in this critical ſtate of things, that the ſpirit and promptitude of the orangemen, alive to the intereſt of their country, and attached to that conſtitution for which their anceſtors fought under king William, aſſociated under the ſtrongeſt bonds of loyalty and affection; and relying on the goodneſs of the cauſe in which they had embarked, they, without fear or reſtraint, hunted theſe traitors to their dens, developed their dark proceedings, and dragged them to puniſhment. By their well-timed and ſpirited exertions, they delivered that part of the kingdom from thoſe horrors, which were ready to burſt upon the heads of the loyal inhabitants.

This was the perſecution which the diſaffected ſo much complained of, and which afforded a plauſible pretext for the outrages afterwards committed by the rebels.

The conduct of theſe northern families on the landing of the French proves with what malignant deſigns they were originally actuated; for, when that event took place, they threw off the veil of religion, and the cloak of humility, boldly aſſumed the iron front of war, preſſed forward to receive arms and ammunition from their new deliverers, choſe leaders among themſelves, erected the ſtandard of rebellion, and plundered and deſolated the houſes and the property of their proteſtant friends and benefactors.

It is very remarkable, that theſe men, deſpiſing the want of courage and abilities in the Connaught rebels, refuſed to ſerve promiſcuouſly with them, but formed a ſeparate corps, who kept together during the rebellion.

The peaſantry of the counties of Mayo and Sligo, (I mean of the Roman catholick perſuaſion,) are ſavage, ignorant, and ſuperſtitious; and

though

though they were organized and ſworn to aſſiſt the French on their landing, yet I am convinced that they would not have had ſpirit or reſolution enough to riſe in rebellion, if that event had not taken place, however well inclined they might have been.

The gentlemen and men of landed property, with but few exceptions, were proteſtants of the church of England, and conſequently loyal, and ſtrongly attached to the eſtabliſhed government. To theſe were added an equally loyal and very reſpectable proteſtant yeomanry, moſtly freeholders, and planted rather thickly over the country. All theſe were tolerably expert in the uſe of arms, having ſerved in the volunteer and yeomanry corps.

Theſe two bodies, united in common intereſt, and rouſed by the danger which ſurrounded them, would have continued to overawe and reſtrain an ignorant and unarmed rabble, without men of property or conſequence at their head, and ſtimulated to action only by ſome low emiſſaries from other countries; or by their weak and infatuated clergy, many of whom were found among the foremoſt in joining the enemy, and in ſtrengthening the ranks of rebellion.

The landing of a little more than one thouſand French, achieved, almoſt inſtantly, what the united Iriſhmen could never have effected, notwithſtanding all their arts to make the popiſh multitude riſe in rebellion.

Struck with a ſudden panick at the unexpected appearance of the French, the loyaliſts, for the moſt part, abandoned their houſes; the rebels, armed and encouraged by the French, elated with their firſt ſucceſs, and animated with a deſire of vengeance, and the hope of plunder, entered ſword in hand into the deſerted abodes of the fugitive loyaliſts; where, not content with pillage and rapine, they, with the moſt ſavage barbarity, like the Goths of old, ſacrificed to wanton revenge every thing valuable, which art and ſcience had formed and collected for the comfort and delight of the virtuous and intelligent; and in a few days defaced thoſe ornaments and improvements which human induſtry had been raiſing for a century before.

Another circumſtance which contributed to promote the cauſe of rebellion in thoſe counties, and to cement its votaries, by a bond ſtill more binding than the oath of the united Iriſhmen, or defenders, was the propa-

gation of the myſteries of the Carmelites among the Roman catholicks. This was originally a religious order, which was ſaid to have been inſtituted for the advancement of piety and morality, but it was now perverted to the purpoſe of aſſociating men for the expreſs purpoſe of committing treaſon, murder, ſacrilege, and robbery, with every other inferior crime, which depravity might ſuggeſt, or opportunity afford.

As its malignant influence operated much ſtronger in Connaught than in the province of Leinſter, where alſo it was made a vehicle of rebellion, I ſhall give the reader a more minute deſcription of it. In the neighbourhood of Ballina,* there were ſome mendicant friars, who were led, by the poverty of their ſituation, to convert the credulity of the popiſh multitude to their benefit, by inducing them to believe, that an admiſſion into this fraternity would enſure them eternal happineſs; and this foundation being once laid, it was not difficult afterwards to perſuade them to pay a ſmall ſum of money for its attainment.

At their initiation they received a ſquare piece of brown cloth, with the letters I. H. S. inſcribed on it, meaning Jeſus hominum Salvator,§ which was hung round the neck with a ſtring, and lying on the ſhoulder next to the ſkin, was, from its ſituation, called a ſcapular. The price of it on initiation was, to the poorer claſs, one ſhilling; to thoſe who could afford it, higher in proportion to their ability. This diſtinguiſhing badge of the order, having received the prieſt's benediction, was ſuppoſed to contain the virtue of preſerving the diſciple, not only from outward dangers and injuries, but alſo from the attacks of the ghoſtly enemy. They aſcribed to theſe ſcapulars the power of protecting a houſe in which one of them happened to be, from being conſumed by fire, or of extinguiſhing one on fire, if thrown into the flames; while the ſacred extinguiſher would remain perfectly ſafe from the power of the fire, like the three Hebrews in the Babylonian furnace.

The ignorance and credulity of the popiſh multitude were impoſed on by the following device: The cloth of which theſe ſcapulars was originally made, being compoſed of the Aſbeſtos, poſſeſſes a quality to reſiſt fire; and on receiving the prieſt's benediction, they were committed to the flames, where, to the aſtoniſhment of the beholders, they were found to

* Plate X. 3, 4.

§ Jeſus, the Saviour of mankind. See it in Plate V.

to preſerve themſelves ſafe and entire; and having undergone this fiery ordeal, the ſupernatural power which produced it was aſcribed to the prieſt's benediction.

Many of theſe were cut off the necks of the rebels when taken priſoners, and their virtue was put to the teſt by expoſing them to the fire, where they gave a convincing proof of their frailty, by being (as the inventors themſelves have long ſince been) reduced to duſt and aſhes.

The pariſh prieſts in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, either convinced of the efficacy and utility of this order, in promoting the cauſe of religion, or ſeeing that the ſale of ſcapulars was very profitable, procured a power from the friars before mentioned to diſpoſe of them, and admit candidates into this holy order. Bags of them have been often ſent to fairs and markets, and ſold to the credulous multitude.

The officiating prieſt at Ballina, curate to the popiſh biſhop, was the perſon then entruſted with the diſtribution of this ſacred ſymbol, a large number of which he conferred on the worthy claimants.

This ſoon became the ſignal by which thoſe of the true faith were to know each other, and the rallying point for thoſe devotees who carried on the cruſade againſt the hereticks; and a ſhop was opened ſoon after the landing of the French, where all the ſons of Erin,* with their pikes in their hands, were ſupplied with ſcapulars at regulated prices.

Theſe were intended, not only to unite them more ſtrongly againſt the common enemy, but to arm them with freſh courage, and protect them from danger in the hour of trial. Good God! will that day ever arrive, when a pure, a ſimple, a rational, and undefiled religion ſhall be eſtabliſhed among the deluded natives of Ireland; when the clouds of ſuperſtition and ignorance, which ſo much obſcure the human mind, ſhall be diſpelled by religion and reaſon, thoſe bright luminaries which the Deity has benignly afforded to erring man, to direct his wandering ſteps through the thorny paths of life, and to guide his feet in the ways of peace?

We may ſay to the popiſh multitude of Ireland, in the words of holy writ, "Ye do err, not knowing the ſcriptures." Mat. xxii. 29.

The better to inflame the paſſions, and awaken the fanatical fury of the popiſh multitude againſt proteſtants, a report was univerſally propagated

* The Iriſh for Ireland.

gated in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, ſome months before the French landed, that the orangemen had combined, and were determined to maſſacre the Roman catholicks, a device which was practiſed in every part of Ireland.

At Balle, near Hollymount,* in the county of Mayo, a pattern was held ſome time in the month of July, when the diſſemination of that report had ſuch an effect on the inhabitants of that town and its vicinity, that they remained in large bodies all night in the fields, where the leaders of rebellion organized and ſwore them.

An active intelligent magiſtrate informed me, that he expatiated on the dangerous tendency of ſuch reports to the pariſh prieſt of Foxford,† ſome time in the month of July, 1798, and recommended to him to undeceive his flock, by aſſuring them, from the altar, that they were falſe and groundleſs; but he objected to it, alleging as an excuſe, that it would offend ſome of his moſt reſpectable pariſhioners.

The leaders of rebellion had recourſe to another very curious invention, to incenſe the minds of the Roman catholicks againſt the proteſtants, and inflame them with a ſpirit of revenge; and though the abſurdity was more likely to excite ridicule than ſerious attention, it had the wiſhed-for effect on the ſemi-barbarous rabble.

A few days before the French landed, a report was induſtriouſly circulated, that the proteſtants had entered into a conſpiracy to maſſacre the Roman catholicks, and that they would not ſpare man, woman, or child. It was ſaid that, for this purpoſe, a large quantity of combuſtible ſtuff had been introduced by the orangemen, who made a kind of black candles of it; that they were of ſuch a quality, that they could not be extinguiſhed when once lighted; and that in whatever houſe they ſhould be burnt, they would produce the deſtruction of every perſon in it.

It was ſaid alſo, that this deleterious ſyſtem was to be carried into effect through the whole country in one night; and the people in the villages were cautioned not to ſleep in their houſes, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed.‡

Multitudes, impreſſed with this idea, ſat up all night, or ſlept in the fields.

The

* Plate X. 7. † Ibid. 5.

‡ This impoſition was practiſed in the county of Wexford.

The magiſtrates, finding that this report was univerſally credited by the lower claſs of people, poſted up an advertiſement at Ballina to undeceive them, and convince them of the futility and abſurdity of this report; but they were taught to believe that this notice was only an artifice to lull them into ſecurity, that they might more eaſily become a prey to their perſecutors.

As ſoon as the French landed, one Crohan, who ſerved as clerk to a popiſh chapel, was ſeized in the act of proclaiming in the pariſh of Kilmeckſhalgan, in the county of Sligo, that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks.

Moſt of the pariſh prieſts in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, to diſarm the ſuſpicion, and lull the vigilance of government and the magiſtrates, collected their flocks, and with them ſwore oaths of allegiance before magiſtrates, whom they ſolicited to adminiſter them.

In the month of April, 1798, father O'Donnell, pariſh prieſt of Kilmeckſhalgan, aſked Mr. Hillas, of Seaview, to attend him and his flock for that purpoſe; and they, in the preſence of him and counſellor Webber, gave that teſt of their loyalty; yet as ſoon as the French landed, that ſame prieſt ſeized Mr. Hillas's beſt horſe, and joined them.

The prieſts of different pariſhes, after the French landed, were heard to ſay to their flock, from the altar, "God help you, poor people! Pray for your ſouls; I cannot anſwer for your ſafety; the king's troops and the orangemen will put you all to death."

In the courſe of the ſummer of 1798, it was obſerved, that the petty ſhop-keepers, mechanicks and ſervants, of the popiſh perſuaſion, uſed to hold frequent meetings at the low tippling houſes in Ballina, and its vicinity, which induced well grounded ſuſpicions that they entertained deſigns of a treaſonable tendency; particularly as ſuch aſſociations were conſtantly attended by ſome of the northerns, who were active and zealous in making proſelytes to their pernicious doctrines. They alſo kept up a conſtant intercourſe with their friends in the north, by means of emiſſaries, who paſſed and re-paſſed in the guiſe of hawkers and pedlars. This intelligence having been privately communicated to the reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a very active and intelligent magiſtrate, (whoſe zealous exertions on this and other occaſions became a ſource of many future calamities to himſelf and his numerous family) he and a few friends, in whom

he

he could confide, were conſtantly on the watch, in order to detect and counteract the treaſonable plans of this party; but they were conducted with ſuch ſecreſy, as to elude their vigilance, and prevent them from receiving any certain information of their real deſigns; however it had the good effect of filling them with alarm and diffidence, and of preventing them from diſſeminating their doctrine in as wide a circle, and with as much rapidity as before.

Mr. Neligan, ever attentive to the duties of his office and the peace of ſociety, having learned that an idle young man of the name of Reynolds, who often frequented the town of Boyle,* as a pedlar, was deeply concerned in the machinations of thoſe traitors, wrote to a friend there, to have him arreſted, and interrogated on the ſubject. On his examination, he aſſumed an appearance of the moſt perfect innocence, and denied every charge which was brought againſt him; but a few laſhes of a cat-o'nine-tails having been inflicted on him by order of the officer commanding at Boyle, he diſcovered the whole plot, and thoſe who were aſſociated with him. The information having been ſent to Mr. Neligan, he was aſtoniſhed at the number and reſpectability of the perſons concerned in it; however, the events which took place in the courſe of the rebellion, verified his allegations; for the perſons whom he charged were the moſt dangerous and deſperate in it.

From the very critical ſtate of the country, it would have been very dangerous to attempt the arreſt of ſo many perſons of the before mentioned deſcription; for there was no military in the country, except a ſmall detachment of the carabineers, a troop of yeoman cavalry, and a company of yeomen infantry; and above one half of the latter, according to Reynolds's evidence, were united Iriſhmen, having, regardleſs of their oath of allegiance, enliſted merely for the purpoſe of procuring arms, and joining the French when they ſhould land; an event which was ſtrongly and earneſtly expected. It was then thought prudent to diſſemble, and conceal a knowledge of the buſineſs, and to arreſt but a few of the leaders, which might caſt a damp on the ſpirit of the party. Eight only then were taken up, and among theſe two of the name of Walſh, who were ſent to general Taylor, at Sligo,† for examination; but they were diſcharged,

* Plate X. 5. † Ibid. 2.

diſcharged by the interceſſion of ſome gentlemen and magiſtrates of the neighbourhood, who aſſured him of their upright characters, their loyal and peaceable deportment, though it was declared upon oath, that they were the principal perſons to whom the rebels in the barony of Tyrawly were to look up to for advice and inſtruction. Two of theſe magiſtrates had ſoon reaſon to retract their opinions of their liberated friends; for the elder, dreading the puniſhment due to his crimes, fled to America, after having defrauded one of the magiſtrates at whoſe inſtance he was liberated. The younger Walſh was apprehended in the houſe of the other gentleman, who had been his encomiaſt, with a predatory party in arms, ready to eſtabliſh liberty and equality, at the expence of his benefactor.

This fact affords a perſuaſive leſſon to men of property and influence, with what caution they ſhould interpoſe between the criminal and the laws of his country, particularly when their interference is intended, not to elucidate the innocence of the accuſed on his trial, but to reſcue him before it takes place from the hands of juſtice.

From the following circumſtances, which preceded the arrival of the French, no perſon can doubt but that they were expected by the rebels of Mayo and Sligo:

They had an immenſe quantity of pikes in readineſs: To inflame the Romaniſts againſt the proteſtants, they ſpread the uſual reports about orangemen and their ſanguinary deſigns; and their prieſts and their congregations were very eager to take oaths of allegiance, in imitation of thoſe of the county of Wexford, to put the magiſtrates off their guard, and to prevent the introduction of troops into the country.

As ſome of the Romiſh clergy and their flocks in the county of Mayo expreſſed a deſire of teſtifying their allegiance by taking oaths for that purpoſe, doctor Stock, the biſhop, and ſome of the magiſtrates, deſirous of encouraging ſo laudable a deſire in them, ſuppoſing that it would tend to keep the common people quiet and ſteady to the government, held a meeting at Ballina, early in the month of June, 1798, entered into reſolutions, and formed a committee, for carrying their intentions into effect.

An active and intelligent magiſtrate of my acquaintance entertained a very different opinion of that meaſure, well knowing that treaſon was then hatching among the people, and that it would ſoon burſt forth into action; and therefore he abſented himſelf from the meeting, though he had been

appointed one of the committee, as he had ſtrong reaſons to doubt the ſincerity of the Roman catholicks.

According to the plan adopted, the magiſtrates divided the country into diſtricts; and in order to accommodate the lower claſs of people, they attended at the popiſh chapels on ſucceſſive Sundays, where the prieſts were directed to have their flocks aſſembled, and where they had the oath ſolemnly adminiſtered to them, beginning with the prieſt, and going through the whole of his congregation. By theſe means, (aided alſo by the ſeveral landlords who took care to bring their tenants forward) almoſt the whole of the inhabitants, clergy and laity, had the oath adminiſtered to them. The magiſtrate, to whom I alluded, would not attend, becauſe he had many documents to prove, and was even informed by one of their own perſuaſion, that they meditated the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and that the favourite toaſt at their convivial meetings was, "A total extirpation of proteſtants!"

Similar perfidy, but ſtill ſtronger, took place in a yeoman corps, commanded by captain Jones of Ballina. The magiſtrate whom I mentioned, received poſitive information, that about thirty of them, who were Roman catholicks, had all been united men, and had been ſworn to join the French on their landing, which he communicated to their commander, but he could not be prevailed on to give credit to it. He, however, having mentioned it to them, they ſeemed very much hurt, and propoſed that a very ſtrong teſt, in addition to the oath of allegiance which they had ſworn, ſhould be framed and adminiſtered to them; and captain Jones having complied, they all took it with the greateſt readineſs. This ſerved as a maſk to their treachery for the preſent, but which they ſoon threw off, when an opportunity was afforded them of joining the French, which they all did, except three, adding deſertion, perfidy and perjury, to their former crime of treaſon.

There are two prieſts in the neighbourhood of Ballina, who have not been taken up or put on their trial. One of theſe conſtantly viſited the French and rebel generals at Killala, and gave directions and orders to them; and when an alarm was given one day, while he was celebrating maſs, that the king's troops were approaching, he ordered every man who had arms, and was able to march, to repair without delay to the French ſtandard to oppoſe them. The other lived in a pariſh the moſt notorious for

for diſaffection in the county of Sligo, and a letter from him was diſcovered, written to a rebel commander at Killala, communicating the ſtate of the country, and mentioning the neceſſity of ſending a quantity of ſpirituous liquors to keep up the courage of his people, and to make them ready for ſervice.

There were at leaſt a dozen Romiſh prieſts who went to pay their reſpects to the French, and lived in habits of intimacy with them at Killala, and other places, eating, drinking, and making merry with them, on the ſpoils of the unfortunate proteſtants who had either fled or had been impriſoned; whilſt none of the Romiſh perſuaſion, though reputed loyal, were known to fly the country, through apprehenſion of danger, or to join the king's troops, or the armed loyaliſts.

It was not uncommon to ſee ſome of theſe ſpiritual guides introducing into the court-yard of Killala, ſome of their half-naked raggamuffins, taking clothes out of the ſtores, which were kept there for that purpoſe, and arraying them for actual ſervice. There were two, however, of this claſs, who could not be induced, either through fear or promiſes, to partake with their flocks in the rebellion, but ſtrongly exhorted them to continue in their allegiance, and to attend to their induſtry, forewarning them of the conſequences of their diſloyalty. One of theſe, was Mr. Conway, prieſt of Ardagh: The other, Mr. Grady, prieſt of Rathrea; of whom the latter was treated with great ſeverity, and dragged from the altar by his rebellious flock, becauſe he refuſed to partake in their wickedneſs, and accompany them to Killala. He had even the boldneſs to denounce vengeance on their guilty heads, ſhould they perſevere in their treaſonable ſchemes.

The perſecution levelled againſt the proteſtant clergymen, was not confined to the impriſonment of their perſons, joined to the inſults and menaces offered to them, and the deſtruction of their houſes and properties, but was extended even to the demolition of their churches, which they gutted of all the timber and carpenter's work, and moſt wantonly and inſultingly abuſed, and tore the books which they found in them.

Amongſt the churches moſt damaged, were thoſe of Lackan, Eaſky, Killmactige, and Enniſcrone, in the pariſh of Killglaſs, and county of Sligo. Of the latter they tore up the floors, demoliſhed the pews and the communion table, rifled the tomb with great indecency, and inſulted

the remains of the reverend Mr. Valentine, who had been vicar of, and reſident in that pariſh, fifty-three years, and who died in the year 1765, in his ninetieth year, noted and univerſally revered for his humane and charitable diſpoſition. He left 600 l. for the ſupport of the widows of the clergy of the dioceſe, and 400 l. for maintaining a charity-ſchool in the pariſh, and for apprenticing the children who were inſtructed in it. Doctor William Cecil, biſhop of Killala, had a monument erected to him, on which his virtues and good qualities were inſcribed, as an example to his ſucceſſors.

The meeting-houſe belonging to the diſſenting congregation of the Moy Water, near Ballina, fell a prey to their deſtructive rage. This was a colony brought there by ſir Arthur Gore, from the north, near one hundred years ago; and from their preſerving their primitive manners and dialect, and not holding much intercourſe with the common people of the country, they were more odious to the Roman catholicks than the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, and were treated with great ſeverity. They were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Albanaugh.*

The treatment which Mr. Little, vicar of Lackan, met with from theſe ſavages, deſerves particular notice: This gentleman reſided conſtantly at his glebe-houſe, and a great part of his time was employed in enquiring into, and relieving the wants of his poor pariſhioners, of every religious perſuaſion. He applied himſelf very much to the ſtudy of phyſick, and went to no ſmall expence in purchaſing medicine for their relief, which he beſtowed liberally on them. The Roman catholicks (who, from their numbers and poverty, were moſt likely to be the objects of his bounty) ſoon forgot the kind offices conferred on them, and requited his benevolence with unrelenting cruelty. Though he and Mrs. Little were in a very feeble and declining ſtate of health, they forced them from their houſe without a horſe to carry them, and ſcarcely clothes to cover them, and then plundered them of every thing worth taking, wantonly deſtroying a valuable library, and every other article which they could find no uſe for; and joined to all this, they demoliſhed his church.

The reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a gentleman of elegant taſte and extenſive learning, and an active and intelligent magiſtrate, narrowly eſcaped

* This is much of the ſame import with Saſſinagh, which ſignifies equally proteſtant and Engliſhman; but alludes more particularly to the Scotch.

eſcaped from that town with ſome more loyaliſts; and after having paſſed through a country infeſted by banditti, who were roaming in queſt of proteſtants,§ and after much peril and difficulty, arrived at Seaview, the ſeat of Mr. Hillas, in the county of Sligo. On his arrival there, ſome of the popiſh ſervants of Mrs. Hillas informed her, that ſhe would run a great riſk of having her houſe demoliſhed by harbouring a proteſtant clergyman.

At length, the event ſo eagerly wiſhed for by the Mayo and Sligo rebels arrived, for on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, 1798, three French frigates appeared in the bay of Killala,* a ſmall town in the county of Mayo, which is the reſidence of the biſhop; and as they had Engliſh colours, Meſſrs. Edwin and Arthur Stock, the biſhop's ſons, and Mr. James Rutledge, the port ſurveyor, were tempted to viſit them, and were not undeceived, till they were made priſoners.

As the biſhop held a viſitation at that time, and the town afforded but very bad accommodation for ſtrangers, his lordſhip had a very numerous company in his houſe. Soon after dinner, a meſſenger arrived in the utmoſt conſternation, to announce that three hundred French troops had landed about a mile from the town, and were marching towards it.

Two carabineer officers, who dined there, rode off inſtantly to their quarters at Ballina, to convey intelligence of their landing, and to tranſmit it to Caſtlebar.

The prince of Wales's ſencibles, and the yeomen of the town, in all about fifty, reſiſted them for ſome time; but as they would ſoon have been overpowered by the great ſuperiority of numbers, they retired into the caſtle,† but not until Mr. Kirkwood, who commanded the yeomanry, after ſtanding many ſhots, had fallen into their hands, and two of his corps had been killed.

The reverend doctor Elliſon of Caſtlebar, one of the biſhop's gueſts, with great gallantry, appeared in the ranks, with a muſket, and received a wound in the heel from a ſpent ball.

Mr. Edwin Stock, and many other priſoners, appeared at the gate, following general Humbert. The enemy entered the court yard of the caſtle.

§ This practice prevailed as much in Mayo and Sligo as in Wexford.

* Plate X. 3.

† The biſhop's palace is ſo called.

caſtle, and made priſoners captain Cills and a party of the prince of Wales's fencibles, but not without a very ſpirited reſiſtance on the part of the captain, who wounded, in two places, the officer who led them on, and then ſhut the gate. After having entered the yard, they called for the biſhop; and on his lordſhip's appearing, the general declared, that he came to give them liberty, and to free them from the Engliſh yoke.

They put in requiſition all his lordſhip's horſes, and ſome of his cows and ſheep, ſaying, at the ſame time, that he ſhould be paid for them by the Iriſh directory, which would be immediately eſtabliſhed in Connaught.

The French officers gave the following account of the expedition: That about eighteen days before, one thouſand five hundred men, ſome of whom had ſerved under Buonaparte in Italy, the reſt had been of the army of the Rhine, embarked on board three frigates at Rochelle, and of a very dark night, eluded (beyond their expectation) the vigilance of the Engliſh fleet, which was cloſe behind them. Two of them had forty-four guns, eighteen pounders; the other thirty-eight guns, twelve pounders. They ſaid alſo, that they brought nine pieces of cannon, and arms for one hundred thouſand men; but this was a French gaſconade, as they had arms only for five thouſand five hundred men, and but two four-pounders. The meager perſons, and the wan and ſallow countenances of theſe troops, whoſe numbers did not exceed one thouſand and ſixty rank and file, and ſeventy officers, ſtrongly indicated the ſevere hardſhips which they muſt have undergone.

They hoiſted a green flag in front of the caſtle, with the Iriſh words, "Erin go bragh!" inſcribed on it, which ſignifies in Engliſh, "Ireland for ever!" and they invited the people to join them, having aſſured them, that they would enjoy freedom and happineſs by doing ſo.

The firſt day they paſſed in landing their arms and ammunition; the ſecond in clothing and arming the natives, of whom great multitudes flocked to their ſtandard, and in granting commiſſions to Iriſh officers.

Every perſon endued with any degree of wiſdom and virtue muſt lament the ſtate of the popiſh multitude, who were ſo perverted in principle, and blinded by fanaticiſm, as to join a ferocious foreign enemy againſt their king and country; though the paucity of their numbers precluded the moſt diſtant hope of being able, with their aſſiſtance, to ſubvert the government; and it is aſtoniſhing that their clergy, who had more improved

proved intellects, ſhould have incited and ſtimulated them to do ſo, as it muſt have terminated in their inevitable deſtruction.

General Humbert, commander in chief, ſent captain Cills and the prince of Wales's fencibles on board ſhip, and detained the yeomen two days, but afterwards liberated the latter on their parole, having on all occaſions made a ſtriking difference between the native Iriſh and the Engliſh, from a ſuppoſition, that the former without diſtinction hated the latter, and wiſhed to ſeparate Ireland from England.

The arms taken from the fencibles were delivered to the rebels, who ſaid, on receiving them, that they would kill every Engliſhman and orangeman in Ireland.

General Humbert told the biſhop, that the object of this invaſion was, to reſcue Ireland from the tyranny of England, and to give her a free conſtitution, under the protection of France, and that he had not a doubt but that it would be accompliſhed in the ſpace of one month, as another very powerful armament would ſoon arrive from France, to ſecond his operations.

He informed his lordſhip, that a directory would ſhortly be eſtabliſhed in Connaught, and ſaid, that he ſhould be glad to avail himſelf of his lordſhip's talents and conſequence, to preſide over that important department; but he excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that he was bound to the king by repeated oaths of allegiance, which he could by no means think of violating.

General Humbert deſired the biſhop to iſſue his edict, to have all the horſes and cars in the country collected, to convey his cannon, ammunition and baggage to Caſtlebar. His lordſhip aſſured him, that he was but a ſhort time reſident in the country, and that he had not ſufficient power and authority to effectuate his deſires, but that he would do his utmoſt to ſerve him.

Next morning, Humbert finding that no cars or horſes had been procured, became furious, uttered a torrent of vulgar abuſe, preſented a piſtol at the biſhop's eldeſt ſon, and declared he would puniſh his lordſhip's diſobedience, by ſending him to France; and accordingly he ſent him off towards the ſhore, under a corporal's guard. When he had advanced about half a mile, the general ſent an expreſs on horſeback to recal him,

and

and at his return, he made him an apology, and pleaded neceſſity for what he had done.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, a ſmall detachment of the French marched from Killala to Ballina, but meeting with a more ſpirited oppoſition than they expected, from a party of the carabineers and yeomen infantry, commanded by major Kerr, they returned the ſame day.

In the evening, major Kerr having received conſiderable reinforcements, advanced towards Killala, but was obliged to retire, after an unſucceſsful ſkirmiſh, in which two dragoons were wounded, one mortally; and the reverend Mr. Forteſcue, rector of Ballina, and nephew of the earl of Clermont, received a ball in his groin, of which he died in a few days, in excruciating pain.

In one point, the Iriſh rebels were very much diſappointed, for they imagined that the invaders were to commence their career with the ſlaughter of the proteſtants, and the deſtruction of their property; that the popiſh religion was to be eſtabliſhed with the utmoſt ſplendor, on the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed church; and that the eſtates which had been forfeited in former rebellions, were to be reſtored to the old Iriſh families. But their aſtoniſhment was great, on being informed by the French, that their object was to give them a new conſtitution ſimilar to that of France; that they would not ſuffer any perſon to be perſecuted for religious opinions; and as they conſidered both religions as ridiculous and abſurd, they laughed at thoſe who contended about them.

On Sunday the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, the main body marched towards Ballina, with a prodigious number of the native Iriſh, whom they had armed and clothed; but they left behind them two hundred privates, and ſix officers, for the purpoſe, as the general ſaid, to protect the proteſtant inhabitants from the ſanguinary ſpirit of the popiſh multitude; but it is preſumed they had alſo another object in contemplation, that of guarding a large quantity of ammunition, which they left at Killala, and of ſecuring a retreat. They took five hoſtages with them, of whom Mr. Edwin Stock, the biſhop's ſon, and the reverend Mr. Nickſon, were two.

When the French approached Ballina, they blindfolded the hoſtages, and led them to the houſe of colonel King, in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe

courſe of pikemen, who inſulted and reproached them as hereticks in the moſt opprobrious language. They paſſed the night under the protection of four Frenchmen, but were expoſed to the invectives of ſome hundreds of the rebels, who threatened to force the guard, and put them to death.

As their horſes could not be found next day, general Humbert at his departure permitted them to return.

On ſetting out for Caſtlebar, he left one Truc, a French officer, of a ſavage diſpoſition and vulgar manners, to keep poſſeſſion of Ballina.

Our troops, before they left that town, hanged a man of the name of Walſh, whom they found recruiting for the French, a commiſſion from whom they found in his pocket. This was Walſh the younger, who was charged at Sligo, before general Taylor, of treaſonable practices, but whom he liberated in conſequence of the excellent character given of him by ſome magiſtrates and others.

The French officers having found his body ſuſpended when they entered the town, each of them gave it the fraternal embrace, and bedewed it with tears of ſympathetic civiſm; and after having expoſed it ſome time in the ſtreet, to excite the indignation of the populace againſt the loyaliſts, it was carried to the Romiſh chapel, where it lay in ſtate with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been the greateſt hero or patriot of the age.

On the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, Mr. Richard Burke was brought a priſoner from Ballina, where he had been haranguing the populace, and inciting them to murder the proteſtants, which they had been but too well inclined to do before.

The French were very much aſtoniſhed at finding that no proteſtants would join them; for not a ſingle perſon in the whole country of the eſtabliſhed church could be found to do ſo, except two drunken vagabonds at Killala, who in reality were deſtitute of all religious principle, though they paſſed for proteſtants; and they went through the ceremony of conforming to popery, and were baptized, thinking that it would recommend them to the French.

The biſhop might have made his eſcape before the French arrived at his palace, but with laudable fortitude he reſolved on remaining, by which he

materially aſſiſted the French officers in maintaining ſocial order, and in preſerving the lives and properties of the proteſtant inhabitants.

The popiſh prieſts very ſoon diſplayed an ardent zeal to promote the intereſt of the French. Father Thomas Munnelly lived in a place called the Backs, where he officiated as curate in a pariſh which belongs to the popiſh biſhop doctor Bellew: Soon after the invaſion he repaired to Killala, and offered his ſervices to the French, who gladly received them, well knowing the unbounded influence of the prieſts over the popiſh rabble.

He was employed in carrying them recruits, in equipping them with arms and clothes, and in ſearching for orangemen, as the proteſtants were indiſcriminately called. Having heard that Mr. Knox of Bartra, brother to counſellor Francis Knox, a gentleman of good property, had ſtill continued to defend his houſe, he voluntarily offered his ſervice to viſit him, and to carry him a priſoner to the French. His offer having been accepted, he put himſelf at the head of a party of armed rebels, marched to Bartra, entered it by ſurpriſe, and with a piſtol in his hand, forgetful of his allegiance, and of the ſacredneſs and reſpectability of the ſacerdotal character, he deſcended to the meanneſs of a common robber, and obliged Mr. Knox to deliver his purſe, conſiſting of a few guineas, and then conveyed him, tied, as a priſoner, to the quarters of his new allies.

This villain defrauded the gallows of its due, for, after abſconding ſome time, he ſurrendered himſelf under the proclamation, and has been tranſported with many culprits of notoriety.

Father Sweeny lived near Weſtport, in the county of Mayo, and enrolled himſelf in the ſervice of the French, ſoon after they landed. He repaired to the biſhop's palace, and though uninvited, ſtationed himſelf there at bed and board, ſuppoſing that his new allies would be deſirous of availing themſelves of his influence over the popiſh rabble.

He ſaid to the French officers, "As every thing belonging to the proteſtants will be confiſcated, I ſhould be obliged to monſieur Charoſt, if he would let me have the biſhop's library, as I am fond of reading;" but Charoſt turning from him with contempt, ſaid, "The biſhop's library is as much his own now as ever it was."

This man took uncommon pains to prevail on the pariſhioners of Mr. Conway, a loyal prieſt, in the neighbourhood of Ballina, to take a part in the rebellion, in which he was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the other, who

who conſtantly preached up the duties they owed their king and country, in which he had conſiderable ſucceſs.

Sweeny was apprehended and tried by a court-martial at Caſtlebar, where he was convicted on the moſt unqueſtionable evidence; and the teſtimony of the before-mentioned loyal prieſt tended much to bring him to the ſhameful and well merited death which he there ſuffered, having been hanged for his crimes.

From the very great contempt which the French ſhewed for the bigotry of the common Iriſh papiſts, and the ſtrong oppoſition which they gave to their deſire of maſſacring and plundering proteſtants, it is aſtoniſhing that they flocked to them in ſuch numbers. The officers were filled with amazement on hearing the Iriſh recruits ſay, when they offered their ſervice, that they came to take arms for France and the bleſſed Virgin.

It is aſtoniſhing alſo, that the prieſts ſhould have been ſo zealous for them, as they manifeſted the moſt ſtriking diſlike, mingled with contempt, towards them; though common policy required that they ſhould uſe every art to conciliate them, as they had unbounded influence over their flocks; and as many of them had a ſmattering of French, they ſerved them as interpreters.

Monſieur Charoſt ſaid, "That they had juſt driven the pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him ſo ſuddenly in Ireland."

James Conroy, pariſh prieſt of Adergool, in the barony of Tyrawly and county of Mayo, a few weeks before the invaſion of the French, took the oath of allegiance, in his own chapel, and in the preſence of ſome hundreds of his flock, who followed his example; and he exhorted them from the altar, to be loyal to the king and obedient to the laws, in a long ſpeech, conceived in ſuch forcible language, that the magiſtrate, who adminiſtered the oath, was convinced of his ſincerity; and yet, in violation of it, he repaired to Killala, which was twenty miles diſtant, as ſoon as the French landed there, embarked warmly in their intereſt, and was the firſt perſon who ſhewed them the practicability of marching to Caſtlebar, by Barnageehy, inſtead of the uſual road by Foxford.*

As his houſe was in their route, he entertained the French and rebel officers: He converted his chapel into a guard-houſe for them, his man-

* See Plate X. 5.

ſion was their banqueting-houſe, and the oxen which they took from his neighbours were ſlaughtered in one of his out-offices.

It has been ſince diſcovered, that a meſſenger had been diſpatched to general Hutchinſon, to inform him that the French were advancing towards Caſtlebar, by Croſſmalina, inſtead of Foxford; but Conroy and his coadjutor ſtopped him, made him ſwear the united Iriſhmen's oath, and enrolled him in the rebel ranks. His name was William Burke. He was afterwards hanged at Caſtlebar. The ſtopping him was the occaſion of many calamities to this kingdom.

Conroy, conſcious of his guilt, and fearing that he ſhould be arreſted, kept guards conſtantly round his houſe, after the arrival of our troops at Killala; but a party detached by general Trench ſurpriſed his vidette, killed two of them, wounded a third, and took the fourth priſoner. They were all in French arms and uniforms. They found in his houſe a French carabine, and ſome cartridges; a printed proclamation of the French, offering liberty to the people of Ireland; and the entire correſpondence which had taken place between him and one Maguire of Croſsmalina,* a noted rebel leader.

He was hanged at Caſtlebar, without either confeſſing or denying his guilt; and though he was ſure of eternal ſalvation for having oppoſed an heretical ſtate in ſupport of the true faith, he had ſcarce ſufficient ſtrength to aſcend the fatal ſtep.

On the firſt of September, lieutenant-colonel Charoſt received orders from general Humbert, to ſend off all the French troops to Caſtlebar, but that he ſhould remain at Killala, as commander of it, with another French officer of the name of Ponſon.

This intelligence filled all the proteſtants with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions, leſt the authority of the commandant would not be ſufficient to protect them from that ſanguinary ſpirit which the lower claſs of people had ſo often manifeſted; and they dreaded the fate of the proteſtant ſufferers at Wexford-bridge, Vinegar-hill, and Scullabogue.

Charoſt, a man of ſenſe and honour, and naturally benevolent, ſhewed great horror at the bigotry of the Romaniſts, ſympathized moſt tenderly with the proteſtants, and uſed the moſt unremitted exertions to protect them from its baneful effects. He had two hundred Iriſh recruits under his

* See Plate X. 4.

his command, but the envenomed hatred which they had already ſhewn towards all loyal ſubjects proved, that they could not place much reliance on their protection. The commandant, wiſhing to adopt meaſures for ſecuring the lives and property of the inhabitants of the town and the adjacent country againſt robbers, invited them without any diſtinction of religion or party, to accept of arms, but on condition that they would return them when called for. The inhabitants of the town, and eſpecially the proteſtants, embraced the offer with alacrity, and the diſtribution took place on the evening of September the firſt.

The rebels objected ſtrongly againſt ſupplying the proteſtants with arms, as they ſaid that they would turn them againſt the French and their allies, as ſoon as an Engliſh army appeared; and two of their officers, of the name of Mulheeran and Maguire, who were ſpokeſmen on the occaſion, became clamorous and vehement, the former having manifeſted his diſguſt ſo much as to lay down his arms.

The proteſtants, intimidated by the menaces of the rebel ſoldiers, reſolved to ſurrender their arms, and to reſt their defence on the fidelity of the Iriſh recruits.

As the rebels continued their murmurs and complaints, and harraſſed the proteſtants with domiciliary viſits, in ſearch of arms, the commandant, at the inſtance of the latter, iſſued a proclamation, requiring that no perſon ſhould appear in arms, except recruits for the French ſervice.

In addition to the terror of being deprived of their arms, the proteſtants were very much alarmed at the accounts which were conſtantly received of depredations committed on the houſes of perſons of the eſtabliſhed church, in all the adjacent country. Every night ſome houſe was plundered; and ſcarce an hour paſſed, in which the biſhop was not importuned to redreſs ſome grievance, or to obtain from the commandant protection for ſome houſe againſt the rapacity of banditti.

Deal Caſtle, the elegant ſeat of lord Tyrawly, was made a perfect wreck of. The commandant, therefore, iſſued a proclamation for dividing the country into departments, and appointed a civil magiſtrate, aided by a certain number of rebel ſoldiers over each. Mr. James Devitt, a Roman catholick tradeſman, of good ſenſe and moderation, was appointed to preſide over the town, and had one hundred and fifty men under his command.

About

About twenty men mounted guard in the caſtle, which was conſidered as the head-quarters of the allied army. This inſtitution afforded in ſome degree peace and protection to the town: but the moſt ſhocking depredations continued to be committed on the houſes of proteſtants in all the adjacent country, by thoſe very rebel guards who had been appointed to protect them.

This is not ſurpriſing, as the rebels were elate on the arrival of the French, with the hope of being allowed to indulge their ſanguinary rage againſt proteſtants, and to plunder their property with impunity; and they were much vexed and diſappointed when it was given out in publick orders, that any depredations committed on private property ſhould be puniſhed with death; and the rebel leaders ſubmitted to ſuch orders with the utmoſt reluctance, for they were in many inſtances little better in point of moral character than the ſemi-barbarous rabble whom they headed.

At Ballina, and its vicinity, any miſcreant who could influence forty or fifty ruffians, became captain of a company of pikemen, and obtained a commiſſion from Truc the commandant; and the firſt act by which he ſignalized himſelf was, by dragging in orangemen, by which they meant proteſtants, and by plundering their houſes.

Before I proceed to deſcribe the operations of the main body of the French army at Caſtlebar, I will give the reader a ſketch of the characters of ſome of the moſt conſpicuous rebel leaders in the neighbourhood of Ballina and Killala.

Henry O'Keon, was the ſon of a cow-herd of lord Tyrawly, and was born at Kilcomin, within three miles of the latter. Having acquired a ſmattering of Latin at a hedge ſchool, he repaired to Nantz in France, where he ſtudied divinity, and received holy orders, in the year 1788.* On the abolition of his order in France, he enliſted in the ſervice as a private ſoldier, and was gradually advanced to the rank of a captain of grenadiers.†

The following commiſſion found among his papers, proves that he came as an interpreter to the French, and that their expedition was intended for the place where they landed:

" Army

* His teſtimonium was found among his papers and produced on his trial.

† His commiſſion was alſo produced.

" Army of expedition. } Liberty! - - - - Equality!

" General Humbert, on account of the civiſm of citizen Henry O'Keon, has choſen him to be employed in quality of an interpreter, and he ſhall be conſidered amongſt the number of the ſtaff. Citizen O'Keon will embark on board the Franchiſe frigate, with adjutant-general Fontaine, and ſhall be admitted in the number of the ſtaff of general Humbert, commander in chief of the expedition.

" HUMBERT."

O'Keon, well knowing the ſuperſtitious credulity and the fanaticiſm of the popiſh multitude, aſſembled a vaſt concourſe of them in the ſtreet of Ballina, and having mounted the roſtrum, he related the following ſtory to them in his native tongue, which he ſpoke better than French or Engliſh: " That he dreamt one night in France, that the virgin Mary viſited him, and informed him that her votaries in Ireland were ſuffering the moſt grievous perſecution, and ſhe recommended to him to go to their relief. As he regarded it merely as an idle dream, ſhe made him a ſecond viſit, and bemoaned, in the moſt doleful accents, the ſtate of her friends in Ireland, and repeated her former advice; but as he ſhewed no regard to it, ſhe made him a third viſit, and gave him a violent box in the ear. Convinced by this that her Holineſs was ſerious, he repaired to the French directory, and perſuaded them to undertake this expedition; and he aſſured them that there could not be a doubt of its ſucceſs, as it was undertaken by the advice, and under the ſanction of the bleſſed virgin." The beſotted multitude purſuaded of the truth of what he ſaid, teſtified their joy and their approbation of it by vociferous acclamation.

O'Keon was humane, having upon all occaſions oppoſed the blood-thirſty diſpoſition of the popiſh multitude.

Father Prendergaſt, lived near Weſtport, and was of the order of mendicant friars who ſupport themſelves by the voluntary donations of ſuch perſons in their neighbourhood as can afford to exerciſe acts of liberality; but he, like many others of his order, extorted very large contributions from the bigotted herd of papiſts, who have an extraordinary ſuperſtitious reverence for their ſacerdotal guides of every deſcription.

Such

Such was father Prendergaſt, a ſtout, ſturdy, well fed prieſt, who battened on the fat of the land, Epicuri de grege porcus, without giving himſelf any trouble about his ſpiritual concerns, except when he could turn them to profit.

The moſt fruitful ſource of lucre which his vocation afforded him, was the ſale of ſcapulars, of which he often ſold a baſket at fairs or patrons.

He alſo dealt in charms and prophecies. One of the former, of which I give the reader a copy, was found on the perſon of one Prendergaſt, a farmer, who obtained it from this holy friar in the year 1798, by a very reputable magiſtrate in the county of Mayo, near Weſtport. I have given one of them found on a rebel in the county of Wexford, and a ſimilar piece of ſuperſtitious trumpery is to be found in doctor Bernard's hiſtory of the ſiege of Drogheda, written in the laſt century.

" Jeſus I. H. S. Maria
" Truſt 4 Thee."

" This is meaſured of the wounds of the ſide of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was brought from Conſtantinople unto the emperor Charles, within a gold cheſt, as a relief moſt precious to that effect, that no evil or any thing might take him who reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be hurted by any tempeſt, fire, water, knife, ſword, lance, or bullet; neither the devil ſhall hurt him. He ſhall be victorious and never die an untimely death, and it ſhall be a ſure ſafety to women with child. Amen, ſo be it." To Pat. Prendergaſt.

As ſoon as the French landed, father Prendergaſt attached himſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner to them, and was very ſucceſsful in promoting their intereſt, from the great influence he had over the lower claſs of people. When the king's troops again took poſſeſſion of the country, he, with many others, fled to the mountains, where for ſome months he endured much from want, anxiety and diſeaſe.

A party of the king's troops, who went in ſearch of a banditti which infeſted the country, found this holy friar a moſt miſerable inſtance of the uncertainty of human affairs, lying in a wretched hut, almoſt conſumed by that moſt dreadful and loathſome diſorder called morbus pediculoſus,* of which

* The louſy diſorder.

which he died ſoon after; and ſuch were the putrid effluvia which iſſued from his body, that it was both dangerous and offenſive to approach it for the purpoſe of interring it.

Father Owen Cowley was the ſon of a poor peaſant, who lived in the pariſh of Caſtleconnor, and county of Sligo, within about four miles of Ballina. At a hedge-ſchool he acquired a competent ſhare of Latin to read the maſs, and received holy orders, having been ſanctioned by the impoſition of doctor Bellew's hands. One of the crimes charged againſt Jeroboam was, "That he made of the loweſt of the people prieſts of the high places: Whoſoever would, he conſecrated him, and he became one of the prieſts of the high places. And this became ſin unto the houſe of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and to deſtroy it from the face of the earth."*

The ſame practice prevails among the Roman catholick biſhops of Ireland, as they commonly recruit from the loweſt claſs of the people, to fill the vacancies in the eccleſiaſtical ranks; and when ſuch perſons are ſelected to preach the goſpel, it is not ſurpriſing that vice and immorality are ſo prevalent, or that the popiſh clergy are found at the bottom of plots and conſpiracies, and that many of them are the moſt active incendiaries, and foremoſt in the ranks of rebellion.

Father Cowley having finiſhed his Iriſh education, repaired to France, to complete himſelf in humanity and divinity.

When the French republicans were exerciſing a cruel and ſanguinary ſpirit againſt miniſters of the goſpel, he retired to his native country; and yet ſuch was his diſaffection to a proteſtant king, and a proteſtant ſtate, that he offered his ſervices to thoſe very republicans, though they were the avowed enemies of chriſtianity, as ſoon as they landed in Ireland.

Truc, the French commandant of Ballina, employed him as an interpreter, an office which he abuſed very much, having poiſoned his mind againſt the proteſtants, whom he repreſented as peſtilent hereticks, and as enemies to French liberty; and he aſſured him, that their complete extirpation was eſſentially neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of the new conſtitution offered by France.

Truc, though ſavage and ferocious, refuſed to accede to his propoſal, from motives of policy; but Cowley having repreſented, that they were conſtantly conveying ſecret intelligence to the king's

* 1 Kings xiii. 33, 34.

troops, he obtained permiſſion to arreſt and impriſon them. He, therefore, in imitation of the Wexford rebels, ſent out gangs of banditti, to ſearch the country for proteſtants, and they fulfilled the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of their ſavage employer; as they ſeized a great many perſons of the eſtabliſhed church, and committed them to the houſe of the honourable colonel King at Ballina, where father Cowley daily vilified and inſulted them as hereticks, and denounced death againſt them in various terrifick forms.

At one time, he was heard to declare that he would burn them alive in a kiln; another time with tar barrels; and when he deſpaired of procuring them, he ſaid, that his purpoſe could be effected by tying flax round their bodies, and by ſetting fire to it. Death was preſented to their imaginations another time by the ruthleſs pikemen, of whom ſome thouſands daily paſſed by the windows of the houſe where they were confined. This villain had the temerity to inform the rebels (who were panting for the blood of the proteſtants) that he had procured them permiſſion to aſſaſſinate them; and his diabolical deſign would probably have been carried into execution that night, but for the interference of Mr. Barrett, ſon of doctor Barrett, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel; and his diſcovery and communication of it to Truc was near proving fatal to him; for the pikemen, indignant at their diſappointment, in not being allowed to riot in the blood of their heretical enemies, attempted to wreak their vengeance on Barrett's head, from which the ſpirit and activity of his horſe alone preſerved him, when ſurrounded by a wood of pikes.

His addreſs to the priſoners was often in theſe words: "Ye damnable hereticks—ye ſcum of hell—ye breed of the devil—your time is but ſhort—ye have but this night to live, and to-morrow ye ſhall ſuffer for your crimes."

This happened in the time of tranquillity, when the country was in the hands of the French, without interruption; but in the hour of danger his ſanguinary rage againſt them did not abate, for when the rebels were ordered to march towards Coloony to reinforce the French, he ſolicited and obtained permiſſion to march the proteſtants with them, under pretext that they would eſcape for want of guards, but in reality with an intention of having them cut off. Thus ſurrounded by a numerous body of pikemen, theſe unfortunate people were marched off thirty miles, many

of

of them barefoot, and almoſt naked, as the rebels when they arreſted them, ſtripped them of their clothes, after the example of their Wexford friends.

During the engagement at Coloony, the priſoners were ſtationed near the church, expecting to be put to death if the king's troops were victorious; but after the battle, the guards being engaged in plundering and revelling, the priſoners made their eſcape, but were afterwards taken and reconducted to their former priſon.

Though this wretch eſcaped the gallows, he ſuffered a more ſevere and painful death. Having wandered about the mountains for ſome months, ſuffering all the miſeries of hunger, thirſt, watching, and fear, his friends, formed a ſubterraneous cavern for him, under a corn field, of which the aperture was covered with a large ſtone, ſo as to elude the obſervation of his purſuers, who often paſſed cloſe to it. His proviſions were let down to him by a rope. At laſt, he was found dead in his den, and his death was imputed to ſuffocation from coals, which his friends ſupplied him with, to correct the humidity of his cavern. His funeral obſequies were performed at midnight by a number of prieſts, who, it is ſaid, were ordered to attend them, by doctor Bellew, the popiſh biſhop. I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XXI 7, for a proof of the brutal treatment which ſome of the priſoners received from this ferocious monſter.

General Bellew was deſcended from an antient and reſpectable family in the county of Galway, and was nearly allied to ſir Patrick Bellew.

He was brother to doctor Bellew, Roman catholick biſhop of Killala, and when that gentleman was at Rome, ſtudying divinity, their father ſent out his ſecond ſon Matthew, to have him educated for the prieſthood under his brother. He ſubmitted for ſome years, though reluctantly, to the courſe of ſtudy neceſſary to qualify him for the paſtoral office; but being of a lively volatile diſpoſition, and having formed an acquaintance at Rome with ſome Auſtrian officers, who encouraged him to join them, he entered into the Imperial ſervice, and was ſoon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant; but not finding ſufficient employment for the activity of his mind and body at that time in Germany, he entered into the Ruſſian ſervice, where he found ſufficient occupation for

the energies of both, in the bloody war which broke out between the Ruſſians and Turks. Here his courage and conduct were ſo conſpicuous, that he was ſoon advanced to the rank of major in a regiment of infantry. His rapid career in military fame, of which he ever ſeemed immoderately fond, was ſuddenly checked by an unforeſeen accident.

At the ſiege of Iſmail the enemy ſprung a mine, which blew up part of the works, and buried in their ruins our unfortunate hero and a great many Ruſſian ſoldiers. Happy had he been, to have been numbered with the dead, and to have finiſhed his life like a ſoldier, as he had begun it! but Providence reſerved him for a more ignominious fate, and exemplified in him the uncertainty of human affairs. In his early days, he fought for glory in a foreign land, and fought with courage the battles of alien princes. In his maturer years, he incurred diſgrace and infamy at home, and took up arms againſt his lawful ſovereign and his native country. When extricated from the ruins, he had but few ſymptoms of life: He languiſhed a long time under his wounds, and his intellects were ſo much impaired, that he was found unfit for ſervice. It was thought adviſable then to give him a long leave of abſence, and to let him return to his friends, in hopes that tranquillity and his native air would reſtore him.

Freſh misfortunes awaited him on his return to Ireland. As he had no fortune, he lived with his friends and his brother, on whom he had great dependence; but when the gloſs of novelty wore away, they grew tired of him, and manifeſted by their conduct that they conſidered him a troubleſome and unwelcome gueſt. This drove him into low company, and a habit which he had acquired of drinking ſpirits, encreaſed his derangement, and made him diſagreeable and offenſive. His brother having quarrelled with him, refuſed to admit him into his houſe, and uſed to billet him among his prieſts, month about; a ſituation very diſagreeable to him, as he diſliked the principles, and was diſguſted with the ignorance and vulgarity of his hoſts, which in his gayer hours were a ſubject of merriment and ridicule to him. By the death of an uncle, he became entitled to 600 l. which he frequently ſolicited, to carry him back to Ruſſia; but, notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing ſolicitations, he could not obtain it from his brother, who tranſacted the affairs of the deceaſed. He was frequently invited to the tables of the genteel and reſpectable

reſpectable families at Ballina, particularly by the reverend Mr. Neligan, who was much entertained with the narrative of his adventures; but from the want of clothes and cleanlineſs, and the filth and ſqualidneſs of his perſon, he ſoon became unfit for ſociety.

Being in this ſtate of miſery and wretchedneſs on the arrival of the French, he had not firmneſs and fortitude enough to reſiſt the temptations which they offered him to enter into their ſervice. His firſt offer, however, was to his king and country; and juſt as the enemy were about to enter Ballina, he earneſtly entreated Mr. Neligan and Mr. Weſt to ſupply him with arms and a horſe, declaring, that he was ready to accompany them and to ſhare their fortune. With this requeſt, it was impoſſible at that time to comply: He was left then with no other reſource, but to fly or to join the enemy, and he embraced the latter. The French were happy to find a man who could ſpeak their language well, and who was likely to be uſeful to them, from his long experience in the military line; they therefore conferred on him the rank and dignity of general in the army of the Iriſh republick. But as he continued to give way to his former habits of diſſipation and drunkenneſs, they found him rather an incumbrance than a benefit.

Incenſed againſt his brother for the indignities and ſlights which he had formerly received from him, he plundered his houſe of whatever he wanted; but the doctor having been appointed by the French commandant preſident of the municipal government of the town, had intereſt enough to get the general removed and ſtationed at Killala.

Mindful of former kindneſſes conferred on him, he, previous to his departure from Ballina, poſted a notice on the houſe of Mr. Neligan, denouncing vengeance upon any perſon who ſhould moleſt it; but his authority ceaſing with his preſence, the demolition of it ſoon took place.

It was uſual with him to levy ſmall contributions on the people in the neighbourhood, to purchaſe whiſkey and tobacco, of which he was immoderately fond; but in no other inſtance did he offer any violation to the perſons or property of the loyaliſts; and contenting himſelf with the pleaſures ariſing from his glaſs and his pipe, he ſeemed perfectly indifferent about the iſſue of the war.

At the approach of the king's troops to Killala, he refuſed to take up arms, or to march againſt them; though ſurrounded by a hoſt of pikemen.

men. He was taken in the town, tried next day by a court-martial, and hanged. His dejection on his trial was ſuch, that he was incapable of making any rational defence. He was a man of quick lively parts, very ſhrewd in his remarks on men and manners, and had much ſincerity and ingenuouſneſs in his conduct and converſation. He knew the French, Italian, German, and Sclavonian languages well, and ſpoke the firſt three with fluency and accuracy. It is much to be lamented, that a man who might have been a benefit and an ornament to ſociety, ſhould, by a train of misfortunes, to which he was not acceſſary, be reduced to ſuch a ſtate of debaſement, and be finally driven to make ſo ignominious an exit.

Father Mc. Gowán, a fellow of very low extraction, and a noted drunkard, lived at Croſsmalina; but having a diſpute with the Maguire family, who made a conſpicuous figure in the rebellion, he was obliged to change his reſidence. Though deeply concerned in treaſon and rebellion, the loyaliſts could not obtain ſufficient evidence to convict him; but though he eſcaped the gallows, juſtice overtook him in another way. Soon after the ſurrender of the French at Ballynamuck, a report having reached him, that they had made another deſcent, while he was revelling at a chriſtening, he, elate at the pleaſing intelligence, indulged in the joys of Bacchus to ſuch an exceſs, that returning to his own houſe at a late hour of the night, he fell from his horſe, and broke his neck within a few paces of it.

Many circumſtances conſpired to favour the deſcent and the progreſs of the French in the county of Mayo, and to make it difficult for government to oppoſe them with effect. The oaths of allegiance taken by the popiſh clergy and their congregations, like thoſe of Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare, for the purpoſe of impoſing on the government and the magiſtracy, lulled the vigilance and baniſhed the ſuſpicion of both; and the inhabitants of that county were, in appearance, but feebly organized, and did not break out into any open acts of outrage; and therefore but very ſmall parties of the military were quartered in it.

There was a large army ſtationed in Munſter, as an inſurrection was to be apprehended there, and becauſe it was more likely to be invaded by the French than any other part of the kingdom. As the landing of the French in Ireland ſuddenly occaſioned a ſtrong and viſible ſenſation, not only in the diſaffected inhabitants of Dublin, but in thoſe of every county

county which had previouſly ſhewn any ſymptoms of diſloyalty, and as ſtrong indications of an intended inſurrection appeared in them, it would have been very perilous to have marched the troops out of ſuch diſtricts.

Major-general Hutchinſon, who commanded in the province of Connaught, and who, with major-general Trench, was in the town of Galway,* on receiving intelligence of the enemy's deſcent, reſolved on marching towards the counties of Mayo and Sligo, with whatever troops he could collect; but from the ſlender force under his command, this could not be effected without leaving the counties of Leitrim and Roſcommon, notoriouſly diſaffected, liable to inſurrection, and the bridges on the upper part of the Shannon without protection. The troops with which he moved towards Caſtlebar,† were the Kerry militia from Galway, a detachment of the Fraſer fencibles from Tuam,‡ the Kilkenny militia from Loughrea, the Longford from Gort, a detachment of lord Roden's fencible dragoons, four ſix-pounders, and a howitzer from Athenry.‖ Theſe troops were afterwards joined by the ſkeleton of the 6th regiment, about one hundred men, from Galway; which afterwards continued to be garriſoned by a few corps of yeomanry only.

The diſpoſition of the country ſeemed at firſt favourable, which was by no means the caſe in the counties of Leitrim and Roſcommon, Cavan and Weſtmeath, in which there was a conſiderable movement of the people, and the blackſmiths were buſily employed in making pikes.

Brigadier-general Barnet ordered the city of Limerick regiment of militia to march from Athlone§ to Carrick-on-Shannon.**

In the mean time reports were received from general Dundas, who commanded in the county of Kildare, that there were ſtrong apprehenſions that a general inſurrection would take place there, as notices had been circulated by the diſaffected, inciting the people to riſe; and as many of the inhabitants had left their houſes, he was under the neceſſity of detaining part of the reinforcements intended for Connaught.

The marquis of Cornwallis having received intelligence the twenty-fourth of Auguſt of the landing of the French, ordered lieutenant-general Lake to proceed to Galway, to take the command of the troops aſſembling

* Plate X. 10.
† Ibid. 6.
‡ Plate X. 8.
‖ Ibid. 10.
§ Plate X. 9.
** Ibid. 5.

aſſembling in Connaught, his excellency intending in perſon to collect the troops that could be ſpared from Leinſter, at Athlone, or Carrick-on-Shannon, and to act in concert with the other general officers, as circumſtances ſhould require. He arrived at Philipſtown on the twenty-ſixth, with the 100th regiment, the firſt and ſecond battalions of light infantry, the flank companies of the Bucks and Warwick militia, and on the twenty-ſeventh proceeded to Kilbeggan ;* the troops having made a progreſs of forty-four Iriſh miles in two days.

Major-general Hutchinſon arrived at Caſtlebar on the twenty-fifth, and made proper diſpoſitions to receive the enemy. Two roads led from Ballina to Caſtlebar ; one to the eaſt of Loughconn, by Foxford,† a village eleven miles from Caſtlebar, and ſituated on the river Moy, which is broad and deep, and is croſſed by a bridge of many arches. As this is by far the beſt road, general Hutchinſon detached the Kerry regiment, with their battalion guns to defend that paſs ; and brigadier-general Taylor arrived there alſo, with a detachment of regular troops and yeomanry. As there is a very ſtrong paſs, called Barnageehy, on the other road,‡ to the weſt of Loughconn, and as it is far leſs practicable, and therefore much leſs frequented, than the road by Foxford, it was univerſally believed, and it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the French would make their approach by the latter ; and it is moſt certain, that general Humbert, openly and ſedulouſly announced, ſome hours before he marched, that he would proceed by Foxford, intelligence of which was conveyed to generals Hutchinſon and Trench ; and the better to deceive them, he marched part of the road towards Foxford, and then turning ſuddenly to the right, he proceeded by Loughconn, where a narrow paſs, called Barnageehy, through the mountains of Fanogue, is ſo ſtrong by nature, that one company with a battalion gun poſted there, would have checked the progreſs of the French. But for the reaſons which I have aſſigned, generals Hutchinſon and Trench could not have the moſt remote ſuſpicion that the French would advance by that road.

At the hour of three o'clock in the morning, a yeoman who had been viſiting his farm near Barnageehy, arrived, and informed general Trench that he had ſeen a large body of men in blue clothes advancing that way ; on

* Plate I. 7. † Plate X. 4, 5. ‡ Ibid.

on which the general proceeded to reconnoitre, attended by a few dragoons; but when he had advanced about three miles from Caſtlebar, he was fired on by the advanced guard of the French. He then returned with the utmoſt ſpeed, and marched the garriſon to a riſing ground outſide the town, which he had fixed on the preceding day as an alarm poſt, ſhould the enemy advance to attack them. It was on a hill at the north-weſt extremity of the town, running from eaſt to weſt, and commanding a riſing ground oppoſite to it, over which the French muſt neceſſarily paſs, and at the diſtance of about one thouſand yards.

Our line was drawn up in the following order: The Kilkenny militia, the ſkeleton of the 6th regiment of foot, and a ſubaltern's detachment of the prince of Wales's fencibles, formed the firſt line. The Fraſer fencibles, with a ſmall corps of Galway yeomen infantry, formed a ſecond line; but both drawn up in irregular lines, ſo as to occupy the ſummits of the heights they were deſtined to defend. The four companies of the Longford were drawn up in a valley in the rear, and a little on the left of the main body of the Kilkenny. The cavalry, conſiſting of the 1ſt fencibles, and a part of the 6th dragoon guards, were ſtationed in the rear of the firſt line, ſome piquets excepted, who had been previouſly ſent out; and ſome yeomen cavalry, who were poſted in different quarters.

Captain Shortall, who commanded the artillery, took poſt with two curricle guns in front of the firſt line, conſiſting of the 6th infantry and the Kilkenny, who were a little to his right to ſupport that flank; the two battalion guns attached to the Kilkenny militia being on his left, ſeparated by the road, but parallel to him. He left the two other curricle guns in the centre of the town, in an open ſpace, under lieutenant Blundel, of the artillery.

They remained in this ſituation till near eight o'clock, when the enemy appeared in columns, advancing over the riſing ground in front. When the French general viewed our line, he covered his column deep with rebels, dreſſed in French uniforms, to draw the fire on them, and from his own men. A numerous rabble, who were all plunderers, attended them alſo.

When they had nearly gained the ſummit of the hill, a round ſhot from captain Shortall's right gun ſtruck the head of their column, and nearly divided it in two parts. This made them fall back, ſeemingly in confu-

ſion; but in ſome time advancing again, a ſhot from the ſecond gun ſtruck them with the ſame effect as the firſt, with this difference, that the part of the column on the right of where the ſhot entered, ruſhed forward (about fifty yards) to the cover of a houſe, on which the captain found it neceſſary to direct his fire againſt the main body, and ſoon ſucceeded in driving them back. After this the enemy diſappeared for a few minutes, when they advanced a third time in the ſame direction, but endeavouring to deſtroy the effect of the ſhot, by forcing ſome cattle into their front. In this attempt they were alſo fruſtrated, and obliged to retire under cover of the hill. In a ſhort time they were perceived deploying from the centre, which was performed in a quick and maſterly ſtyle, with the files very open. In this manner their line advanced, until it was parallel to (or ſomething before) where their column had been ſo often obliged to retire from. Here it was, that our infantry committed a fatal miſtake, in beginning a fire at ſo great a diſtance, that it could produce no effect, which the enemy imputing to panick, or the want of judgment, ruſhed rapidly forward, to ſome hedges immediately in our front, under cover of which they continued to advance in detached parties, and without preſerving any regular line, and at the ſame time extending their wings with an evident deſign of outflanking us. In this ſituation they did not reſiſt him ſufficiently with their muſketry; and in a very ſhort time after, the detachment, which was poſted for the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting the guns, retired, leaving behind them the gallant major Alcock, of the Kilkenny, who was wounded.

It was ſtill hoped, that they would have rallied in rear of the guns, when they perceived the execution made by the caniſter ſhot; but they ran off; and captain Shortall had only time to fire three rounds, when the enemy ruſhed in on his right, and would certainly have put him and all his men to death, but that it is ſuppoſed their ammunition was expended. While captain Shortall was at the britchin of his gun, he was cloſed by a French officer, who having fired a piſtol at him, and miſſed him, was on the point of drawing his ſword, but the captain knocked him down with his fiſt, and then retreated.

In juſtice to the earls of Ormond and Longford, I think it proper to obſerve, that they did their utmoſt to rally their regiments.

The

The earl of Granard, major Thompſon, captains Chambers and Armſtrong rallied ſome ſoldiers of the Longford, and ſome ſtragglers of other corps, and covered the retreat of our troops, by maintaining, as they retired, a well-directed fire from behind hedges and walls, on the enemy as they advanced. Theſe officers then took poſt on the bridge with their ſmall party and a curricle gun, well ſerved and directed by corporal Gibſon of the Royal Iriſh artillery, and with great gallantry and good judgment defended that paſs for above half an hour againſt the main body of the enemy. At the ſame time, lieutenant Blundell, with the other gun in the ſtreet, uſed the utmoſt exertion to oppoſe them.

The party who defended the bridge, conſiſting of the before-mentioned officers, ſome of the Longford, a few of the Kilkenny and Fraſer's, ſuffered moſt ſeverely, as it was expoſed to a croſs fire, both from the roads leading to it, and from the houſes on each ſide. The men often fell back and were rallied by their officers. At length, moſt of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who worked the gun, having been killed or wounded, it became uſeleſs; and the enemy were able to puſh forward a body of cavalry, whoſe charge was however repulſed by this ſmall party, and two of the foremoſt huſſars were killed in our ranks. By this charge, however, our numbers were much reduced, and having loſt the aſſiſtance of one captain and one ſubaltern, who were deſperately wounded, they were obliged to retreat, after having loſt near one half of their party.

Captain Chambers fell, covered with wounds; and when down, a Frenchman, enraged at the ſpirited defence which he and his ſmall party had made, drove a bayonet into his mouth, and the ſavage rebel women leaped on his body, and yet he ſtill ſurvives; but ſo impaired in his health, being completely exhauſted and debilitated by the number of wounds which he received, and the great effuſion of blood which enſued, as to be but the ſhadow of what he was: But it is to be hoped, that ſome ſubſtantial rewards will one day await that ſignal valour which he diſplayed in the ſervice of his country, and which renders him an honour to it.

Many of the French officers aſſured me, that they never ſaw guns better ſerved or more deſtructive than thoſe of our artillery; and that the action would have terminated in our favour, if the infantry had ſtood their ground and ſupported them for ten minutes longer.

The French approached the new gaol to break it open: It was guarded by a highland Fraſer ſentinel, whom his friends had deſired to retreat with them; but he heroically refuſed to quit his poſt, which was elevated, with ſome ſteps leading to it. He charged and fired five times ſucceſſively, and killed a Frenchman at every ſhot; but before he could charge the ſixth time, they ruſhed on him, beat out his brains, and threw him down the ſteps, and the ſentry box on his body.

A party of French dragoons purſued our retreating army above a mile from the town, and took a piece of cannon, which they were on the point of turning on their rear, but a party of lord Roden's fencibles reſcued the gun, and killed five of them.

A reſpectable inhabitant of Caſtlebar gives the following account of five French ſoldiers who reſided in his houſe, and of ſome other particulars: "When they entered my houſe, I implored them to ſpare the lives of me and my wife: They raiſed us from our knees, and ſaid, "Vivant!" They demanded bread, beef, wine and beer, and by ſupplying them with thoſe articles, as far as my purſe went, I obtained their good will. The rebels who accompanied them at firſt plundered us of various articles; but one day when they reviſited us, I alarmed my foreign inmates, who expelled and chaſtiſed them ſeverely. One of them, by name Philip Sheers, was from Holland; I gave him my watch, but he kindly returned it; another, Bartholomew Baillie, from Paris, was mild, learned, and rather ſilent: He had been a prieſt, but on the overthrow of his order, became a ſoldier: He denied a future exiſtence. One Balliſceau, a Spaniard, was as intrepid as Hannibal: Since the age of fifteen, he had followed the profeſſion of a ſoldier: He had been a priſoner in Pruſſia, in Paris, and in London: He had been confined in a dungeon at Conſtantinople:* He croſſed the Alps with Buonaparte, and fought under him in Italy: His body, head and face were covered with wounds: He was a hard drinker, a great ſwearer, and mocked religion; and yet he was very fond of children, and never entered my apartment without conſtantly enquiring for my wife, who was on the point of lying-in. The fourth was from Rochelle, and the fifth from Toulon.

"As ſoon as the French learned that lord Cornwallis was arrived at Hollymount, which was but fourteen miles off, the Pariſian came to me at

* Taken priſoner when in the Imperial ſervice.

at midnight, and ſaid, with diſtreſs painted in his countenance, "We muſt depart, for the Engliſh, headed by a great general, are approaching."

Every perſon poſſeſſed of moral ſentiment, muſt contemplate with horror mingled with pity, the depraved and degraded ſtate of a people in a revolutionary ſtate like the French; for devoid of every tie, human and divine, accuſtomed to idleneſs, and unacquainted with the arts of induſtry, their only occupation and reſource is to plunder and deſolate the territories of their neighbours.

On the night of the battle at Caſtlebar, bonfires were lighted on all the high grounds near it, particularly towards Weſtport and Newport, for the purpoſe of inciting the common people to riſe, and which it occaſioned moſt effectually. A numerous mob of ſavages entered the former, and plundered and almoſt demoliſhed the houſes of the proteſtants, but did not injure one belonging to a Roman catholick. All the loyaliſts were obliged to fly to Caſtlebar to preſerve their lives.

Though lord Altamont and his family had evinced a very ſtrong partiality for the Roman catholicks, and had on all occaſions given to government the warmeſt aſſurances of their loyalty, their property was not ſpared. They carried off his lordſhip's horſes, cows, and ſheep, drank all the liquor in his cellars, broke ſome of the doors and windows in his houſe, which they would have demoliſhed, but that James Joſeph Mc. Donnell, who, accompanied by a French officer, took poſſeſſion of it as his own manſion. They told lord Altamont's French cook that they would not injure him, as he was a Frenchman and a Roman catholick.

Mount-Browne, the houſe of the honourable Mr. Dennis Browne, his lordſhip's brother, and member for the county, they plundered and deſtroyed beyond precedent, where fire was not uſed; though on all occaſions he had been unremittingly the warm advocate of the Roman catholicks in parliament. They carried off all his horſes, cows, and ſheep, and cut down many ornamental trees in his demeſne, to make pikes. In ſhort, the ſavages plundered the houſes of every proteſtant in the country which was not defended, but in no inſtances the property of a Roman catholick was injured.

The perſons who took the lead in the rebellion in that country, were James Joſeph Mc. Donnell, a barriſter, ſon to Mr. Joſeph Mc. Donnell, a magiſtrate, and a man of good property. The whole country was organized

by

by him. John Gibbons, formerly agent to lord Altamont, and for whom his lordſhip had a very warm friendſhip: He was the chief director of the pike manufactory: He was far advanced in years. Thomas Gibbons, his brother, and Edward Gibbons, his ſon, Valentine Jordan, a very opulent farmer, the reverend Miles Prendergaſt, a friar, all papiſts. Not a ſingle proteſtant was concerned in it.

The entrance of the ſavage natives into Caſtlebar was truly terrifick, as they made dreadful yells, and were as rapacious and deſtructive as a flock of locuſts. They bore flags, having on them a harp without the crown, and the words, "Erin go braugh!"‡

Soon after the French had gained the town, the popiſh ſavages attacked and defiled the church, making obſcene figures on ſome of the pews, and deſtroying others. They were ſo prophane, as to pollute with the greateſt indecency the bible, which they called the devil's book. They urged father Egan, the pariſh prieſt, to ſay high maſs in it, and he conſulted doctor Elliſon on the propriety of doing ſo, but he diſſuaded him from it. They plundered moſt of the proteſtant houſes, and whenever the French endeavoured to reſtrain them, they would ſay, "Sure it is only the houſe of a proteſtant!" ſuppoſing that the French harboured the ſame fanatical hatred againſt that ſect of chriſtians which they did.

Though lord Lucan had been always humane and charitable, and a very good landlord, they made a perfect wreck of his houſe, breaking the chimney pieces, and deſtroying every article which they could not carry off. They ſerved the houſe of the reverend doctor Elliſon, his lordſhip's agent, in the ſame manner, though a gentleman univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed.

Some of the ſavages expreſſed great ſurpriſe and horror at ſeeing ſome of the French eat meat of a Friday; but they treated them with contempt mingled with irony.

They debated in lord Lucan's lawn on maſſacring the proteſtants; but the French officers oppoſed it vehemently, and they were joined by Bartholomew Teeling and Henry O'Kane, who, though papiſts, were free from the ſanguinary ſpirit which actuated the common herd. The latter ſaid, "Gentlemen, when you were in the power of the proteſtants, they did not ſhed your blood; and when your friends were taken in Wexford, moſt

‡ Ireland for ever!

moſt of them were pardoned, and but few were put to death,§ though they were in actual rebellion: You ſhould alſo conſider, that you yourſelves may ſoon be in the power of the government; but if you will maſſacre the proteſtants, put me to death with them."

The French ate the beſt of meat and bread, drank wine, beer and coffee, and ſlept on good beds. They compelled the rebels to eat potatoes, drink whiſkey, and ſleep on ſtraw. They beat and abuſed them like dogs, in the name of liberty, equality, fraternity and unity. A volume would not contain an account of the brutal actions of the rebels; and the women, who were worſe than the men, carried off hides, tallow, beef, cloth and various other articles.

The following ſhort journal of a perſon who travelled from the county of Galway to Caſtlebar, while the French were in poſſeſſion of it, will ſhew the reader how univerſally the ſpirit of diſaffection pervaded the popiſh multitude, and how much their minds were debaſed and perverted by ſuperſtition: "Left Monavea, within ſix miles of Tuam,* the thirtieth of Auguſt, and found the people idling about the ditches, and eager for news reſpecting the ſtate of his majeſty's forces. They rejoiced much at hearing of their defeat at Caſtlebar, and their retreat from it, ſaying, it was quite conſonant to the various prophecies,† importing, that the day was come, when proteſtants would be completely extirpated, and that their property (a long time uſurped by them) would be reſtored to Roman catholicks, who were the only juſt and rightful owners of it; that it was all the work of God, who had enabled a handful of Frenchmen to beat a large army of hereticks.

"When I arrived within five miles of Hollymount,‡ I found the roads much crowded by people who were very inquiſitive about news relative to the army, and of what form pikes ſhould be made. I entered a houſe to refreſh myſelf, and was ſoon after followed by a ſervant of Mr. L——, and the ſteward of Mr. R——, who were united Iriſhmen, and who ſaid that I was a ſpy. They detained me as a priſoner all night. Next morning

§ See a liſt of them in Appendix, No. XXI. 4. * Plate X. 8.

† The popiſh prieſts in moſt places fabricated prophecies, as if made by eminent ſaints ſome centuries before, predicting, that hereticks would be expelled from Ireland, with the aid of the French; and the popiſh rabble really believed that it would be accompliſhed at that time.

‡ Plate X. 7.

ing I arrived at Newbrook, the ſeat of Mr. Bingham, which was completely plundered by his tenants, who carried off and ſlaughtered all his bullocks and ſheep; declaring that none of his heretick family ſhould enjoy any part of his property, which ſhould be given to Roman catholicks, the original and rightful owners of it."

The biſhop of Killala often ſolicited the French to permit doctor Elliſon to go to ſee his family at Caſtlebar, but they would not comply, till they had got poſſeſſion of it; becauſe, from his influence as the pariſh miniſter, and a magiſtrate, he might have injured them materially; but when that event took place, they permitted him to go there, accompanied by monſieur Touſſaint.

The French were on the point of levying a very heavy requiſition in money and proviſions on the town, but the doctor diſſuaded them from it, by aſſuring them that they would alienate thoſe who were attached to them, and rouſe the indignation of the Engliſh government, by any act of ſeverity or oppreſſion. On the whole he acted with ſingular ſpirit and good ſenſe.

While the French were at Caſtlebar, doctor Crump, a popiſh phyſician, went to general Humbert's lodgings, at the head of a numerous party, and implored him to give the Roman catholicks one hour's revenge againſt the proteſtants, for a hundred years of cruelty and oppreſſion. Fifty-three of the Longford militia who were taken priſoners, voluntarily entered into the ſervice of the French; but ſome of the carabineers, and the Galway yeomen, refuſed to do ſo though meſſieurs Teeling and Roche threatened them with inſtant death, unleſs they complied.

A perſon who joined the French at Caſtlebar, gave me the following account of the occurrences there: "On my arrival I was introduced to Teeling, who conducted and preſented me to general Humbert, who was very inquiſitive. Having informed him that I had been recently in Dublin, and had attended the trials of M'Cann, Byrne, Bond and the Sheares', he aſked me many queſtions relative to them, and invited me to ſup with him, which I accordingly did, in company with many of his officers. There was a prieſt there of the name of Gannon, whoſe ignorance could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry. He deſired Teeling to make me ſwear whether I was a proteſtant and an orangeman; but on his declining, the prieſt ſwore me. Numbers of people, all Iriſh, were brought in priſoners,

priſoners, under a charge of committing depredations; but they excuſed themſelves, by ſaying that it was only proteſtants that they had plundered.

Michael Gannon, a popiſh prieſt, conſtantly attended general Humbert and his ſtaff, and was active and uſeful to the French. He had been domeſtick chaplain to the duke of Crillon in France, who being killed on the abolition of his order Gannon continued in the ſame capacity to his ducheſs; and he uſed often to boaſt, when he drank freely, that he was curator, not only of her ſoul, but her body. On the extirpation of the prieſthood in France, Gannon narrowly eſcaped by flight, and came to his native country, where he made a moſt fantaſtick appearance, having a large fierce cocked hat, a la militaire, and ſilk clothes made in a curious faſhion, all the property of the late duke. From the window of Humbert's lodgings, he addreſſed a large body of rebels, who were in the ſtreet, in the following words: "That though he wiſhed well to their cauſe, he could not think of taking any military command, but that he would both pray for their ſucceſs, and march in their ranks; and at the ſame time pulling out his oil ſtock,* he told them, that he would heal their wounds with his holy oil."

One Roche, who was an officer in Humbert's army, aſſured a perſon of veracity of my acquaintance, that he was ſworn an united Iriſhman at Paris, by O'Coigly, or Quigly the prieſt, who was hanged at Maidſtone, ſo early as the year 1796.

While the French were at Caſtlebar, Francis French of Cottage, in the county of Mayo, a Roman catholick gentleman, of an antient and reſpectable family, ſent a letter to one Roche, or La Roche, etat major to general Humbert, containing, among others, the following paragraphs: "The enemy are coming forward on both ſides, and intend to put you between two fires; Plunket is ready with two thouſand men whenever he is ordered." La Roche, after reading the letter to Humbert, wrote in anſwer, "That he was ſurpriſed gentlemen ſhould wait for orders to march, knowing they were there; that they ſhould aſſiſt them with as many men, horſes, cars, and as much ammunition and proviſions as they could; and that by the co-operation of the inhabitants they would ſoon be

* What the popiſh prieſts carry their holy oil in.

be able to wreſt Ireland from her uſurpers." Mr. French was hanged. Plunket, to whom I preſume he alluded, was his relation.

Mr. O'Doude, who was of one of the oldeſt families in the county of Mayo, and of the popiſh religion, joined the French, and was taken and hanged after the battle of Ballynamuck, when the French finally ſurrendered.

On the night of the third of September, general Humbert ſent off his baggage and cannon, with part of his troops, towards Sligo, and about ſeven o'clock next morning he ſet out with the remainder, about four hundred in number. The French found their Iriſh recruits ſo prone to deſert, that they placed a guard in their front and their rear as they marched.

The ſame day he ſent doctor Elliſon with eighty priſoners to lord Cornwallis, as they were but an incumbrance to him. The doctor in his way met colonel Crawford, with a detachment of the Hompeſchers, and lord Roden's fencibles. He returned with them, and arrived at Caſtlebar, about nine o'clock at night, and on entering the town, he announced aloud, that lord Cornwallis was coming, and he even beſpoke a bed for his excellency; which intimidated the rebels who were left in the town ſo much, that they fled, and the French officers immediately ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. Soon after they arrived, they ſent for Mr. Moore, whom the French had appointed preſident of Connaught. He was preſſed to inform them of the plans of the French and what route they had taken, but he declared his ignorance of them. On which colonel Crawford ordered one of Hompeſch's dragoons to draw his ſword and cut his head off. Having made ſome flouriſhes over his head, as if they really meant to decapitate him, he ſhrieked and roared, and was in ſuch conſternation from fear, that he produced his commiſſion of preſident, by which he criminated himſelf. He was in a ſtate of intoxication, which alone could account for ſo egregious an act of folly. In extenuation of his conduct, he ſaid, that he waited on the French, and accepted the commiſſion of preſident, merely to preſerve the property of his father, a Roman catholick gentleman, who had an eſtate of 4000 l. a year, in the county of Mayo. The firſt act of his office was to iſſue aſſignats; I give the reader a copy of one of them:

" No. 20.

" No. 20.

" In the name of the French government, good for half a guinea, to be raiſed of the province of Connaught.

3d September, 1798. JOHN MOORE."

Next morning colonel Crawford purſued the French, hung on their rear, kept them in a conſtant ſtate of alarm, and killed many of them, and their rebel allies. There is not a doubt, but that general Humbert had not determined the route which he ſhould take, till the day before his departure, becauſe a perſon of the name of Jourdan, who at the inſtance of Mr. James Joſeph M'Donnell, had acted as a ſpy for the French, was ſent out to learn what part of the country there was the leaſt probability of meeting our troops, and he reported that the ſafeſt and beſt courſe they could take was towards Sligo.

The French at their departure from Caſtlebar were about nine hundred, including officers, and they had a great mob of rebels, who were conſtantly deſerting, notwithſtanding their utmoſt vigilance to prevent them. They did not halt till they arrived at Barley-field, the ſeat of Mr. M'Manus, whither ſome of the French officers went to order proviſions to be ſent thence for their uſe to Swineford.* They arrived there about ſeven in the evening, halted about two hours, and refreſhed the troops. General Humbert continued all the time in the field, where he ate his dinner, which had been dreſſed at the houſe of a Mr. Brabazon.

From Swineford they proceeded towards Ballahy, having halted the army about two miles from that village, to which they ſent an advance-guard. Thence they proceeded towards Tubbercurry, and they halted within two miles of it.

The Corranliney and Coolavin yeomen cavalry, ſtationed there as a picquet, under the command of captain O'Hara, member for the county, having advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, had a ſkirmiſh with them, in which lieutenant Knott was taken priſoner, and his only ſon was killed.

Captain O'Hara then ſent intelligence to colonel Vereker, at Sligo, that the French were advancing.

Captain Ruſſel of the prince of Wales's fencibles, was taken priſoner at Tubbercurry, and though as ſuch he was entitled to the protection of the

* See Plate X. 5.

French, a ruthleſs aſſaſſin among the rebels ſhot him in the back, and dying a few days after, in his ſeventieth year, he terminated a life which had been devoted to the ſervice of his king and country for above fifty years.

Beſides the rebels which marched from Caſtlebar with the French, a conſiderable body of them was ſent from Ballina acroſs the mountains, to meet them at Tubbercurry, with eighty proteſtant priſoners, whom they intended to get rid of, by putting them in the front rank, having inſultingly told them ſo; but their diſtreſs for food was ſo great, that they ſent them back under a rebel guard.

Thoſe ſtationed at Ballina being incenſed with their brethren at Killala, for not putting their heretick priſoners to death, three hundred of them ſet out with a deſign of compelling them to do ſo; but they were purſued by O'Keon, who prevented them, though not without difficulty.

Henry O'Keon more than once prevented the rebels from murdering their proteſtant priſoners.

The following practice took place in Mayo, as well as in the county of Wexford: A popiſh banditti was ſent about in every part of it, to collect proteſtants, whom they impriſoned, and intended afterwards to maſſacre. In Wexford the rebels endeavoured to extirpate the proteſtants, becauſe they had the county entirely at their devotion, and really believed that the entire kingdom was ſo; but they did not proceed to ſuch lengths in Mayo, becauſe there was a large body of the king's troops in it, and their ſanguinary ſpirit was reſtrained by the French officers.

From Tubbercurry* they proceeded to Coloony,† and in their way the pikemen plundered the houſe of Mr. Perceval, of Temple-houſe, becauſe he was a noted loyaliſt, and had been active againſt the united Iriſhmen.

I think it neceſſary to deſcribe here the circumſtances which preceded an action which took place between the French and a detachment of the city of Limerick regiment, and a few yeomen, commanded by colonel Vereker, at Coloony, one of the moſt brilliant which took place during the rebellion.

When

* Plate X. 4. † Ibid. 3.

When the French arrived at that village, which is about five miles from Sligo,* the inhabitants of the latter, who amount to about fourteen thouſand, were in the utmoſt conſternation, as nobody doubted but that their deſign was to have plundered it, and it contained property to the amount of at leaſt 260,000 l.; there were in its harbour a good many ſhips, and twelve well furniſhed bleach-yards in its vicinity. The ſmall force ſtationed there, not more than ſix hundred effective men, was ordered to evacuate it; however, colonel Vereker, with a detachment of the city of Limerick militia and a few yeomen, in the whole not exceeding two hundred and eighty-ſix men, and two curricle guns, marched out, engaged the French and the rebels, and gave them ſo ſevere a check, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority of numbers, as to deter them from approaching Sligo, and made them proceed towards Drumahair. The French had about nine hundred men, about two hundred and fifty of the Longford and Kilkenny militia who had deſerted, and a numerous body of rebels. Colonel Vereker's right was covered by a riſing ground, on which he poſted a few men; his left, by a river. They outflanked and forced in his men on the hill, and attacked his rear, on which he was obliged to retreat over a river. The action began at half paſt two, and laſted one hour and thirty-eight minutes. Of the French twenty-eight were killed, and a great many wounded: they left behind them at Coloony eighteen of their men, who were deſperately wounded.

After the action, the grenadiers repreſented to general Humbert, that it would be uſeleſs and cruel to compel them to endure the calamities of war any longer, as the rebels would not ſupport them, and were deſerting from them in great numbers; but the general ſaid, he could not think of ſurrendering to ſo ſmall an army.

About three o'clock ſome diſaffected people entered Sligo, and announced that our army had been beaten, and that the French were advancing; on which many proteſtant women, and ſome men who could not bear arms, embarked in the ſhips, fearing more the popiſh inhabitants than the French; but thoſe who were capable of doing ſo, to the number of three hundred, marched round the town in arms, and reſolved to die in its defence. They were joined by a number of methodiſts, ſinging hymns, who were headed by their preacher, Albert Bleſt, a man of great piety, and noted for humanity and charity.

The

* See Plate X. 2, 3.

The king's troops, who remained behind under the command of colonel Sparrow, occupied the moſt advantageous poſts in the avenues leading to the town. Thus they continued under arms all night.

The ſpirit of popiſh diſaffection and fanaticiſm appeared no where ſo ſtrong as in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, particularly in the barony of Tireragh, ſituated in the latter. It is ſeparated from Ballina and Killala by the river Moy,* which forms a bay at the latter, not three miles over; and at low water it is eaſily croſſed by a ferry. The proteſtant inhabitants of that barony, dreading not only the approach of the French, but the cruelty of the rebels, and there being no forces of any kind in the line from Ballina or Killala to Sligo, they fled to the latter for protection.

Many reſpectable proteſtant farmers were ſeen on foot, driving their cattle and ſheep before them, and conveying on cars their wives and children, their beds and their wearing apparel. All the proteſtant clergy were alſo obliged to fly precipitately.

The popiſh inhabitants, aided by the Mayo rebels, plundered all their houſes, and even demoliſhed ſome of them. The principal ſufferers were Mr. Neſbitt of Scurmore, Mr. Fenton of Eſky, Mr. Brown of Fortland, Mr. Grove, pariſh miniſter of Kilmuckſhalgan, meſſieurs Charles and Robert Jones, the meſſieurs Woods, and in ſhort every other gentleman, and even the lower claſs of proteſtants, all of whom were obliged to fly to ſave their lives. Nothing could equal the deſtructive rage of the popiſh rabble, for they tore up the floors of Mr. Fenton's houſe, pulled down the cielings of Mr. Grove's, and danced on his daughter's piano forte; in ſhort, they deſtroyed in every houſe ſuch furniture as they could not carry off.

Some proteſtants on the ſea-coaſt, went to ſea in boats, to avoid the vengeance of the rebels; and on coming on ſhore for food, ſome of them were taken priſoners and conveyed to Ballina. Some fled to the mountains, and hid in caves, others in corn fields, and were almoſt ſtarved.

Conry, the domeſtick chaplain and boſom friend of doctor Bellew, the popiſh biſhop, and who had recently obtained the pariſh of Adergold from him, father M'Donnel, of Eſky, and father O'Donnel, of Kilmuckſhalgan, and Mangan, his coadjutor, made it a practice of compelling proteſtants to be chriſtened by a prieſt, to which they ſubmitted to ſave their lives and their property.

Mr.

* See Plate X. 3.

Mr. Hillas, of Seaview, who had adminiſtered oaths of allegiance to father O'Donnell and his flock, at their particular deſire, in the month of April, 1798, aſked many of them how they came to violate them, and they anſwered, "How could we go againſt our prieſts?"

That prieſt uſed to contend on the following grounds, that the houſe of Brunſwick had no right to the crown of England: That all monarchies were elective or hereditary: That no election could be perfect unleſs the majority of the people gave their aſſent to it: That the Roman catholicks of Ireland had not conſented to the acceſſion of George I. and that he had no hereditary claim, as he deſcended from a younger branch of the houſe of Stewart.

A private in the Tireragh infantry, happened to fall into the hands of the rebels, who conveyed him to their head-quarters at Ballina, where father Cowley commanded. Being a proteſtant, they proceeded to try him by a court-martial, at which Cowley was preſident. He was accuſed and convicted of being an orangeman, and was to have been hanged next morning; but having inſinuated to one of the French, that he was a yeoman, and that puniſhing him would be followed by retaliation, he was diſcharged.

Very great diſaffection took place in the popiſh yeomen of the counties of Mayo and Sligo.

The ſcapulars a piece of ſuperſtitious trumpery, which I have before deſcribed, was found on the bodies of many rebels killed in theſe counties.

For about a month before the French landed, the papiſts ſhewed a great unwillingneſs to pay any thing they owed, which proves that they expected the invaſion.

Father Owen Cowley had one hundred and twenty proteſtant priſoners at Ballina, whom he mocked, and told inſultingly that they ſhould be executed next day; but early in the morning ſome of the priſoners perceived an expreſs arrive, about whom the reverend father and ſome of his friends flocked, and interrogated with much earneſtneſs. Soon after, he approached the priſon with a dejected countenance, and, inſtead of contumely, he addreſſed the priſoners with mildneſs and complaiſance, and told them they might go wherever they choſe. The intelligence

which

which the reverend father received was, that our troops were victorious at Ballynamuck, and that the French had ſurrendered to them.

From the following circumſtance, we cannot be ſurpriſed at the active part which the popiſh prieſts took in the rebellion in the counties of Mayo and Sligo: Captain Nicholas Ormſby, of the Tireragh yeomen cavalry, was quartered with his corps at Eſky, in the county of Sligo, ſoon after the French landed. Having been informed that numbers of the lower claſs of people had aſſembled at ſome diſtance from his quarters, and had collected a large quantity of cattle for the uſe of the French, he proceeded to the ſpot where that event took place, and reſcued the cattle and diſperſed the people. When he was on the point of returning, a woman told him, that father Deaſe, a pariſh prieſt, was at a ſhort diſtance, enliſting for the French; and having advanced a little farther, he ſaw a great number of people ready to join them. Three of his corps were far before the main body: One of them who preceded the reſt galloped by father Deaſe, who ſnapped a piſtol at him. The next yeoman who came up, galloped ſwiftly by Deaſe, and fired a piſtol at him, but miſſed him. Deaſe was cocking his piſtol to fire at the third yeoman, who was coming up, but Mr. Jeremiah Fury, a gentleman of fortune, though a private, ſeized his arm before he could effect it, and made a priſoner of him. When captain Ormſby arrived, they were on the point of hanging him, but as he fell on his knees, implored mercy, and promiſed to make a full confeſſion of what he knew, they ſpared his life. He then declared, what he afterwards ſolemnly and deliberately confirmed by information, ſworn before a magiſtrate, that Dr. Bellew, the titular biſhop of the dioceſe, encouraged his dioceſan clergy, at a general meeting of them, to riſe on the preſent occaſion; and that it was at his inſtigation that they were ſo active in aſſiſting the French. The piſtols which they found in Deaſe's poſſeſſion were French.

One Atkins, of Rathurliſh, in the barony of Tireragh, was bred a proteſtant, but having married a papiſt, he conformed to popery, and became a ſanguinary fanatick. He was to have headed five hundred of his own ſect, and to have maſſacred every proteſtant from Ballina to Sligo. He owned this to numbers whom he ſolicited to aſſiſt him in perpetrating his bloody purpoſe, and to his uncle and aunt, a worthy old couple, and both proteſtants, whom, he ſaid, he would ſave; but that he could not protect

protect their grand-children. He declared openly, that he would ſpare none, from the cradle to the crutch. The day was fixed for the maſſacre, but the event of the battle of Ballynamuck deterred him from his ſanguinary deſign.

I ſhall now ſay ſomething of the movements of our armies, between whom it was impoſſible to keep up any communication, but by ſtrong patroles, as all the natives were inimical. Lieutenant-general Lake was ordered by the lord lieutenant to proceed from Tuam, on the fourth day of September, to which he had retreated after the battle of Caſtlebar, with the Rea fencible infantry, the Armagh militia, with their battalion guns, a detachment of the Roxborough fencible cavalry, and to take command of brigadier general Taylor's brigade, whom he joined at Ballaghdirreen.* He ſent thence the honourable lieutenant-colonel Meade, about one o'clock, P. M. N. with a party of dragoons, to learn whether the enemy had left Caſtlebar, and what route they had taken.

After advancing about four miles, to a place between Ballahy and Ballaghdirreen, he was informed by a rebel, taken by an advanced patrole, that the enemy had left Caſtlebar, and had paſſed through Ballahy towards Coloony; which intelligence he communicated by a dragoon to general Lake, who came to him, and ordered him to communicate it to lord Cornwallis, ſuppoſed to be at Hollymount, which he accordingly did.

When on his way, about fifteen miles from Caſtlebar, he perceived on the adjacent hills about three thouſand rebels, of whom ſome were near him in a bog. Part of his dragoons charged, purſued, and killed ſome rebels who were on a bridge, but contrary to his orders and his wiſhes, as it might have brought on a conflict, and have impeded or even defeated his miſſion to lord Cornwallis. Having made ſigns to them, that he would receive them in a friendly manner, a good many of them came to him, and ſurrendered about ſixty French muſkets; and probably the remainder would have done ſo, if he could have remained there long enough. At Swineford† he perceived great numbers of them in the adjacent fields. All theſe deluded wretches whom he met in his progreſs had deſerted from the French. He overtook lord Cornwallis between Clare and Ballyhanis,‡ where he remained that night.

* Plate X. 5. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. 6, 7.

Colonel Meade was ſent a ſecond time to reconnoitre the French, whom he ſaw paſs the Shannon at Ballintra,‡ over the bridge, which they endeavoured to make impaſſable, by blowing up one of the abutments.

He was ſent a ſecond time to lord Cornwallis, who was at Carrick-on-Shannon,‖ to communicate the motions of the French to him.

His excellency by croſſing the Shannon at Carrick kept to the ſouth of the enemy, ſo as to intercept them, ſhould general Lake, who purſued them with an army of about two thouſand men, fail in overtaking or defeating them, which was a moſt judicious movement; and for the ſame reaſon his excellency advanced with rapidity from Carrick to St. Johnſtown.§ As a further ſecurity for the capital, he ordered the brigade of guards to Mullingar* and Kilbeggan, where they muſt have ultimately defeated the enemy's deſign of approaching it; and at the ſame time they were at a convenient diſtance from the metropolis to awe the diſaffected who meditated an inſurrection there.

The firſt day general Lake arrived at Ballinlough; the ſecond at Ballaghdirreen.† Thence he proceeded with theſe corps, united, to Ballahy, through which, he was informed, the French had paſſed the preceding evening, about ſeven o'clock, more than fourteen hours before him.

He reached Tubbercurry about ſeven o'clock that evening, where he encamped and remained till two o'clock next morning. He was joined there by colonel Crawford, who formed his advanced guard.

General Lake marched from Tubbercurry to Coloony, about eight miles diſtant, heard there of the action, and found a number of French killed, and ſome wounded, under the care of a French ſurgeon.

At Coloony, a Longford deſerter was recogniſed by ſome of the advanced guards, and ſhot; the whole army marched over his body with indifference; a ſtrong inſtance of the calamities of war, and how much they obtund the feelings of humanity!

Numbers of the rebels were found all along the road dead or dying, having been killed by colonel Crawford's corps of light dragoons, who formed the advanced guard, and hanging on the enemy's rear, harraſſed them moſt effectually.

Between

‡ Plate X. 4. ‖ Ibid. 5. § Ibid. 5, 6. * Plate I. 6, 7. † Plate X. 5.

Between Drumſhambo and Carrigan, he received orders from lord Cornwallis at nine o'clock, to march at that hour for Clone. He croſſed the river at Ballintra, where the bridge was repaired. The enemy were ſo hard preſſed in the purſuit, that they left two pieces of cannon on the road, about a mile from Coloony, and threw five into the river at Drumahair.

General Lake encamped on the night of the ſeventh at Ballintogher, between Drumahair and Coloony. He was under the neceſſity of conſtantly ſending accounts of his movements and thoſe of the enemy to lord Cornwallis, which was diſtreſſing, as it could not be effected but by ſtrong patroles. He marched to the ſouth of Drumſhambo, halted there about three hours, and proceeded to Cloone, four miles from Ballynamuck; where a little after ſun-riſe, on the eighth of September, he ſaw the rear of the French army, whom, with about one hundred and fifty light infantry, mounted behind as many cavalry, he endeavoured to harraſs as much as poſſible.

Before day, on the eighth of September, general Lake ſent major Hardy to apprize lord Cornwallis of his brigade being near the village of Cloone, where the French had halted the preceding night, and where it was intended to have ſurpriſed them, but from the darkneſs of the night ſome diviſions miſſed their route. The French were leaving the village as major Hardy entered it, of which he informed lord Cornwallis, whom he met at Mohill, and who ordered general Lake to hang as cloſe as poſſible upon their rear, and ſaid that he would keep in a parallel direction towards Granard, near enough to afford him aſſiſtance if neceſſary.

He came up with them about half a mile before they reached Ballynamuck,* when monſieur Sarraſin, who commanded them, ſurrendered.

General Taylor having reported to general Lake that the French army had yielded, general Craddock and admiral Packenham rode forward to the main body of them, who were halted on the road at Ballynamuck, when a French officer informed them that they would be fired on, unleſs they withdrew; but before they could retreat, a volley was fired, by which general Craddock was wounded.

Previous to this, the French had poſted a body of markſmen on the brow of a hill, about a quarter of a mile from whence Sarraſin had ſurrendered,

* Plate X. 5.

rendered, in order to take our troops on the left flank as they paſſed. General Lake, whoſe ſpirit and vigilance are well known, being conſiderably in front of our light infantry and cavalry, very fortunately diſcovered them in time to prevent them from doing us any injury. He ordered the light infantry and cavalry to aſcend the hill, whoſe top intervening, prevented them from perceiving each other till they were within a hundred yards. After a few diſcharges, our light infantry and cavalry charged, on which the French threw down their arms, and the rebels who attended them fled into an adjacent bog. The Frenchmen continued firing their cannon till the markſmen had ſurrendered, which, if they had been well ſerved, muſt have done very great miſchief, as our troops moved down a hill from the place where Sarraſin had ſurrendered, which expoſed them to the enemy's fire.

The following circumſtances attended the ſurrender of the French: The earl of Roden and colonel Crawford, who led on the advanced guard, conſiſting of his lordſhip's fencibles, perceiving an officer who ſeemed deſirous to communicate with them, lord Roden ordered his trumpet to ſound, which was anſwered by the French, when his lordſhip and the colonel advanced into the French lines. The officer politely aſked them what their wiſhes were? they anſwered, to ſave the effuſion of blood, and deſired them to ſurrender. The officer ſaid, that he did not command, but that he would go to general Humbert, which he accordingly did. Humbert came up, aſked the ſame queſtion, and received a ſimilar anſwer. He then demanded half an hour to give a final anſwer, which was granted, on condition that he halted his troops; to which he made no reply, but retreated with precipitation. Lord Roden then ordered his trumpet to ſound the advance, and came up to the firſt and ſecond brigade of the French army, who ſurrendered to about three hundred cavalry, under his lordſhip and colonel Crawford. After this they advanced with about twenty dragoons, and took poſſeſſion of three French guns.

Shortly after, Humbert rallied his grenadiers, the only part of the army, except the chaſſeurs, that had not ſurrendered, and conſiſted of about four hundred men, who ſurrounded lord Roden and his twenty dragoons. They were given in charge to the huſſars. While they were their priſoners, which laſted about fifteen minutes, the French officers loaded the united Iriſhmen, their allies, with execrations, for having deceived and diſappointed

appointed them, by inviting them to undertake a fruitleſs expedition. They alſo declared, that the people of Ireland were the moſt treacherous and cowardly they ever knew.

Lord Roden and colonel Crawford continued priſoners till his regiment of fencibles advanced in queſt of their colonel, which the French huſſars perceiving, requeſted that his lordſhip would deſire them to halt, as they meant to ſurrender, and by doing ſo, he prevented them from being cut to pieces.

General Humbert ſurrendered to general Lake, and was afterwards conducted to lord Cornwallis, who was about ſix miles off.

Our troops made dreadful havock among the rebels, who were moſtly dreſſed in French uniforms. Three of their leaders were taken, among whom was Mr. Blake of Galway, a very well-looking man, who was hanged. As our army purſued the French they found all the houſes on the road deſerted, their inmates having joined the French.

I muſt not paſs over in ſilence the ſpirited and zealous exertions of the army under general Lake, who advanced ſo rapidly in their purſuit of the French, as to overtake them, though they were fifteen hours before them; and though the farmers and peaſants ſupplied the enemy with a great number of horſes, on which the infantry rode in turn; and whenever they halted, with plenty of proviſions, for which our troops were very much diſtreſſed; for their movements were ſo rapid, that the heavy baggage could not keep up with them. The French and rebels in their progreſs deſtroyed every kind of proviſions, and our brave ſoldiers were obliged to ſcour the country for cattle, and before they could kill them and cook their meat, they were ordered to renew their march; ſo that potatoes, which they dug and boiled themſelves, were their principal ſubſiſtence.

When the French changed their route from Coloony towards the metropolis, the moſt active exertions were uſed in all the intervening counties, viz. Leitrim, Longford, Monaghan, Roſcommon, Cavan, Weſtmeath, and Meath, to raiſe the maſs of the people to join them; and ſome conſiderable and alarming movements were perceived among the diſaffected even in Dublin and its vicinity.

A numerous body of inſurgents, ſuppoſed to be not leſs than ſix thouſand, having collected near Granard, on the fifth of September, ſeveral

yeomen

yeomen corps, under the command of captain Cottingham, engaged, beat, and diſperſed them, after having killed about one hundred and fifty.

Many Roman catholicks of conſideration urged and headed the inſurgents in the county of Longford, and a well-digeſted plan of co-operation had been concerted with the Monaghan chiefs; but the latter were not to move unleſs the operations of their Longford brethren proved ſucceſsful. At the head of theſe were the two Denniſtons, the O'Haras, O'Connells, Farrell, and one O'Reilly, who appeared in arms on the fifth of September in 1798, and led on the attack on Granard. But the iſſue of that affair diſconcerted the plan of the Monaghan chiefs, and prevented the Cavan leaders from attacking the different garriſons in their county, which they had meditated. The two Denniſtons and Farrell were members of the Maſtrim yeomen cavalry, ſeveral of whom fought with the rebels on that day. The elder Denniſton was firſt lieutenant of it.

The popiſh multitude in the county of Roſcommon, univerſally diſaffected, were on the point of riſing, and waited for nothing but a hint from certain leaders in their reſpective diſtricts.

A reſpectable magiſtrate of my acquaintance, who had a ſtrong regard for a popiſh gentleman who meant to have headed a numerous body of rebels, obtained a private interview with him for the purpoſe of diſſuading him from ſo raſh an attempt, which he aſſured him would terminate in the ruin of him and his family. This chieftain ſpurned at the advice of his friend, and expreſſed a downright conviction that his party muſt ſucceed, as the maſs of the people in every part of Ireland were engaged in it, and as they would riſe at the ſame time, the government muſt be overturned, and that ſuch perſons as reſiſted them would loſe their lives and property; and he even went ſo far as to adviſe this magiſtrate to be very moderate in the part he took, leſt his intemperate zeal might mark him for the vengeance of the inſurgents. So ſure were the diſaffected that their party muſt ſucceed, though with the aid of but one thouſand French!

After an interview of two hours, he left him determined to perſevere in his raſh deſign; but at the inſtance of another perſon of high rank, who uſed the moſt perſuaſive eloquence on the occaſion, he yielded, on condition of obtaining his pardon. By the wiſe and ſeaſonable exertions of this perſon, the property and the lives of the proteſtants of the county of Roſcommon were preſerved from the rapacity of the deluded multi-

tude,

tude, who were on the point of riſing, and only waited for a ſignal from this leader.

I think it right to mention, that this very important ſervice was rendered by doctor Law, biſhop of Elphin, who ſhewed great magnanimity in maintaining his poſt; for inſtead of flying to the metropolis for protection, he fortified his palace, and bid defiance to the rebels, by which he ſet a good example to country gentlemen.

I cannot paſs over in ſilence the laudable fortitude of doctor Percy, biſhop of Dromore, who alſo remained in his palace, while the rebellion exiſted in the counties of Down and Antrim.

On Tueſday the fourth of September, a man on horſeback went about the county of Weſtmeath, proclaiming that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks, and burning their houſes. In conſequence of it, numbers of people armed with pikes and other weapons, aſſembled in lord Sunderlin's park at Baronſtown. His lordſhip approached them with about twelve of his corps, and aſked them, why they aſſembled in ſo hoſtile a manner? They anſwered, that they were afraid of the orangemen, who were armed and were determined to murder all the Roman catholicks.* His lordſhip aſſured them, that their fears were groundleſs, as no ſuch perſons ever were in the country; and he promiſed them protection, if they could point them out; but they perſiſted in feigning fears and prejudices.

About two miles farther on the road towards Mullingar, his lordſhip met another body of pikemen, with whom he reaſoned in the ſame manner, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, one of them knocked down his lordſhip's trumpeter, and wounded him; and ſoon after ſerved a yeoman and one of his ſervants in the ſame manner; on which his lordſhip and his few yeomen retreated to Mullingar, and in their way ſaw great numbers of inſurgents aſſembling.

In the courſe of a few hours they collected in great numbers, and attacked Wilſon's hoſpital, a charitable foundation, for the purpoſe of ſeizing

* As Mr. George Cooper, whom I mentioned in the dedication, has uttered the vileſt ſlander of the orangemen, I think it right to mention, that a member of the Iriſh directory acknowledged, while in priſon, that the alarming reports about them were invented by them, merely as a device to ſtimulate the maſs of the papiſts againſt the proteſtants, and that the prieſts eagerly adopted it for that purpoſe.

ſeizing the arms in it and of deſtroying it, becauſe it was a proteſtant inſtitution, eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of maintaining old men, and educating children. They ruſhed into it with hideous yells, broke open ſome doors, and carried off arms and other articles: They gave the reverend Mr. Radcliffe, the chaplain, two wounds; however, as he ſhewed the moſt undaunted courage, and ſeemed determined not to ſurrender his arms, they quitted the houſe; but they ſent him a meſſage about eleven o'clock at night, that they would level it next morning at three o'clock, unleſs he gave up his arms. But as that propoſal was treated with contempt, they next day, about eight o'clock, to the number of five thouſand, forcibly entered the hoſpital, plundered it of arms and every valuable article, proviſions, and houſhold furniture; took Mr. Radcliffe priſoner, carried him to the town of Multifarnham, declaring, they would keep him till Mr. Latten Fitzgerald, confined in Mullingar, as a ſtate priſoner, was diſcharged; however Mr. Radcliffe was ſo fortunate as to eſcape.

Next day they returned to the hoſpital, converted it into a barrack, ſeized the cows and ſheep, and killed moſt of them. In ſhort, they left the hoſpital a perfect wreck. After committing all theſe atrocities they had maſs celebrated for them by a popiſh prieſt.

They had twenty-ſeven proteſtant priſoners in an office belonging to the hoſpital, whom they intended to have put to death, by the moſt cruel torture, had they not been relieved by a party of the army and yeomanry, under the command of lord Longford, who routed the rebels with conſiderable ſlaughter.

Some of the rebels propoſed to put the boys (who were all proteſtants) to death, after having plundered them of their clothes. The labourers, and the popiſh ſervants of the hoſpital, were the leaders in this nefarious buſineſs, and ſeemed to exult in it.

A moſt ſanguinary denunciation was poſted on a church in the county of Weſtmeath, ſoon after the French left Caſtlebar, which the reader will ſee in Appendix, No. XXI. 8.

The evening before the attack on Granard, a body of rebels entered Edgeworthſtown, and plundered and almoſt demoliſhed every proteſtant houſe in it, except thoſe of Mr. Edgeworth, Mr. William Bond, the captain

tain of the Maſtrim yeomanry, and Mr. Alexander Bond, poſt-maſter; but they did not injure the houſe or property of a Roman catholick.

For a day or two before, reports had been induſtriouſly propagated, that the orangemen were deſtroying all the neighbouring country, and had burnt the preceding night Street and ſome other adjacent villages. This, which was the watch word and ſignal for inſurrection, ſpread like a conflagration.

A reſpectable gentleman, an inhabitant of Edgeworthſtown, gave me the following account of his ſituation, and of the events which occurred there: "On my going into that village, all ſeemed to be alarm and confuſion. The yeomanry determined, as one of their officers in perſon informed me, to defend at leaſt the barracks, if attacked by the rebels; but ſome events occurred in the courſe of the day, which induced them to evacuate the place and march to Longford. On hearing this unexpected misfortune, I immediately ſent off my wife and family, and once more walked through Edgeworthſtown, examining every countenance, and converſing for a few minutes with the two or three laſt proteſtants whom I met indignantly retreating. I ſoon returned to my houſe, wiſhing, if poſſible, not to deſert what I deemed my poſt, and yet, not knowing what to do in ſuch an emergency; but I was ſoon rouſed from this uncertainty, by intelligence from my ſervant, that the rebels in a very numerous body were marching to Edgeworthſtown, by the Granard and not the Dublin road, which would bring them within one hundred yards of my door. Before their arrival, I concealed myſelf in a little plantation on my lawn, where divine Providence protected me till morning. I ſaw almoſt a foreſt of pikes nearly oppoſite my houſe. Some rebels on horſeback paſſed within about thirty yards of me, and about three times that diſtance, a proteſtant, my next neighbour, who had juſt ſought an aſylum in a ſhady part of my lawn, received a ſtroke of a pike in the head, which, though partially broken by the branches, cut him ſeverely, and almoſt covered him with blood. I was "all ear" in my place of concealment, and ſtunned with the diſcord and confuſion of martial muſick, firing, ſhouting, craſhing of windows and furniture, and ſuch clamorous exultation as might be ſuppoſed to iſſue from a numerous mob in ſo new a ſituation, eager to practiſe republican virtues. It was late in the evening, and juſt as the greater body of the rebels had retired, a detachment of lord Oxmantown's yeomanry, being

accidentally near the town, and hearing of the outrages committed by the rebels, made a rapid charge through the ſtreet, and ſhot a few of the ſtragglers without any loſs on their part, except one yeoman wounded in the face with a pike. Of the particulars of this tranſaction I was ignorant till next morning; for only once in the night I ventured to walk by my houſe, and, perceiving the windows broken, I again returned to conceal myſelf in the ſhrubbery till morning."

A man mounted on a white horſe rode about the country contiguous to Longford, on the fourth of September, and propagated a report that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks, and burning their houſes from Edgeworthſtown to Carrickboy. To counteract his malignant deſign, lord Oxmantown, who, with his corps, was on permanent duty at Longford, rode about the country, and by his exhortations and aſſurances of protection to the lower claſs of people, prevented the inſurrection from being general, and induced numbers to return to their homes. The ſame attempts were made in the counties of Meath and Cavan.

The rebels ſhewed a diſpoſition to riſe in the country round Belturbet, in the latter county; but it abounds ſo much with proteſtants, who were well armed, that they would not venture to do ſo, but repaired to the mountains of Ballynamore, about ſix miles off, where they aſſembled in conſiderable numbers. For the ſame reaſon they did not venture to riſe in the county of Fermanagh, where there were ſix thouſand proteſtants well armed. From the battle of Caſtlebar to the ſurrender of the French, the blackſmiths were employed in making pikes, in the counties of Monaghan, Leitrim, Longford, Roſcommon, Mayo, Sligo, Meath, Weſtmeath and Dublin.

The landing of the French was known by the rebels in the county of Kildare, the Queen's county, and part of the county of Tipperary; and the maſs of the people in them ſhewed ſuddenly a ſtrong ſenſation, and a ſpirit of combination, even before the loyal ſubjects were acquainted with that event.

I ſhall now proceed to relate the defeat of the rebels at Killala, the relief of the ſuffering loyaliſts there, and ſome of the circumſtances which preceded it.

The fourteenth of September, the commandant loſt his authority ſo much, that little regard was paid to his protections; proteſtants who had

had obtained them were committed, and their houſes were plundered as orangemen.

On the fifteenth of September, the French officers entertained ſtrong fears that the town would be attacked by pikemen, and they declared that they wiſhed for the arrival of the king's troops. The biſhop and his friends who had been twenty-ſeven days priſoners fell into great deſpondency on the ſeventeenth of September, as they expected every night that the caſtle would be attacked. Twenty perſons in arms ſlept in it, beſides the ordinary guard of eighteen; but the latter being Iriſh recruits, were not to be depended on. There were conſtantly alarming reports of the ſanguinary deſigns of the pikemen, who were encamped cloſe to the town.

On the eighteenth of September, one of the rebel leaders came to the caſtle, and propoſed to the commandant to impriſon every proteſtant in the church, as hoſtages for their own ſecurity, ſhould the king's army arrive; and it was diſcovered that they meant to have blown them up; but no other anſwer was given by the proteſtants, than that they were ready for them. The commandant generouſly declared that he would lead on the Iriſh againſt the king's troops, and that he would alſo head the proteſtants againſt the former, if any attempt was made againſt their perſons or property. On the eighteenth, the guard and all the rebel ſoldiers murmured very much at a report which had prevailed, that their friends at Caſtlebar were in cloſe confinement, and were uſed very ill; and at laſt they grew very vehement. To do away the ill effects of it, the biſhop propoſed to ſend dean Thompſon, and one of their friends, with a flag of truce, and a letter to general French, to repreſent the dangerous ſituation of the proteſtants, ſhould the rebel priſoners be ill-treated.

Dean Thompſon, and one Roger Maguire ſet out for Caſtlebar, the twentieth of September: They were frequently ſtopped and interrogated by parties of the rebels, who would have committed violence on dean Thompſon, but that he was protected by Maguire. They returned next day, with the moſt unqueſtionable teſtimony that their friends were treated with humanity. Mr. Bourke, of Summer-hill, with fifteen armed men, bravely defended his houſe againſt the fury and rapacity of the rebels; which enraged thoſe at Killala ſo much, that they reſolved to attack it; but Charoſt aſſured them, if they perſiſted in their deſign, that he would follow and fire on them.

On the twenty-firſt of September, a body of pikemen having marched through the town in preſence of Charoſt, he, with indignation, mingled with contempt, deſired them to go to attend their harveſt, as he had men enough to guard the town, and he would not be troubled with a pack of robbers; and Ponſon, another French officer, vilified and abuſed them in the groſſeſt manner. This was alarming to the proteſtants, as the rebels murmured and uttered ſome menaces againſt them, and complained of the ſtrong partiality of the French for them.

Alarming accounts were received that the rebels, in ſpite of the French, would enter and plunder the town; and, had they done ſo, there is not a doubt but that they would have maſſacred every proteſtant. To encourage them in their ſanguinary deſigns, which they had conſtantly manifeſted, a prieſt, of the name of M'Donnell, rode into the town on the twenty-firſt of September, and announced that the orangemen were maſſacring the Roman catholicks in all the adjacent country. On the morning of that day a report of cannon and ſmall arms was heard towards Ballina, and ſometime after intelligence was received that the king's troops were within four miles of the town.

Truc, the French officer, and Henry O'Keon, arrived from Ballina, where the former had been commandant, and where he had a narrow eſcape of being taken priſoner by one of our officers. He abuſed, in the groſſeſt manner, his allies, the Iriſh, for having fled at Croſſmalina, without ſtriking a ſtroke.

By a preconcerted plan it was agreed between general French and lord Portarlington, that they ſhould attack Killala at the ſame time; the former approaching it on the ſouth, the latter on the north-eaſt ſide. His lordſhip marched from Sligo on the twenty-firſt of September, with his own, the Queen's county regiment, a detachment of the twenty-fourth dragoons, the Tireragh yeomen infantry, commanded by captain Woods, and the Tireragh yeomen cavalry, under captain Ormſby, making in the whole, about eight hundred men, with two pieces of cannon. They halted the firſt night at Grange, where a number of rebels approached them, but on firing one cannon ſhot they diſperſed. Next night they halted at Scarmore, where they were attacked by a numerous body of them, commanded by Henry O'Keon and Mr. Barret, ſon of doctor Barret, who were ſoon routed with the loſs of about two hundred killed.

In

In this affair we have one calamity to lament, which left the ſtrongeſt ſenſations of grief in every loyal heart. Not far from the ſcene of action lies the village of Carrowcarden, where a few proteſtant families lived, who, from their peaceable demeanour and good conduct, poſſeſſed the regard of even the rebels; ſo that, partly by giving them entertainment and money as long as they were able, and partly by hiding themſelves in the bogs and corn-fields, they had hitherto avoided the captivity which their brethren ſuffered.

On this day, a rebel party, commanded by John M'Dunnough, otherwiſe Pitcher, on their march to attack the king's troops, were ordered to enter the village, and to force every man who was able to carry arms to join their party. They there met with ſome of thoſe poor proteſtants, ſome of them reaping their corn, others concealed in their houſes, all of whom they forced along with them at the peril of their lives, and even without arms to defend themſelves, and placed them in the front of the line.

When the rebel army gave way, theſe unfortunate men fled among the crowd towards their own homes; but having been overtaken by the advance guard, they fell in the indiſcriminate ſlaughter of the rebels. It was in vain that they endeavoured to explain the cauſe of their being there, or to juſtify their conduct, as the troops, elate with victory, and inflamed with revenge, had not time to examine the circumſtances of their ſituation.

The loyaliſts had ſoon after the gratification of ſeeing captain Pitcher taken priſoner; and having been convicted of that and other crimes, his life was forfeited to the vengeance of the law. This however was but a poor atonement to the community for the loſs of ſo many loyal, well-behaved, and induſtrious men; and no conſolation to the unfortunate widows and helpleſs orphans whom they left behind to deplore a loſs which can never be retrieved.

Next day the king's troops having been joined by general Trench and his brigade, they proceeded towards Killala.

In its defence about four thouſand rebels took poſt behind a ſtone wall on a hill which commanded the road leading to it; and on which the Downſhire regiment advanced. Though the rebels maintained a conſtant fire

fire on them from the time they firſt came in ſight, the Downſhire paid no regard to them, till they arrived at a bridge, which was but a ſhort diſtance from them. They then began a very heavy fire on the rebels, who fled from their ſtrong poſition, and joined the main body, except about forty of them, who took poſt in a grove, nearly forty yards from the palace, where ſome of them ranged themſelves behind trees, and others behind a ſtone wall. The Downſhire purſued them, and were followed by the Fraſer fencibles and the Queen's county militia. After about twenty minutes reſiſtance the rebels gave way and ran into the town, where they were charged by the Roxborough fencible cavalry; and though the rebels in the grove kept up a conſtant fire on them, their only loſs was one man badly wounded, but he afterwards recovered. Mr. Arthur Stock, the biſhop's ſon, a youth of ſixteen, was in the charge, dreſſed in a red jacket.

After the king's troops got poſſeſſion of the town, they killed great numbers of the rebels, whom they found concealed in the houſes, in the gardens, or in the ditches of the adjacent fields. It was to be lamented that our ſoldiers plundered what had been ſaved from the Iriſh ſavages by the active exertion of the biſhop and the French officers. In the firſt onſet it was impoſſible to reſtrain them, when they were elate with victory, and their vengeance was rouſed by oppoſition. Sometime after, lord Cornwallis ſent two commiſſioners to enquire into the damages committed by the king's troops at Killala, and in March following, the demands of the ſufferers were diſcharged by an order on the bank.

Having related the events which took place in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, I ſhall give the reader the characters of ſome of the principal actors in them.

Colonel O'Doude, was deſcended from a very antient family of the ſame name, who formerly poſſeſſed a large tract of country in the counties of Sligo and Mayo, two baronies of which, namely Tireragh and Tyrawly had their names from two ſons of the original chieftain of the family, who divided his eſtate between them. On this extenſive eſtate they counted twenty-four caſtles, which were occupied by them and their adherents, and many of which are ſtill in exiſtence. O'Doude having been very active in the rebellion of 1641, this fine eſtate was confiſcated, and divided amongſt the followers of the conqueror; a ſmall mountainous tract

tract of land, called Bonneconclane, having been given by ſpecial favour, to one of the family, and ſo handed down to the late poſſeſſor James O'Doude.

The father of this man, whoſe name was Thady, being a younger brother, and having neither property nor employment at home, went out a volunteer to Germany at the age of twenty-five years, and in the courſe of time was promoted in the Hungarian ſervice to the rank of captain, having previouſly married a German lady, ſiſter to baron Wipler, of whom James was the iſſue. He having been born and educated in the ſervice, found no great difficulty in arriving at the rank of lieutenant, in which ſtation he ſerved, when the death of his uncle David O'Doude, who poſſeſſed the family eſtate and died without iſſue, was announced to him. In conſequence of this event, he left the army, came to Ireland, and took poſſeſſion of the paternal property, which proved to be worth about 500 l. a year, and which he applied himſelf to the cultivation of with great attention. He ſoon after married a miſs Fitzgerald, daughter to a gentleman of that name, and an attorney, by whom he left children. Previous to the breaking-out of the rebellion, he had become a member of the Tyrawly cavalry, and was conſidered an attentive ſoldier, and very expert in the uſe of arms. On the landing of the French at Killala this corps was, like many others, put to flight by the enemy, and O'Doude deſerted his poſt, and returned to his own houſe, where, by the ſolicitations of his wife, and the exertions of one Egan, a bigot, who lived with him, and who had acquired a complete aſcendancy over his judgment, he was induced to declare for the cauſe of rebellion. Having aſſembled his tenantry and neighbours, he muſtered about one hundred men, and putting himſelf at their head, he marched to the French camp at Killala, where he received his commiſſion, and arms for his followers, while his wife, mounted on a good horſe, and decorated with green ribbons and cockade, attended the proceſſion, and brought up the rear.

Their career of glory was but ſhort, and the hopes of regaining the antient eſtate ſoon vaniſhed into empty air. After the defeat at Ballinamuck, he attempted to eſcape, but was taken priſoner, and conducted to the camp of lord Cornwallis at St. Johnſtown, where, being identified, although he endeavoured to paſs himſelf for a French officer, he was condemned and executed. He pleaded guilty to the charges brought againſt him; but aſſured the court, that this was his firſt offence, and declared

declared on his honour, if they would pardon this, that he never would be guilty of a ſimilar offence; but being informed that his requeſt could not be complied with, he begged to have a prieſt; but as there was not time for this ceremony, he was conſtrained to ſubmit to his fate, which he met, but not with that fortitude which might have been expected from a man who had ſpent ſo much of his life in active ſervice, and ſcenes of war.

To a great weakneſs of judgment, this unfortunate man added a high degree of vanity and bigotry, which laid him open to the deſigns of intereſted and ill-diſpoſed perſons. Conſidering himſelf the head of the clan or family, he deſpiſed taking a chriſtian name, and always ſubſcribed himſelf, O'Doude, captain; and latterly he had the vanity to aſſume the title of baron, perhaps from his uncle, baron Wipler, in Germany.

He was ſo much under the control of the prieſts, that he ſubmitted to walk barefooted, and with his head ſhaved, to Loughderg, in the north of Ireland, to perform penance for his ſins, and became one of the order of the Scapularians. He took more pains in cultivating the friendſhip of this ignorant claſs of men, than that of gentlemen of worth or knowledge, and his table was ſeldom without one or more of them, on whom he never failed to laviſh the beſt meat and wine.

The idea of recovering his hereditary eſtate was ſtudiouſly infuſed into his mind by his wife and followers, who vainly imagined that a revolution would be accompliſhed, and that the deſcendants of the old Iriſh families would be ſhortly reinſtated in their former poſſeſſions and honours by the French. This family have a burying-place appropriated to them in the abbey of Moyne, where may be ſeen the gigantick bones of ſome of them, who have been very remarkable for their great ſtature; as one of them exceeded ſeven feet in height.

Colonel Mc. Donnel, a Roman catholick gentleman, was ſon to Joſeph Mc. Donnel, of Carnacun, in the county of Mayo, eſquire, and in the neighbourhood of Caſtlebar. His father being a wealthy man, and able to give him a ſufficiency of money to ſet him up in buſineſs, placed him with a merchant at Weſtport; but conſidering himſelf poſſeſſed of abilities ſufficient to ſhine in a learned profeſſion, he renounced the mercantile life, and went to the Temple, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with tolerable application, and along with a knowledge of

of the laws of his country, he acquired the ſeeds of thoſe deteſtable principles, which were afterwards matured and employed for the deſtruction of law, property and juſtice. There he became acquainted with the dangerous and ſeducing works of Paine and his diſciples, and was introduced into the correſponding ſocieties, of whoſe principles and practice he was a great admirer, and profited very much by their inſtructions. Having returned to Ireland, he was recogniſed as a champion for the Rights of Man, and choſen by his party as a delegate from Mayo to the catholick convention in Dublin, convened by Edward Byrne, where, by his inflammatory harangues and violent conduct in endeavouring to inſtigate that body to unwarrantable means for proſecuting their claims, he attracted the admiration of his friends, and at the ſame time ſtrongly excited the attention and ſuſpicion of government; inſomuch, that it was debated whether he ſhould be allowed to be called to the bar. He was, however, ſoon after called to it, and ſworn a barriſter, which added to his conſequence, and encreaſed the influence which he was ambitious to exert among the Roman catholicks in Mayo. He ſpared no pains in propagating his dangerous democratick principles amongſt all ranks and orders of the people, and by corrupting their minds prepared them for the rebellion, which was ſoon to follow. The magiſtrates of the county beheld his conduct with a very jealous eye, and had nearly determined to have him arreſted under a warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate. This, however, was deferred, through that miſtaken lenity by which delinquents are too frequently ſuffered to eſcape, and by which the late Rebellion was allowed to raiſe his baleful head. He was permitted to proceed in his career until the invaſion, when a full and fair opportunity was afforded him of diſplaying both his principles and actions, which he did unequivocally, as ſoon as the French had made themſelves maſters of Caſtlebar, whither he immediately repaired, and was appointed a colonel in their ſervice.

He was attended by a large party of his followers, who had been taught to look for this event by his addreſſes and harangues, and with theſe he accompanied Humbert on his march to Ballinamuck, and after the ſurrender he and colonel Blake concealed themſelves in a bog. Blake was taken priſoner, but he had the good fortune to effect his eſcape, and made his way from thence into the wild mountains of Cunnemara, and from

thence embarked for Spain or France, with ſome other fugitives of his own deſcription.

Doctor Barrett, a Roman catholick, was a native of Irrus, in the county of Mayo, and deſcended from an ancient and reſpectable Iriſh family, who formerly poſſeſſed a large eſtate in that country, and of which he was not a little vain. Having got a competent knowledge of Latin, which he ſpoke tolerably correct and fluent, though in a vulgar manner, he ſerved a regular apprenticeſhip to an apothecary, and carried on the buſineſs for ſome years with much credit to himſelf and utility to the country. He alſo attended many of the genteel families in the neighbourhood of Ballina, (where he lived,) in the light of a phyſician, and was ſo much eſteemed by them, that they entered into a ſubſcription to ſupport him at Edinburgh, while he ſhould ſtudy phyſick there in a regular manner. His wife and children were alſo ſupported in the ſame manner at home, while he ſtudied in Scotland, and that excluſively by the proteſtant gentlemen, although he and his family were of the catholick perſuaſion.

In that country ſuch acts have not been uncommon; and I am ſorry to remark that the returns made to them have frequently been ungenerous and ungrateful, but were notoriouſly ſo during the late rebellion.

Doctor Barrett, having returned from his ſtudies, commenced the practice of phyſick under the ſame auſpices, in which, from his previous knowledge of medicine, and the ſkill he had acquired in diſeaſes, he made ſuch a progreſs, as to be in the receipt of 300l. a year, in a country, more noted for liberality than riches, and where he had ſir William Boyde to contend with. Before he went to Scotland, the doctor was rather bigoted to his religion, but having frequently attended the preſbyterian form of worſhip, and converſed freely with well-informed men there, he became diſguſted with the tricks and ſuperſtition of his own perſuaſion, of which he often ſpoke with much ſeverity, and ſeldom, if ever, attended maſs or confeſſion from his return till his condemnation; and nothing but the prejudices which he had ſo ſtrongly imbibed, when young, and his pride, (of which, in common with the old Iriſh families, he poſſeſſed a large ſhare,) prevented him from abandoning entirely the catholick doctrines and worſhip. It is to be apprehended that his ſituation was ſimilar to that of many other well-informed Roman catholicks, who, unable to digeſt the monſtrous tenets preſcribed for their belief, and prevented by pride,

pride, ſhame, or prejudice, from embracing a religion more conformable to reaſon and good ſenſe, ſuffer themſelves to lapſe inſenſibly into a ſtate of infidelity.

As to the doctor's loyalty, before the invaſion, it was unimpeachable, ſo far as was known to his moſt intimate friends; and, I firmly believe, he was totally unconnected with the leaders of rebellion before that period. On the approach of the French army, he and his family fled for ſafety to an iſland in Lough Conn, where they continued for more than a week, but afterwards induced, partly through want of proviſions, partly through promiſes of protection, they came into the town, where, on account of their religion, they were not only protected, but amply ſupplied with every article of ſupport and comfort which the demeſnes, houſes and cellars of the proteſtant gentlemen, plundered by the rebels, could furniſh.

After the retaking of the town, the doctor was found peaceably at home, and ſeemed very happy to find his old acquaintances and benefactors returning in triumph, many of whom, as well as the officers of different regiments, he entertained very hoſpitably for ſome weeks, and ſeemed perfectly ſecure from any danger; and, what is ſomewhat odd, ſome months elapſed before he was apprehended.

It did not appear on his trial that he ever took up arms, or accompanied the enemy in any act of hoſtility, or behaved with ſeverity to the proteſtants who were in his power; but, on the contrary, that he ſhewed acts of kindneſs and indulgence to many of them. The chief matters which were proved againſt him, were, conſulting and adviſing with the French officers; directing the guards; ſigning paſſes in his ſon's name, (who was a rebel colonel,); and forcing his ſon to take a command.

Before his trial, an offer was made to him, that he, and his whole family, would be permitted to remove themſelves to America; but ſo confident was he, that no act of treaſon or rebellion could be ſubſtantiated againſt him, that he rejected the propoſal; alleging, that if the gentlemen of the country could procure proof ſufficient to condemn him, they would not make him ſo lenient an offer. He was tried and condemned at Caſtlebar, by the ſentence of martial law, and ſent to Ballina for execution. His ſeparation from an innocent, virtuous wife, and ſeven children, whom he was about to leave unprotected, and without the moſt

remote proſpect of ſupport, was a puniſhment far beyond that which the ſentence of the law had decreed, and produced the ſtrongeſt emotions of pity in thoſe who execrated the crime for which he was to ſuffer, and by which they had been ſuch great ſufferers themſelves.

He walked from the publick houſe to the fatal tree, and read, as he proceeded, a litany, attended by two prieſts, and met his fate with becoming propriety and without emotion, having, in a few ſhort ſentences, called God to witneſs, whether he had been guilty of the crimes for which he was condemned. He had many good qualities, and was a very uſeful member of ſociety; but his having eſpouſed a cauſe, which was calculated to deſtroy the lives and properties of his ſupporters and benefactors, leaves a ſtain of ingratitude behind it, which no time can efface.

Patrick Barrett, junior, a colonel in the rebel army, was ſon to doctor Barrett of Ballina, before mentioned, and received a tolerable ſchool education from his father, who intended to breed him to the profeſſion of an apothecary. Previous to the rebellion, he enrolled himſelf in the Tyrawly cavalry, where he was always amongſt the foremoſt to volunteer any duty which required ſpirit or activity, and never failed to acquit himſelf like a good ſoldier and a loyal ſubject.

On the taking of Ballina by the French troops, this corps, with ſome others, were ordered to fall back on Caſtlebar, and being badly officered, and partaking in the general panick, with which the troops of the line, as well as the yeomanry, were ſtruck on that ſhameful occaſion, they divided into ſmall parties, and effected their retreat, ſome retiring home, others joining themſelves to different parties of the king's troops, where they could find them. Unfortunately for Barrett, it was his lot to be amongſt the former, and having come within a few miles of Ballina, he had an interview with his father, which ended in an acquieſcence on his part of coming into the town, which was then occupied by a French commandant, and a large number of rebels. It is aſſerted, that the cauſe of his coming into town, was an expectation of procuring ſome money to enable him to return and join the king's troops; but in this hope he was diſappointed, and was committed a cloſe priſoner with the proteſtants, where he remained until he conſented to accept of a command in the rebel army, which he with great reluctance did, after his father had uſed all the authority of a parent, and even proceeded ſo far as to ſtrike him with a ratan,

ratan, becauſe he refuſed ſo flattering an invitation. Being inveſted with the honour of a colonel, his time was more occupied in reſtraining the exceſſes of his ſavage and violent followers, than in training them to military diſcipline. Theſe worſt of barbarians, having received arms from the French, or furniſhed themſelves with pikes, were conſtantly employed in plundering houſes, driving in cattle, impriſoning the few proteſtants who remained in the country, or indulging themſelves in eating and drinking to exceſs, and then becoming unruly and riotous, ſo that Truc the commandant, and young Barrett were frequently called upon to exert their authority and reſtore peace, which was the only duty that Barrett ſeemed to do with a good grace; and it was often remarked of him, that he was never ſeen to ſmile after he had been promoted to the rank of colonel, and ſeriouſly requeſted of his friends not to offend him with that appellation. He enlarged many of the priſoners from time to time, and ſhewed them as much indulgence and lenity as his limited and precarious ſituation enabled him to do. His exertions were not confined to the town, and he was frequently obliged to mount his horſe and gallop out to the country to protect private property.

Mr. Knox's houſe at Rappa, being in danger of being plundered, he went there with a party, and conveyed into town the plate and other valuable effects, which he ſecured at his father's houſe.

The reverend Mr. Neligan's houſe had early attracted the notice of the rebels, and every thing valuable in it had been either taken away or demoliſhed before Barrett came into power, except the papers and records of the regiſtry of the dioceſe, which were then in Mr. Neligan's care. Theſe, though trampled under foot, and many of them flung into the ſtreet, he carefully collected and depoſited in a place of ſafety, by which means the original wills and other records for near one hundred years back were preſerved.

His endeavours to ſave the proteſtants from the cruelty of prieſt Cowley were near coſting him his life. That villain, who was daily plotting their deſtruction, pretended that he had received orders from Truc to give them up to the fury of their enemies; but Barrett, ſuſpecting the order to be falſe, applied to Truc by another interpreter, and learned that his ſuſpicions were well-founded; whereupon he publickly abuſed Cowley, and accuſed him ſo ſharply of the falſehood, that one of his friends

friends attempted with a pike to diſpatch Barret, which he would have effected, had it not been for his vigilance and activity.

Notwithſtanding his attention and humanity to the loyaliſts when in his power, he was ready to draw his ſword againſt them when he met them in the field, and to acknowledge them, not as friends, but enemies. This he proved in two inſtances, the firſt in an attack made by him and Henry O'Keon on Caſtlebar, on the twelfth of September, when in the hands of the king's troops, at the head of a large body of rebels, where, by the bravery of captain Urquhart, a few of the Fraſer fencibles and the proteſtants of the town, he was repulſed and obliged to retreat to Ballina: The ſecond was a much bolder attempt, but attended with equally bad ſucceſs. When it was at length determined by the wiſdom of government, that the unfortunate inhabitants of that part of the country were to be relieved, ſome from their impriſonment, others from baniſhment, and that the few cowardly and half-armed rebels who had ſo long occupied the houſes and the properties of the loyaliſts were condemned to expulſion, two large detachments were put in motion for that purpoſe, the one from Caſtlebar, the other from Sligo. Barrett marched out to meet the latter with a motley crew of his countrymen, but was ſoon repulſed.

He afterwards concealed himſelf in the town, and although he was proclaimed, and a reward was offered for his apprehenſion, the recollection of his paſt kindneſs to the proteſtants prevented them from diſcovering his retreat, or bringing him to trial.

After remaining in a ſtate of dreadful ſuſpenſe for ſome months, he effected his eſcape to Sligo, where, in the diſguiſe of a ſailor, he entered on board a veſſel, and ſailed for America.

There were many good traits in this young man's character, which would entitle him to a better fate. He was brave and generous, humane and grateful, and his perſon and manners beſpoke ſomething much beyond his education and expectations in life; and it is only to be regretted that his loyalty was not ſufficiently ſtrong to enable him to reſiſt the influence which was exerted to ſeduce him to join the enemies of his country.

Henry and John Sheares, two brothers, who had been arreſted the twenty-firſt of May, were tried in Dublin the twelfth of July, on charges of high treaſon, and were convicted on the cleareſt evidence of being

being deeply concerned in the conſpiracy, and of having harboured the moſt ſanguinary deſigns. They were the ſons of Mr. Sheares, a banker at Cork, who was eſteemed not only for his moral virtues, but reſpected for his mental accompliſhments and intellectual powers, having written eſſays and diſſertations on various ſubjects, which would not have diſgraced the pen of doctor Johnſon. Theſe men were at Paris when the king and queen were put to death, and continued there during the tyranny of Roberſpierre; and at their return were heard to ſpeak with delight of the ſcenes of carnage which they had ſeen there. They were executed in front of Newgate, and in their laſt moments diſplayed that perturbation of mind, and that abject fear which ſeldom fail to attend the guilty when they are about to depart from this life.

John Mc. Cann, clerk to Henry Jackſon, was tried and convicted of the ſame crime on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, and was executed on the nineteenth, when he ſhewed a decent compoſure, and acknowledged the juſtice of his ſentence.

William M. Byrne, of the county of Wicklow, was tried and convicted of the ſame crime on the twentieth of July, and ſuffered on the twenty-firſt.

Oliver Bond, one of the principal leaders of the conſpiracy, at whoſe houſe the Leinſter delegates had been arreſted on the twelfth of March, was arraigned for high treaſon on July the twenty-third, and his trial laſted till ſeven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, when he was convicted. This man, who had made a conſiderable fortune as a woollen-draper, was the ſon of a preſbyterian miniſter of St. John's-town, nine miles from Letterkenny, in the county of Donegall. I have very good authority for ſaying that he was a confirmed deiſt, and that he had been active in diſſeminating the works of Tom Paine, of which he was a great admirer. I have been well aſſured that he was in indifferent circumſtances, till he and Simon Butler were committed to Newgate by the houſe of lords, in the year 1793; on which occaſion, being conſidered as a perſecuted patriot, his cuſtomers encreaſed ſo much, that he became opulent in the ſpace of four or five years.

The priſoners confined for high treaſon in the different gaols in Dublin, perceiving from the trials of the Sheares's, Mc. Cann, Byrne and Bond, that they muſt fall a prey to the vengeance of the law, applied

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to counſellor Dobbs, M. P. to be their interceſſor with government, hoping through his mediation to obtain the royal mercy, on making a full diſcovery of the conſpiracy. In conſequence of his interference, the lord chancellor, lord Caſtlereagh and Mr. ſecretary Cooke, inclining to do every thing that was merciful on the part of government, condeſcended to hold an interview with meſſieurs Arthur O'Connor, counſellor Emmet, and doctor M'Nevin, whom all the ſtate priſoners delegated to repreſent them. Government, whoſe clemency and moderation were conſpicuous on all occaſions, agreed to the following terms: That the priſoners, about ſeventy in number, ſhould exile themſelves for life to ſuch country as ſhould be mutually agreed upon; that Oliver Bond who had been condemned to die ſhould be ſpared, and permitted to accompany them: And in return they were to diſcloſe the whole of the conſpiracy, and their intercourſe with France; but that in doing ſo, they were not to implicate any perſon whatſoever in their guilt.

As it was diſcovered that the leaders in this band of traitors abuſed the lenity of government, by endeavouring ſecretly to foment rebellion while in priſon, the following perſons were ſent to Fort George in Scotland, where the ſeverity of their confinement has been mitigated by the greateſt indulgence on the part of government:

Samuel Neilſon,
Thomas Ruſſell,
Arthur O'Connor,
Thomas Addis Emmett,
William James M'Nevin,
Matthew Dowling,
John Sweetman,
Joſeph Cuthbert,
Roger O'Connor,
John Sweeny,
Hugh Wilſon,
John Chambers,
Joſeph Cormick,
Edward Hudſon,
George Cumming,
William Dowdall,
Robert Hunter,
Robert Simms,
William Tennant,
Reverend Steele Dickſon, a preſbyterian miniſter.

Another ſtriking inſtance of the clemency of the government was this: In the beginning of September, 1798, an act of general pardon, with but few exceptions was paſſed, but it was not productve of as much benefit as might have been expected; for robbery and aſſaſſination continued

nued to be perpetrated, the whole of that year, and till the end of the year 1799, in many parts of Leinſter; not only in that province, but in ſome parts of Munſter, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, treaſonable combinations continued to be formed, and a ſtrong ſpirit of inſurrection appeared. It is to be lamented, that at this time the popiſh multitude are as much fraught with diſaffection as ever; though they are ſtill ſmarting from the former rebellion, and though the royal mercy has been extended to them in a very extraordinary degree.

It might be ſaid that I have gone far in expoſing the errors of popery, and have been ſevere upon them; but it ſhould be recollected, that the popiſh clergy never ceaſe to repreſent the proteſtant religion as a peſtilent hereſy, which brings the frowns of the Almighty on its votaries in this life, and dooms them to eternal damnation hereafter; and this not only orally, but by various publications, ſome of which I ſhall mention.

One of them, entitled, "Fifty Reaſons, why the holy Roman catholick religion ought to be preferred to all the ſects in Chriſtendom," is printed by Wogan and Croſs in Bridge-ſtreet; and it is annually diſſeminated among the lower claſs of people by their prieſts. Every page of this wretched volume of fiction is replete with falſehood and bitter invectives againſt the eſtabliſhed religion, and cannot fail of making the lower claſs of people rebels to a proteſtant ſtate. I give the following extracts from it:

"Proteſtants cannot name ſo much as one perſon of ſanctity that was of their religion, page 36. Our adverſaries will confeſs, that during the firſt five ages, there was no other religion" (meaning the popiſh) "to which nations were converted." Page 38.

"There is little or no inſtruction to be found among them" (proteſtants) "upon points of morality, or the obſervance of God's commandments; but every thing is allowed to the deſires and concupiſcence of depraved nature."

"Their parſons varniſh over the dangerous maxims of their own religion, and every thing that tends to the perdition of thoſe ſouls that are guided by them." Pages 96 and 97.

" They" (proteſtant miniſters) " are not prieſts, ſince they have not power to conſecrate in the Euchariſt, *nor to forgive ſins*, which is yet the main office of prieſtly dignity." Page 80.

" Hereticks themſelves confeſs, that Roman catholicks may be ſaved; whereas theſe maintain there is no ſalvation for ſuch as are out of the Roman catholick church. What madneſs then were it for any man not to go over to the Roman catholicks, who may be ſaved in the judgment of their adverſaries!" Pages 17 and 90.

Every perſon endued with reaſon muſt recoil, on reading a treatiſe on the Scapular, a pitiful piece of ſuperſtitious nonſenſe, which is conſtantly peruſed by the beſotted wretches who are in that holy order; and they are very numerous.

Another piece of groſs ſuperſtition and impiety publiſhed by the ſame bookſellers is, " Funiculus Triplex," or the Triple Cord of St. Francis, which ſets forth the great indulgences to which the votaries of that order are entitled.

What can be expected from a rabble drenched with the inebriating poiſon of ſuch productions, but treaſon, robbery, and aſſaſſination!

A poem in four cantos, and in Hudibraſtic verſe, entitled, " England's Reformation, from the time of Henry VIII. was publiſhed by Peter Hoey, a popiſh bookſeller in Dublin, in the year 1791. It was written by one Thomas Ward, as a ſatire on the reformation, and it abounds with ridicule and invective on the illuſtrious characters who were the chief inſtruments in effecting that glorious revolution. This production contains no leſs than 468 pages.

In the year 1790, the tranſlation of a book entitled, " The general hiſtory of the chriſtian church, from her birth to her final triumphant ſtate in heaven," was printed in Dublin by James Mehain, a popiſh bookſeller. It was written originally at Rome, by a ſanguinary bigot of the name of Paſtorini. This writer defends and expreſſes his approbation of all the maſſacres of proteſtants, which ever took place in France and Ireland; and he endeavours to ſhew, by falſe and tortuous expoſitions of the propheſies, that it has been poſitively decreed by the Almighty, that hereticks of every kind and in every country in Europe would be extirpated about this time. This piece of blaſphemy and folly, which is a large octavo volume of 502 pages, was publiſhed to encourage the maſs

of

of the Iriſh papiſts to join in the conſpiracy which was framed ſo early, and in the maſſacre which was to ſucceed it in the year 1798, as if it was to be conducted under the divine ſanction; and yet, from the year 1791 to that period, the popiſh clergy and laity frequently aſſembled in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Dublin, expreſſed their zealous and unabated loyalty, and made publick and unequivocal renunciations of the ſanguinary and intolerant principles which ever characterized their church.*

It is moſt certain, that the great mildneſs and beneficence of the proteſtants of every rank towards the lower claſs of papiſts, would ſoon make converts of them,§ but that their clergy never ceaſe to inſpire them with a fanatical hatred againſt the proteſtant ſtate and their fellow ſubjects of that perſuaſion. Doctor Huſſey's paſtoral letter is a ſtriking proof of this.

We may form ſome idea of this from an oath found on board the Gladiator, by which the Iriſh traitors in the fleet bound each other, in the year 1798, to carry it into Breſt, "and afterwards to kill all proteſtants."†

It appeared alſo on a trial on board the Cæſar, that Michael Butler, an Iriſh traitor, declared, that there ought to be a catholick government in Ireland; that the proteſtants ſhould be expelled from it; and that he ſhould not die eaſy till he ſwam in Engliſh blood.‡

* See page 81 of this work.

§ The Roman catholicks of a pariſh frequently ſolicit proteſtant gentlemen for ground to build chapels on, and I never heard of the requeſt being refuſed; and in many caſes, they built them at their own expence. Whenever a popiſh chapel is to be built by ſubſcription, the proteſtants never fail, when ſolicited, to contribute largely to it.

† Report of the ſecret committee of the Engliſh houſe of commons, publiſhed 5th of March 1799, Appendix, No. XIX.

‡ Ibid.

An account of the ſums of money claimed by the ſuffering loyaliſts in the different counties of Ireland, for their loſſes ſuſtained in the rebellion of 1798, *and laid before the commiſſioners appointed by act of parliament for compenſating them.*

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Antrim - -	17729	3	4h	Londonderry -	7	19	3
Carlow - -	24854	14	7	Leitrim - -	2316	19	1h
Cavan - -	61	16	9	Longford - -	1046	14	10h
Cork - -	2501	14	11h	Mayo - -	120553	11	4h
Clare - -	856	9	11h	Meath - -	14597	9	3h
Down - -	12129	—	8	Queen's county -	1586	9	3h
Dublin - -	25829	16	—h	Roſcommon -	325	19	7
Galway - -	4814	—	3	Sligo - - -	15769	14	9h
Kerry - -	149	4	2h	Tipperary - -	1577	9	8
Kildare - -	97090	2	11	Waterford - -	1321	18	9
Kilkenny - -	27352	8	9h	Weſtmeath - -	2808	13	4
King's county -	2461	19	7	Wexford - -	515191	8	5
Limerick -	22	9	6	Wicklow - -	130379	17	—
				Total	£823517	6	4

APPENDIX,

No. I.

I.

By one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county and city.

County of the city of Kilkenny, to wit.

THE information of Matthias O'Brien, of the city of Kilkenny, in ſaid county, popiſh prieſt, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, That the late tumultuous riſings of the white boys, which prevailed in the ſouthern parts of this kingdom, were ſet on foot for the ſole end and purpoſe, to informant's certain knowledge, in order to raiſe therein a ſpirit of ſedition and diſſatisfaction to his majeſty's perſon and government, which might be of uſe to ſupport a foreign invaſion, certainly intended againſt this kingdom at a convenient time, in favour of prince Charles, otherwiſe the Pretender to theſe realms: and that the cauſes commonly alleged for theſe riſings by the ſaid white boys, were but mere pretences, and calculated entirely to conceal the above ſecret deſigns. Informant depoſeth, that theſe diſorders were fomented originally by foreign agents, in conjunction with ſome popiſh biſhops, particularly doctor James Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, (in whoſe houſe, or chapel, there were papers of a treaſonable nature concealed,) and others of his clergy, aſſiſted by ſeveral principal gentlemen of the ſame perſuaſion. That informant was early apprized from his ſtation, then as coadjutor to the aforeſaid doctor Butler, of their dangerous ſchemes againſt his majeſty's crown, and the eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom, which they did at that time, and do ſtill, as he verily believes, mean to overturn, and which they would have long ſince more openly attempted to execute, but for the timely notice thereof he often from time to time gave to the reverend John Hewetſon, of Suirville, a juſtice of peace for ſaid county, and whoſe life he more than once ſaved in his chair of confeſſion, by diſſuading his determined and combined aſſaſſins from their bloody purpoſes againſt him. That informant is fully convinced upon different grounds, (but which, as being confided upon the ſolemnities of confeſſion from ſome of the inſurgents, and ſecreſy, he thinks he cannot, conſiſtent with his obligation as a prieſt, divulge,) that the above ſpirit of ſedition would have broke out long ſince to an open and armed rebellion, were it not for the zealous and indefatigable labours of the ſaid John Hewetſon, and William Bagenal, eſquire, who by the ſpirit and activity they exerted in detecting, apprehending, and bringing to juſtice, ſome of the chief leaders of theſe inſurrections, checked and ſuſpended for a time their bad deſigns. And he depoſeth in the moſt ſolemn manner, that this ſame rebellious ſpirit ſtill ſubſiſts among thoſe deluded people, as it evidently appears from their frequent nocturnal meetings, held by informant's certain knowledge, within theſe eight or nine weeks

paſt, in and about Callan, and other parts of this county, where informant ſaw ſome of the ſaid inſurgents clad in their white uniforms. Informant is alſo certain, that this ſame rebellious ſpirit will never ceaſe in this kingdom, among the aforeſaid inſurgents, if ſome ſpeedy and efficacious means be not uſed to prevent it. Informant ſaith, that his reaſon for knowing the ſaid ſchemes and deſigns to be true is, that the ſaid doctor Butler did ſolemnly bind him to the following oath: "To be true and faithful to the church of Rome, and to promote its good, and to be faithful to him the ſaid doctor Butler, his archbiſhop;" that after ſigning ſaid promiſe, in a book belonging to ſaid Butler, he was told by him the ſaid Butler, that theſe riſings of the white boys were ſet on foot ſolely for the advancement of the Roman catholick faith, and the extirpation of hereſy in this kingdom; and that as there was but one God, there ſhould be but one religion: And, to reſtore the ſame vetus Hibernia, by making her faithful ſons to riſe in rebellion to ſupport France, or other countries, to eſtabliſh prince Charles on the Britiſh throne. And that he the ſaid Butler, then toaſted his health in the company preſent, who were privy to the conſpiracy. Informant ſaith, he has no other motive for diſcovering ſaid conſpiracy, but to preſerve peace, and to prevent the effuſion of blood in this kingdom.

MATTHIAS O'BRIEN.

Sworn before me this 24th of January, 1768,
THOMAS BUTLER, *mayor of Kilkenny.*

IN another information, Matthias O'Brien ſwore, that doctor Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, aſſured him, that the cauſe of the white boys was the cauſe of God, and their holy religion, undertaken to reſtore prince Charles to the throne of his anceſtors, and their ancient faith to its primitive purity. That informant knew that the late Nicholas Sheehy was chiefly ſupported by the ſaid Butler; and that large contributions were frequently made for him; informant, and the reſt of the popiſh clergy, having been taxed for that purpoſe by the ſaid Butler; which the reverend Mr. Magher, a convert to the proteſtant religion, can certify from his own knowledge. That informant ſaw and read a letter at the chapel of Thurles, ſaid to have been written and ſigned by count Taaffe, and addreſſed to doctor Fitzſimons, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, and tranſmitted to the ſaid James Butler, importing that a popiſh college ſhould ſoon be erected in Dublin. That the ſaid James Butler extorted a ſum of money from informant, and the reſt of his clergy, and from the reverend Mr. Magher, who afterwards became a convert to proteſtantiſm, under the pretext of eſtabliſhing ſaid popiſh ſeminary; but for the ſole purpoſe, as informant believes, of ſupporting the white boys. That informant was told by James Fogerty, of Thurles, merchant, that he brought from Dublin* a large ſum of money, which he delivered to ſaid James Butler; and that he underſtood from ſaid Fogerty, that the ſaid money was to promote the ſaid rebellious purpoſes. That informant, from his miniſterial functions as a prieſt theſe four years paſt, has full and ſufficient reaſons to be convinced that the grand ſcheme of all theſe inſurrections of the white boys, in theſe and the neighbouring counties, was to raiſe a general rebellion againſt his majeſty, and the eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom; and to maſſacre all the proteſtants therein at a certain hour.

By

* The Catholick committee was ſitting there at that time.

2.

By one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county.

County of Kilkenny, to wit. THE information of David Landregin, late of Roxborough, in the county of Tipperary, but now of Agliſh, in the county of Kilkenny, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, That ſome time in the month of March, 1762, he was enliſted in the ſociety of white boys, at Newcaſtle, in the county of Tipperary, by Mr. Robert Keating, of Knocka, in ſaid county, gentleman, and ſworn by him at the ſame time, to take the following oath: "To be true and faithful to the king of France, and to the true king, prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his officers, and not to diſcloſe his ſecrets to any one, except to a Frenchman, or one of his own party." That he told informant that the object they had in view was, to collect an army together in this kingdom, ſufficient to raiſe a rebellion againſt an invaſion which they expected from France, with prince Charles, their rightful ſovereign, at their head; and, for whom, they were to conquer England, Ireland, and Scotland. And that he told informant they had powerful friends in England and Scotland, who would cauſe and foment riſings in ſaid kingdoms, for ſaid end. That a ſtrong French army would make a deſcent in theſe kingdoms, at the ſame time that they would invade Ireland. That therefore the white boys muſt keep well and faithfully together, againſt ſaid event. That informant made many expeditions by night on the lands of Drumlemon, Ardſinnan, and Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, under the command of ſaid Robert Keating, and others, who were mounted, armed, and dreſſed in white uniforms; together with the late Nicholas Sheehy,* Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrell. That ſaid Robert Keating, and James Butler, drew out their troop, and diſciplined them at ſaid places. That ſome time after, informant was preſent at a meeting held at the houſe of Thomas Browne, of Clonmel, aleſeller, together with ſaid Robert Keating, James Butler, and one Patrick Gilbert, farmer, who all took an oath to put to death, the firſt time an opportunity offered, the earl of Carrick, ſir Thomas Maude, baronet, John Bagwell, eſquire, and the reverend John Hewetſon, who were the only enemies they dreaded to their rebellious deſigns; and that informant took ſaid oath.† That at another meeting held at the houſe of one Ronan, innkeeper, at Ardſinnan, informant ſaw ſaid Nicholas Sheehy, Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrell, and many others, take the ſame oath. Informant ſaith, that the execution of ſaid Nicholas Sheehy, and the reſt of his friends, has been the means of ſaving the lives of the ſaid perſons whom they ſwore to aſſaſſinate. Informant ſaith, he was preſent at a meeting held at the race courſe of Clogheen, on the night of the day that the earl of Drogheda came there, and that five hundred perſons, all in white uniforms, were preſent, and moſt of them were armed; and that ſaid meeting was held in the ſpring, ſometime before the French took Newfoundland. That at ſaid meeting it was propoſed to them, by ſaid Nicholas Sheehy, and others, to burn the ſaid town, and to maſſacre the ſaid earl, and the corps under his command, in order to get their arms, and to frighten the proteſtant gentlemen from purſuing them, or giving them any further hindrance in their future purpoſes. Informant ſaith, that they would have executed the ſaid deſign, but that John Doyle, popiſh prieſt of Ardſinnan, prevented them, by falling on his knees, and giving them his curſe, if they undertook what muſt occaſion

* The prieſt hanged at Clonmel.

† This is ſimilar to the committee of aſſaſſination formed by the defenders, who bound each other by oath to commit murder.

their own ruin ; for he ſaid, we are not ripe yet for ſuch a blow, nor can we 'till prince Charles and his friends from France land to our aſſiſtance : If you attempt it before that time, every proteſtant in Ireland will be up in arms againſt us, and give no quarter to man, woman, or child of our religion. Whereupon they deſiſted.

DAVID LANDREGIN.

Sworn before me the 15th of March, 1767,
JOHN HEWETSON.

Preſent, DANIEL OSBORNE.

3.

County of Kilkenny. THE information of Thomas Rawley, of Killenaul, in the county of Tipperary, farmer, who, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, and examined, depoſeth, That, ſome time in the year of our Lord 1763, he was enliſted among the Whiteboys, by Mr. Edmond Quinn, of Myre, in ſaid county, farmer, and ſworn by the following oath : " To be true and faithful to the king of France and prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his commanding officers." That he, ſaid Quinn, then gave your informant half-a-guinea, and told him he was his colonel, and that their ſcheme was to raiſe a rebellion in Ireland, in order to ſupport a French invaſion, which they expected, with prince Charles, their right king, at their head, to relieve the Roman catholicks, and to make this kingdom their own.

That ſome ſhort time after he met ſaid Quinn in Thurles, and was conducted by him to the houſe of James Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, and into his company. That after being introduced to him, ſaid Butler, the ſervant was ſent out of the way, and then ſaid Butler took a book out of his pocket, and re-ſwore your informant as before ; viz. to be true and faithful to the king of France, and his right king Charles ; and to obey the orders of his commanding officers in all things. That he then gave your informant ſome claret, and afterwards diſmiſſed him with his bleſſing for that time. That your informant continued a twelve-month after in the ſervice of the whiteboys, 'till he was apprehended, and lodged in Clonmel gaol, and brought to his trial for high treaſon and rebellion againſt his majeſty, for which, tho' guilty, he was publickly acquitted. That after his acquittal and enlargement, he went to ſee the aforeſaid James Butler, (by whom he was very kindly received, and alſo ſupported whilſt in confinement.) That after refreſhment given to him by ſaid Butler, he was ſent by him to the late Nicholas Sheehy, with a purſe of gold from him ſaid Butler, with this meſſage, " That he had only received this money from Dublin* the day before, elſe he would have ſent it to him ſooner." Your informant further depoſeth, that the aforeſaid Butler did then aſſure him, that they ſoon ſhould have Ireland in their own hands, and that they would certainly be ſupported by an invaſion from France, with prince Charles at their head ; and hereupon he diſmiſſed him upon his errand, firſt giving him an Engliſh crown to bear his expences. That he went directly thence to Nicholas Sheehy, and found him at his ſiſter's houſe at Shanbally ; and there he delivered to him ſaid Butler's letter and purſe of gold ; which letter having read, he then turned immediately afterwards, in your informant's preſence, poured on the table ſaid gold, conſiſting of forty pieces, and guineas to the amount of about thirty. Your informant depoſeth further, that it was reſolved, upon at a meeting of the whiteboys at Myre aforeſaid,

* Large collections were made at that time from the popiſh multitude, and paid to treaſurers in Dublin.

aforeſaid, to burn the houſes of the proteſtants of Ireland, and to maſſacre them in one night, after a landing made by the French, as was expected. Your informant further depoſeth, he is thoroughly convinced ſaid maſſacre and rebellion are not yet over; becauſe he was very lately invited by the ſaid Edmond Quinn to join him and his friends in further intended riſings, for the above purpoſes, which he is certain are again ſet on foot, by means of the aforeſaid James Butler, John Kirkby of Ballyna near Killaloe, and Edmond Quinn, aforeſaid; and alſo by Daniel Cavenagh, of the county of Kilkenny, gentleman. Your informant depoſeth, that he is ſure the aforeſaid rebellion and maſſacre would have long ſince taken place, but for the interpoſition of the earl of Carrick, and the reverend John Hewetſon.

THOMAS RAWLEY.

Sworn before me, March 7th, 1767,
JOHN HEWETSON.

4.

By one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county.

County of Kilkenny, to wit. THE information of Mary Butler, ſpinſter, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, and examined upon oath, depoſeth, That ſhe was at the houſe of one Philip Heneberry of Cahir, where her brother John Butler was employed as a houſe-carpenter, on the twenty-eighth day of September, 1764, when ſhe was informed by her ſaid brother, that he was ſummoned by Nicholas Sheehy, popiſh prieſt, to aſſiſt the reſt of his men to ſave ſome priſoners, who were taken up as whiteboys, near Carrick, and to go the next day to the gaol of Kilkenny; that her brother ſent her before him to Clogheen; that on her way thither, ſhe met James Farrell, commonly called buck Farrell, who ſaluted her, and aſked her if ſhe heard any ſtrange news; and at the ſame time giving her the ſame account that her brother had done before, declared he muſt alſo go to reſcue the aforeſaid priſoners. That ſhe then went to Clogheen, where ſhe met Nicholas Sheehy aforeſaid, Michael Mahony, Edmund Prendergaſt, buck Farrell aforeſaid, Edmund Burke, of Tubrid, Edmund Meehan, Thomas Beer, as ſhe afterwards heard him called, with ſeveral others, whom ſhe cannot at preſent recollect, preparing for ſaid intended reſcue. That they all ſet out in three different companies, to avoid ſuſpicion, your informant riding behind Michael Mahony; that on the way ſhe heard Nicholas Sheehy propoſe a ſcheme of making a falſe coffin, with ſtraw, covered with a ſheet, to deceive and ſeize the guard that conducted the priſoners, in order to deliver them. That they all arrived at the village of Newmarket, in the county of Kilkenny, where having refreſhed themſelves in the houſe of George Reed, a publican, they prepared the aforeſaid coffin. That when this was finiſhed, the aforeſaid Nicholas Sheehy leaving them his bleſſing, departed from them, on his return home, as he then ſaid, to celebrate maſs at his own chapel the next day to avoid ſuſpicion. That on the light horſe appearing before them, ſhe ſaw James Farrell, otherwiſe buck Farrell, with one piſtol in his hand, and the other in his pocket, together with Edmund Prendergaſt, Michael Mahony, and ſeveral others, ruſh out to meet them. That ſhe heard the ſerjeant of the guard, George Johnſton by name, challenged firſt by one Walſh, and then by James Farrell aforeſaid, to ſurrender up the priſoners, or that he ſhould loſe his life. That on his refuſal, ſhe ſaw them immediately attack him. That buck Farrell firſt knocked him down; and that a perſon, unknown to her, then drew his ſaid

Johnſton's

Johnſton's ſword, and thruſt it into his body. She depoſeth further, that ſhe ſaw one Dogherty, as ſhe heard him then called, aiding and aſſiſting in ſaid murder, as alſo Thomas Magrath, of Cloghcen.*

her
MARY ⋈ BUTLER,
mark.

Sworn before me this 21ſt, day of March, 1766, but firſt read to the examinant,
JOHN HEWETSON.

* This alludes to the reſcue of ſome white boys, whom a party of dragoons was guarding to the gaol of Kilkenny; and in the attempt ſome of the military and many of the aſſailants were killed and wounded. It was planned by that notorious traitor, father Nicholas Sheehy.

5.

County of Tipperary, to wit. THE information of Mr. James Farrell, of Rehill in ſaid county, gentleman, who being duly ſworn and examined upon oath, in the preſence of lieutenant colonel Harcourt, major Lyons, captain Thomas Walmſly, and Daniel Toler, eſquire, high ſheriff of ſaid county, declareth, That he was enliſted into the ſocicty of white boys by the late Nicholas Sheehy,§ popiſh prieſt, under the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the king of France, and prince Charles; that he received his commiſſion as a major in their ſervice, ſigned by the French king, as he believeth, and alſo his pay regularly, in conſequence of ſaid commiſſion; that the real end and deſign for which ſaid ſociety was ſet on foot, was, as he was credibly informed, and now verily believes, to raiſe a rebellion in Ireland, in order to ſupport an invaſion from France, actually intended againſt the kingdoms, with a view to reſtore prince Charles to the throne of theſe realms; and to overturn the preſent conſtitution, both in church and ſtate; that the heads of ſaid rebellion are, James Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, Pierce Creagh, titular biſhop of Waterford, doctor Butler, titular biſhop of Cork, and doctor Fitzſimons, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, Heley, popiſh prieſt of Arraglin,† Doyle, popiſh prieſt of Ardfinnan, and ſeveral others of the popiſh clergy; together with Robert Keating, of Knocka, James Nagle, of Garrenavilla, Thomas Dogherty, of Ballynamona, Edmund Sheehy,‡ of the lodge, Martin Murphy, and Philip Long, of the city of Waterford, merchant, each of whom uſually ſupplied ſaid Nicholas Sheehy with money to pay ſaid white boys, and to ſupport their inſurrections: That informant frequently received money for ſaid purpoſe from ſaid Martin Murphy and Philip Long, particularly from the former, who was agent to lord Cahir, from whom informant held ſome land, and allowed him his rent regularly in part payment of his pay. That to informant's certain knowledge, ſeveral thouſand pounds were expended for the above purpoſe; and that particularly at one meeting held on the lands of Drumlemon, he ſaw two thouſand guineas diſtributed to the ſeveral perſons there aſſembled, which they had received from the above merchants, for the above purpoſe. That at ſaid meeting informant ſaw a bull produced by ſaid Nicholas Sheehy, which he ſaid came directly from the pope, and

§ He was hanged for inciting perſons to commit murder; and is revered as a ſaint by the popiſh rabble.

† It was always a neſt of traitors: Manſergh St. George, eſquire, and Mr. Jaſper Uniacke were aſſaſſinated there.

‡ Known by the name of buck Sheehy: He was hanged for high treaſon.

and was read publickly by ſaid Sheehy; and that it granted a plenary pardon and indulgence to ſuch of the inſurgents as choſe to conform to the proteſtant religion, in order the better to carry on and execute their glorious enterprize, and to reſtore the pure and holy catholick religion in its full vigour and ſtrength in Ireland.* Informant ſaith, there are at preſent fifteen thouſand men embodied for the above purpoſe, from the muſter-roll of their numbers kept by informant; and that moſt of them are armed. Informant ſaith, he is thoroughly convinced that this ſpirit of inſurrection never will totally ceaſe in this kingdom, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual means are made uſe of by government to prevent the intended miſchief.

JAMES FARRELL.

Sworn before me this 18th day of April, 1766,
JOHN HEWETSON.

6.

WE, the foreman and grand jury of the county of Dublin, at the aſſizes held at Kilmainham for ſaid county on the twenty-ninth day of April, 1767, being convinced, that the late riots and inſurrections in the ſouthern parts of this kingdom were fomented as well by the foreign as domeſtick enemies of our happy conſtitution in church and ſtate, in order to overturn the ſame; and that their pretences of tythes and other grievances, were only imaginary, and formed to cover their ſettled intention of riſing in actual rebellion againſt his majeſty's ſacred perſon and government; and having an utter abhorrence of ſuch treaſonable practices, think we ſhould be remiſs in our duty to our country, if we did not in the moſt publick manner expreſs our approbation of the actions of thoſe worthy magiſtrates and others, who daily hazarded their lives in defence of their country; and that it was, under God, owing to the care, conduct, and ſpirit exerted by thoſe magiſtrates, that this kingdom was not a ſcene of tumult and riot at this day, the conſequences of which ought to be dreaded by every lover of his country: For theſe reaſons, we, therefore, return our hearty thanks to the right honourable the earl of Carrick, ſir Thomas Maude, baronet, the reverend doctor Hewetſon, William Bagwell, eſquire, and John Bagnall, eſquire, for their zealous endeavours to bring thoſe delinquents to the puniſhment they deſerved, and for their unwearied pains to ſupport the laws of their country.

Richard Anderſon, *foreman*,	John Allen,	James Wilſon,
Richard Jones,	William Hickey,	John Bradley,
James Keating,	Thomas Kennan,	Thomas Kean,
Daniel Bullen,	William Siſſon,	George Davis,
Anthony Murphy,	Robert Hickey,	Thomas Andrews,
Robert Beaſley,	John Edkins,	Charles Smith,
Francis Cunningham,	Joſeph Litton,	Daniel Ebbs,
John Dawſon,	Richard Burton,	Richard Anderſon.

By

* Sixtus V. granted ſuch a bull to the papiſts of England and Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth.

7.

By one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county.

County of Kilkenny, to wit. } THE informations of John Twohy, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, That he knoweth one James Herbert, otherwiſe Thomas Fitzgerald, who calls himſelf a French officer; that he ſaw ſaid Herbert at four ſeveral times enliſt men in Kilfinnan, and Kilmallock in the county of Limerick, and ſhip them off at Bantry, in the county of Cork, for the French ſervice, in the year 1756. That he ſaw ſaid Herbert, on the lands of Ardſinnan, Drumlemmon, and elſewhere, at various times ſince, ſwear the white boys under the oath of fidelity and obligation to the French king, and exerciſe them under arms; that he ſaw ſaid Herbert alſo frequently pay them money, in the name and for the ſervice of the king of France; and that your deponent has often received it from him. That he heard ſaid Herbert frequently aſſure them thus aſſembled, that they ſhould ſoon receive aſſiſtance from France, in order to conquer Ireland.

JOHN TWOHY.

Sworn before me this 30th day of March, 1766,
JOHN HEWETSON.

8.

William Abraham, of Bohereerd in the Queen's county, a farmer, and of the proteſtant religion, ſwore the following examination before Edward Ledwich, clerk, and juſtice of peace for ſaid county, on the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1774: That a report had prevailed ſome time that the white boys intended to carry off examinant the night of the fifteenth inſtant; that a party of them, blowing horns, and armed with muſkets, and dreſſed in white frocks and ſhirts, entered his houſe, and put him behind one of them on horſeback; that his wife, endeavouring to prevent their doing ſo, received a ſtroke of a muſket in the ſmall of the back. That before examinant was mounted they gave him a violent blow in the head with the lock and hammer of a gun, which inflicted a deep wound thereon, and rendered him ſtupid and ſenſeleſs; they carried him off mounted behind one of them, with only his breeches, and a looſe great coat on; that in their progreſs, they beat, battered, and abuſed him with their guns, and the man behind whom he rode, wounded him ſeverely in the legs with long nails in his heels, commonly called heel ſpurs; they carried him ten miles off to a place near Ballyconra, where they held a conſultation, whether they ſhould cut out his tongue, or pull out his eyes; and at laſt agreed to cut off his ears, which they did with circumſtances of great barbarity; that after having adminiſtered to him many unlawful oaths, they buried him up to his chin, though mangled in a deplorable way, in a grave lined with furze.

No. II.

I, *A. B.* of my own free will and accord, do ſwear to be true to one another, will aſſiſt one another abroad and at home, and there are none to be admitted without the conſent of the committee appointed by the ſaid body; and they muſt in all things, be under ſubjection to the ſaid committee in all things that are lawful, and not otherwiſe; and all words and ſigns to be kept ſecret from all that are not concerned or forfeit this oath,

oath, and we are to meet once a month where the committee thinks proper, and we are to ſpend what is agrecable to the company; and any perſon giving a lawful reaſon for his abſence he is not to be under cenſure; and all perſons entering muſt be under all rules and regulations appointed by the ſaid committee; and as in our former oath we are bound to his majeſty king George III. and his ſucceſſors to the crown, *ſo for this preſent year* 1789, we promiſe faithfully the ſame obedience, *and alſo while we live ſubject to the ſame Government.*

RULES TO BE OBSERVED.

1ſt, There is no defender to ſtrike one another upon any account; or if they do, to be excluded the company as long as the committee thinks proper.

2dly, There is no perſon to come to the monthly meeting drunk; or if they do, to pay ſix-pence, and to be excluded for three months.

3dly, There is no perſon on any account to ſwear or ſpeak loud in the company; and for every oath they are to pay what the committee thinks proper.

4thly, There is no perſon that formerly belonged to another body (that is to ſay, a ſtrange body) to be accepted without a line from the body he formerly belonged to.

5th, There is no perſon to let any one know who belongs to their body, but thoſe who went under the obligation.

6th, There is no body of men to go to a challenge without leave of three of the committee at leaſt.

7th, There is no body to get a copy of theſe without the leave of the grand maſter appointed by the general year's meeting, or deputies appointed by the ſaid grand maſter, or his committee.

8th, Let no perſon know no words or ſigns without being concerned; and they are not empowered to give or make known by either words or ſigns or tokens any that may hereafter come forth, or make it known to any company or body but ourſelves, or our body.

9th, There is no defender to make himſelf known as a defender after being excluded, under fear of perjury; and each man continuing ſix months from this day muſt find a gun and bayonet, with other neceſſary accoutrements, or be excluded at the option of the committee.

Given under our hands, the Grange committee to the committee of Carrickarnan, body of defenders No. 1, for the county of Louth.

We, the committee of No. 18, do certify the bearer, Michael Moor, that he has gone through the rules and obligations of a brother defender; and at his requeſt he deſires to be diſcharged that he may join your body.

Given under our hands, at Drumbanagher, this 24th day of April, 1789;

EDWARD BRADLEY,
OWEN BRADLEY,
PATRICK LEES,
DANIEL M'GOVERAN, *ſec.*

N. B. Michael Moor's certificate was ſigned by fifty-one names in addition to the above, who were preſent and members of lodge No. 18.* †

* This proſpectus of the defenders was found by doctor Allott, dean of Raphoe, and was ſent to government in the adminiſtration of the marquis of Buckingham.

† Sobriety, ſecreſy, brotherly love, and the accumulation of arms, the leading characteriſticks and deſigns of all the ſubſequent defenders' lodges, were conſpicuous in this.

No. III.

At a poſt-aſſembly of the right honourable the lord mayor, ſheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held at the exhibition-houſe in William-ſtreet, on Tueſday the eleventh day of September, 1792, *purſuant to a requiſition for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration a letter circulated throughout this city and kingdom, ſigned,* "EDWARD BYRNE :"

A copy of ſaid letter, and alſo of the plan and obſervations mentioned to have been incloſed therein, having been read from a publick print, the aſſembly unanimouſly came to the following determination :

RESOLVED,

THAT a letter be addreſſed to the proteſtants of Ireland, to the following effect :

"COUNTRYMEN and FRIENDS !

"The firm and manly ſupport which we received from you when we ſtood forward in defence of the proteſtant aſcendancy, deſerves our warmeſt thanks. We hoped that the ſenſe of the proteſtants of Ireland, declared upon that occaſion, would have convinced our Roman catholick fellow ſubjects, that the purſuit of political power was for them a vain purſuit : For though the liberal and enlightened mind of the proteſtant receives pleaſure in ſeeing the catholick exerciſe his religion with freedom—enjoy his property in ſecurity—and poſſeſs the higheſt degree of perſonal liberty, yet experience has taught us, that without the ruin of the proteſtant eſtabliſhment the catholic cannot be allowed the ſmalleſt influence in the ſtate.

"For more than ten years the preſs has teemed with various writings, intended to prove that Roman catholicks have an equal claim with proteſtants to a participation in the exerciſe of political power in this kingdom ; that ſuch a participation would not be injurious to proteſtants ; that prejudice only prevents proteſtants from conceding this claim ; and to complete the work, a letter has lately appeared, ſigned "*Edward Byrne*," in which the Roman catholicks are inſtructed to proceed upon the plan of the French democracy, to elect a repreſentation of their own, to which ſaid Byrne inſinuates that "the proteſtants *muſt* bend, as he has aſſurance from the higheſt authority."

"In anſwer to theſe charges, and theſe claims, we ſhall in a few lines briefly ſtate the caſe of the Proteſtants and Roman catholicks of Ireland, in doing which we ſhall not endeavour to add to our language any other ornament than the beautiful ſimplicity of truth.

"One hundred years are juſt elapſed ſince the queſtion was tried upon an appeal to Heaven—whether this country ſhould become a popiſh kingdom, governed by an arbitrary and unconſtitutional popiſh tyrant, and dependant upon France, or enjoy the bleſſings of a free proteſtant government—a proteſtant monarchy, limited by the conſtitution—and an intimate connection with the free empire of Britain ? The great Ruler of all things decided in favour of our anceſtors ; he gave them victory, and Ireland became a proteſtant nation, enjoying a Britiſh conſtitution.

"But the conflict* had been neither ſhort nor trivial ; and ſo many and ſo great were the efforts made by the Roman catholicks in ſupport of their popiſh king and French

* The Britiſh cabinet had no ſuſpicion at this time, that ſuch another conflict would take place in the year 1798.

French connections, that our anceſtors were obliged in their own defence, to deprive them of all political power, which they did by ſevere but neceſſary reſtrictive Laws.

" Time draws the veil of oblivion over the virtues as well as the faults of men : In the lapſe of more than fourſcore years, the cauſes which induced the neceſſity of theſe laws were almoſt forgotten ; while the generous proteſtant ſaw with pain his Roman catholick fellow-ſubject labouring under reſtrictions which, from his peaceable demeanour then, appeared no longer neceſſary ; and he could ſcarcely reſrain from charging his anceſtors with too much ſeverity. Seſſion after ſeſſion the reſtrictive laws were rapidly repealed, and the laſt ſeſſion of parliament left the Roman catholicks in no wiſe different from their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects—*ſave only in the exerciſe of political power.*

" But be it remembered, that from the moment the proteſtant began to make conceſſions, the Roman catholick began to extend his claims ; at firſt a very little would have ſatisfied him—that little, and much more, was granted ; more ſtill was claimed ; and when every thing conſiſtent with proteſtant ſafety was conceded, inſtead of grateful acknowledgments and declarations of ſatisfaction, our ears have been dinned with exclamations of diſcontent, the ravings of political clubs, and the declamations of ſtate reformers.

" But we hope that the great body of the Roman catholicks are yet free from the influence of that dangerous ſpirit which has pervaded the clubs in this city : We hope they will reject Mr. Byrne's counſel, and be grateful for the indulgences they have received from proteſtants. To delude them from their tranquillity, they are told by Byrne, that he has " The firſt authority for aſſerting this application will have infinite " weight with our gracious ſovereign, and with parliament, if our friends are quali- " fied to declare that it is the univerſal wiſh of every catholick in the nation."—But we truſt it is unfounded ; were it otherwiſe, we tell them that the proteſtants of Ireland would not be compelled by any authority whatever to abandon that political ſituation which their forefathers won with their ſwords, and which is therefore their birthright ; or to ſurrender their religion at the footſtool of popery.

" Every Iriſh proteſtant has an intereſt in the government of this kingdom ; he is born a member of the ſtate, and with a capacity of filling its offices ;—this capacity he derives from that conſtitution, which his anceſtors acquired when they overthrew the popiſh tyrant—it is guaranteed by that conſtitution—it is ſecured by the law—he is in poſſeſſion of it, and we know of no power under Heaven, authorized to alienate this, our moſt valuable inheritance.

" Having thus, countrymen and friends, ſpoken to you our ſentiments in the undiſguiſed language of truth, we ſhall intreat you to join with us in uſing every honeſt means of perſuading the Roman catholicks to reſt content with

The moſt perfect toleration of their religion,
The fulleſt ſecurity of their property—and
The moſt compleat perſonal liberty——

but by no means now, or hereafter, to attempt any interference in the government of the kingdom ; as ſuch interference would be incompatible with the proteſtant aſcendancy, which we have reſolved *with our lives and fortunes to maintain.*

" And, that no doubt may remain of what we underſtand by the words " Proteſtant Aſcendancy," we have further reſolved, that we conſider the proteſtant aſcendancy to conſiſt in

A PROTESTANT KING OF IRELAND,
A PROTESTANT PARLIAMENT,
A PROTESTANT HIERARCHY,
PROTESTANT ELECTORS AND GOVERNMENT,
THE BENCHES OF JUSTICE,
THE ARMY AND THE REVENUE,
THROUGH ALL THEIR BRANCHES AND DETAILS,
PROTESTANT:
AND THIS SYSTEM SUPPORTED BY A CONNECTION WITH THE PROTESTANT REALM OF BRITAIN."

RESOLVED,

That the foregoing letter be publiſhed in the Dublin Journal, and that copies thereof be tranſmitted to all the corporations, magiſtrates, and members of both houſes of parliament in this kingdom.

ALLEN AND GREENE, *town clerks.*

No. IV.

SIR,

BY an order of the ſub-committee, dated the fifteenth of January, I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general ſubſcription, which had for its object the raiſing a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expences incurred by the general committee in conducting the affairs of the catholicks of Ireland. As ſeveral miſtakes have occurred in the tranſmiſſion of theſe letters, owing to my ignorance of the addreſs of many of the delegates, I am directed to inform you that ſuch a plan is now in forwardneſs throughout the kingdom; a meaſure ſo ſtrongly enforced by neceſſity, and ſo conſonant to juſtice, cannot fail to attract your very ſerious attention! The committee, having the moſt perfect reliance on your zeal, are therefore confident that you will uſe your beſt exertions to carry this neceſſary buſineſs into full effect.

Dublin, February 5th, 1793.

Signed by the ſecretary of the ſub-committee.

P. S. It is hoped you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter; ſtating at the ſame time whatever progreſs has been made in your diſtrict.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED this day your favour of the eighth inſtant, encloſing the different papers reſpecting the buſineſs I wrote you. It is with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that, from the want of information on the ſubject-matter of the indictments, no preciſe opinion can be formed, whether the alleged offence is or is not bailable? The committee are conſequently in the dark as to the meaſures that ſhould be adopted, nor can your exertions accelerate (as it ſeems) that period until the aſſizes, when you will be able to obtain office-copies of the examinations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day truly diſconcolate, in not being able to effect ſomething towards the liberation of his kinſman; he however did his beſt in the affair.

I am, dear ſir,
Your obedient ſervant,

Dublin, 9th Auguſt, 1792. JOHN SWEETMAN.

P. S. If any new occurrence ſhould happen, be good enough to inform me of it

To

No. V.

To the loyal ſubjects of Ireland.

FROM the various attempts that have been made to poiſon the publick mind, and ſlander thoſe who have had the ſpirit to adhere to their king and conſtitution, and to maintain the laws:

We, the proteſtants of Dublin, aſſuming the name of orangemen, feel ourſelves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the ſhafts of malevolence and diſaffection, but openly to avow thoſe principles, and declare to the world the objects of our inſtitution.

We have long obſerved with indignation the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom by the ſeditious, who have formed themſelves into ſocieties, under the ſpecious name of United Iriſhmen.

We have ſeen with pain the lower orders of our fellow ſubjects, forced or ſeduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

And we have viewed with horror the ſucceſsful exertions of miſcreants, to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of riſing into conſequence on the downfal of their country.

We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the Conſtitution, and there pledge ourſelves to each other, to maintain the laws, and ſupport our good king againſt all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country; and, by ſo doing, ſhew to the world, that there is a body of men in the iſland who are ready, in the hour of danger, to ſtand forward in defence of that grand palladium of our liberties, the conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and eſtabliſhed by the courage and loyalty of our anceſtors under the great king William.

Fellow-ſubjects, we are accuſed with being an *inſtitution*, founded on principles too ſhocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would ſhudder; but we caution you not to be led away by ſuch malevolent falſehoods; for we ſolemnly aſſure you, in the preſence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one, on account of his religious opinion, never entered into our hearts; we regard every loyal ſubject as our friend, be his religion what it may. We have no enmity but to the *enemies of our country*.

We further declare, that we are ready at all times to ſubmit ourſelves to the orders of thoſe in authority under his Majeſty, and that we will chearfully undertake any duty which they ſhall think proper to point out for us, in caſe either a foreign enemy ſhall dare to invade our coaſts, or that a domeſtick foe ſhall preſume to raiſe the ſtandard of rebellion in the land. To theſe principles we are pledged, and in ſupport of them we are ready to ſhed the laſt drop of our blood.

THOMAS VERNER,
EDWARD BALL,
JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,
WILLIAM JAMES,
ISAAC DE JONCOURT.

No. VI.

EAGLE, Euſtace-ſtreet, 9th of November, 1791.

At a meeting of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, the honourable Simon Butler in the chair, the following was agreed to:

WHEN we reflect how often the freemen and freeholders of Dublin have been convened, humbly to expreſs their grievances to parliament—how often they have ſolicited

cited the enaction of good, and the repeal of bad laws—how often, for ſucceeding years, they have petitioned againſt the obnoxious and unconſtitutional police act—and how often all theſe applications have been treated with the moſt perfect contumacy and contempt: When theſe facts are brought to recollection, is there an honeſt man will ſay, that the houſe of commons have the ſmalleſt reſpect for the people, or believe themſelves their legitimate repreſentatives?—The fact is, that the great majority of that houſe conſider themſelves as the repreſentatives of their own money, or the hired ſervants of the Engliſh government; whoſe miniſter here is appointed for the ſole purpoſe of dealing out corruption to them—at the expence of Iriſh liberty, Iriſh commerce, and Iriſh improvement. This being the caſe, it naturally follows, that ſuch miniſter is not only the repreſentative of the Engliſh views againſt this country, but is alſo *the ſole repreſentative of the people of Ireland.* To elucidate which aſſertion, it is only neceſſary to aſk, whether a ſingle queſtion in favour of this oppreſſed nation can be carried without *his* conſent?—and whether any meaſure, however inimical, may not through his influence be effected?

In this ſtate of abject ſlavery, no hope remains for us, but in the ſincere and hearty *union of all the people*, for a compleat and radical reform of parliament; becauſe it is obvious, that *one party alone* have been ever unable to obtain a ſingle bleſſing for their country; and the policy of our rulers has been always ſuch, as to keep the different ſects at variance, in which they have been but too well ſeconded by our own folly.

For the attainment then of this great and important object—for the removal of abſurd and ruinous diſtinctions—and for promoting a complete coalition of the people, a club has been formed, compoſed of all religious perſuaſions, who have adopted for their name, the Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, and have taken as their DECLARATION that of a ſimilar ſociety in Belfaſt, which is as follows:

"IN the preſent great æra of reform, when unjuſt governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious perſecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience; when the rights of men are aſcertained in theory, and that theory ſubſtantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend abſurd and oppreſſive forms againſt the common ſenſe and common intereſts of mankind; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be ſo far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our duty, as Iriſhmen, to come forward, and ſtate what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be our effectual remedy:

"We have no national government—we are ruled by Engliſhmen, and the ſervants of Engliſhmen; whoſe object is the intereſt of another country; whoſe inſtrument is corruption; whoſe ſtrength is the weakneſs of Ireland; and theſe men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to ſeduce and ſubdue the honeſty and ſpirit of her repreſentatives in the legiſlature. Such an extrinſic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently oppoſite to the true line of our obvious intereſts, can be reſiſted with effect ſolely by *unanimity, deciſion, and ſpirit in the people*; qualities which may be exerted moſt legally, conſtitutionally, and efficaciouſly, by that great meaſure eſſential to the proſperity and freedom of Ireland, an equal repreſentation of all the people in parliament.

"We do not here mention as grievances the rejection of a place-bill, of a penſion-bill, of a reſponſibility-bill; the ſale of peerages in one houſe; the corruption publickly avowed in the other; or the notorious infamy of borough traffick between both; not that we are inſenſible of their enormity, but that we conſider them as but ſymptoms of that mortal diſeaſe, which corrodes the vitals of our conſtitution, and leaves to the people in their own government but the ſhadow of a name.

"Impreſſed

" Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments we have agreed to form an aſſociation, to be called, the Society of United Iriſhmen; and we do pledge ourſelves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will ſteadily ſupport and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following reſolutions:

" I. Reſolved, That the weight of Engliſh influence, in the government of this country, is ſo great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is eſſential to the preſervation of our liberties, and the extenſion of our commerce.

" II. That the ſole conſtitutional mode by which this influence can be oppoſed, is by a complete and radical reform of the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

" III. That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or juſt, which ſhall not include Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion.

" Satisfied as we are, that the inteſtine diviſions among Iriſhmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt adminiſtrations, in meaſures which, but for theſe diviſions, they durſt not have attempted, we ſubmit our reſolutions to the nation, as the baſis of our political faith.

" We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil; we have ſtated what we conceive to be the remedy.—With a parliament thus reformed, every thing is eaſy; without it, nothing can be done. And we do call on, and moſt earneſtly exhort our countrymen in general to follow our example, and form ſimilar ſocieties in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of conſtitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry and religion in politicks, and the equal diſtribution of the rights of man through all ſects and denominations of Iriſhmen.

" The people when thus collected will feel their own weight, and ſecure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not arouſed by their preſent provocations to vindicate it, they deſerve to forfeit their pretenſions for ever."

ORDERED, that the foregoing be printed for the uſe of the members,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *ſecretary.*

" I *A. B.* in the preſence of God, do pledge myſelf to my country, that I will uſe " all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate repreſen- " tation of the Iriſh nation in parliament; and as a means of abſolute and immediate " neceſſity in the eſtabliſhment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much " as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of intereſts, a " communion of rights, an union of power, among Iriſhmen of all religious perſua- " ſions, without which every reform in parliament muſt be partial, not national, inade- " quate to the wants, deluſive to the wiſhes, and inſufficient for the freedom and hap- " pineſs of this country."

No. VII.

Conſtitution of the ſociety of united Iriſhmen of the city of Dublin, as firſt agreed upon.

THE ſociety is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of intereſts, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this ſociety are either ordinary or honorary.

Such

Such perſons only are eligible as honorary members, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admiſſion into the ſociety, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, ſhall be propoſed by two ordinary members, who ſhall ſign a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a fit perſon to be admitted, that he has ſeen the teſt, and is willing to take it: This certificate, delivered to the ſecretary, ſhall be read from the chair, at the enſuing meeting of the ſociety; and on the next ſubſequent night of meeting the ſociety ſhall proceed to the election. The names and additions of the candidate, with the names of thoſe by whom he has been propoſed, ſhall be inſerted in the ſummons for the night of election. The election ſhall be conducted by ballot, and if one-fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate ſtands rejected. The election, with reſpect to an ordinary member, ſhall be void, if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unleſs he can plead ſome reaſonable excuſe for his abſence.

Every perſon elected a member of the ſociety, whether honorary or ordinary, ſhall, previous to his admiſſion, take and ſubſcribe the following teſt:

" I, *A. B.* in the preſence of God, do pledge myſelf to my country, that I will " uſe all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate " repreſentation of the Iriſh nation in parliament; and as a means of abſolute " and immediate neceſſity in the eſtabliſhment of this chief good of Ireland, I will " endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, " an identity of intereſts, a communion of rights, and an union of power among " Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions; without which every reform in parliament " muſt be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, deluſive to the wiſhes, " and inſufficient for the freedom and happineſs of this country."

A member of another ſociety of united Iriſhmen being introduced to the preſident by a member of this ſociety, ſhall, upon producing a certificate ſigned by the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſociety to which he belongs, and taking the before mentioned teſt, be thereupon admitted to attend the ſittings of this ſociety.

The officers of the ſociety ſhall conſiſt of a preſident, treaſurer, and ſecretary, who ſhall be ſeverally elected three months, videlicet, on every firſt night of meeting in the months of November, February, May, and Auguſt; the election to be determined by each member preſent writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box. The majority of votes ſhall decide; if the votes are equal, the preſident ſhall have a caſting voice. No perſon ſhall be capable of being re-elected to any office for the quarter next ſucceeding the determination of his office. In caſe of an occaſional vacancy in any office by death or otherwiſe, the ſociety ſhall on the next night of meeting, elect a perſon to the ſame for the remainder of the quarter.

The ſociety ſhall meet on every ſecond Friday night, oftener if neceſſary. The chair ſhall be taken at eight o'clock from twenty-ninth September, to twenty-fifth March; and at nine o'clock from twenty-fifth March, to twenty-ninth September. Fifteen members ſhall form a quorum; no new buſineſs ſhall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every reſpect and deference ſhall be paid to the preſident; his chair ſhall be raiſed three ſteps above the ſeats of the members; the treaſurer and ſecretary ſhall have ſeats under him, two ſteps above the ſeats of the members. On his riſing from his chair, and taking off his hat, there muſt be ſilence, and the members be ſeated, he ſhall be judge of order and propriety, be impowered to direct an apology, and

to

to fine refractory members in any ſum not above one crown; if the member refuſe to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the ſociety.

There ſhall be a committee of conſtitution, of finance, of correſpondence, and of accommodation. The committee of conſtitution ſhall conſiſt of nine members, that of finance of ſeven members, that of correſpondence of five members; each committee ſhall, independent of occaſional reports, make general reports on every quarterly meeting. The treaſurer ſhall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the ſecretary under the direction of the committee of correſpondence; the election for committees ſhall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the neceſſary expences, and eſtabliſh a fund for the uſe of the ſociety, each ordinary member ſhall on his election pay to the treaſurer, by thoſe who propoſed him, one guinea admiſſion fee; and alſo one guinea annually, by half yearly payments, on every firſt night of meeting in November and May; the firſt payment thereof to be on the firſt night of meeting in November, 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treaſury-book, ſhall be read from the chair. If any member after the ſecond reading, neglect to pay his ſubſcription, he ſhall be excluded the ſociety, unleſs he can ſhew ſome reaſonable excuſe for his default.

The ſecretary ſhall be furniſhed with the following ſeal, videlicet, a harp; at the top, "*I am new ſtrung;*" at the bottom, "*I will be heard;*" and on the exergue, "*Society of united Iriſhmen of Dublin.*"

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the conſtitution ſhall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of ſuch motion ſhall be given fourteen days previous to thoſe meetings. If upon ſuch motion the ſociety ſhall ſee ground for the propoſed alteration or addition, the ſame ſhall be referred to the proper committee, with inſtructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinion thereon; and upon ſuch report the queſtion ſhall be decided by the ſociety.

No. VIII.

Extracts from the publications of united Iriſhmen.

Friday, 30th December, 1791.

Society of united Iriſhmen of Dublin. The honourable Simon Butler in the chair.

Reſolved, unanimouſly, that the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correſpondence, be adopted and printed:

THIS letter is addreſſed to you from the correſponding committee of the ſociety of united Iriſhmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles which we have ſubſcribed, and the teſt which we have taken, as a ſocial and ſacred compact to bind us more cloſely together.

The object of this inſtitution is to make an united ſociety of the Iriſh nation; to make all Iriſhmen, citizens; all citizens, Iriſhmen: nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this criſis of Europe more ſeaſonable, than that thoſe who have common intereſts, and common enemies, who ſuffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, ſhould know each other and ſhould act together. In our opinion ignorance has been the demon of diſcord, which has ſo long deprived Iriſhmen, not only of the bleſſings of well regulated government, but even the common

benefits of civil ſociety. Peace in this iſland has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the conſequences of civil war. For a century paſt there has indeed been tranquillity, but to moſt of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately proſpered, it has been owing to the goodneſs of Providence, and the ſtrong efforts of human nature reſiſting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miſerable adminiſtration.

To reſiſt this influence, which rules by diſcord and embroils by ſyſtem, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties; it becomes neceſſary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourſelves; the weakneſs of one and the ſtrength of many. Union, therefore, is power; it is wiſdom; it muſt prove liberty.

Our deſign, therefore, in forming this ſociety, is to give an example, which, when well followed, muſt collect the publick will, and concentrate the publick power into one ſolid maſs, the effect of which, once put in motion, muſt be rapid, momentous, and conſequential.

In thus aſſociating we have thought little about our anceſtors, much of our poſterity. Are we for ever to walk like beaſts of prey, over fields which theſe anceſtors ſtained with blood? In looking back, we ſee nothing on the one part but ſavage force ſucceeded by ſavage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, "ſcattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We ſee a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the firſt moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to eſteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We ſee this, and are ſilent: but we gladly look forward to brighter proſpects, to a people united in the fellowſhip of freedom, to a parliament the expreſs image of the people, to a proſperity eſtabliſhed on civil, political, and religious liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious ſtillneſs of men brooding over their wrongs, but that ſtable tranquillity which reſts on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which theſe rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to thoſe things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts thoſe in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to aſſert them: If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this reſpect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the ſame; we agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whoſe happineſs can be eſtabliſhed on any foundation ſo rational and ſo ſolid, as on the happineſs of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the neceſſity of giving political value and ſtation to the great majority of the people; and we think that whoever deſires an amended conſtitution, without including the great body of the people, muſt on his own principles be convicted of political perſecution, and political monopoly. If the preſent electors be themſelves a morbid part of our conſtitution, where are we to recur for redreſs but to the whole community? "A more unjuſt and abſurd conſtitution cannot be deviſed, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual ſervitude, under the arbitrary dominion of ſtrangers and ſlaves."

We agree in thinking, that the firſt and moſt indiſpenſable condition of the laws in a free ſtate, is the aſſent of thoſe whoſe obedience they require, and for whoſe benefit only they are deſigned. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the community; we agree in declaring, we can have no conſtitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt or ſeen. The act of Iriſh ſovereignty has been merely toſſed out of the Engliſh houſes into the cabinet

cabinet of the miniſter; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a ſervile majeſty and a ragged independence.

We call moſt earneſtly on every great and good man, who at the late æra ſpoke or acted for his country, to conſider leſs of what was done than of what there remains to do. We call upon their ſenatorial wiſdom to conſider the monſtrous and immeaſurable diſtance which ſeparates, in this iſland, the ranks of ſocial life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty deſpotiſm and publick miſery. We call upon their tutelar genius, to remember, that government is inſtituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unleſs the rights of the whole community be aſſerted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) muſt continue to prevail, when the ſtrong tyrannize, the rich oppreſs, and the maſs are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conſcience merely by toleration. If you raiſe up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees: Let the nation ſtand. Then will it caſt away the bad habit of ſervitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchiſe exerciſed, prove a ſeed of ſobriety, induſtry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free conſtitution.

This rapid expoſition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, muſt naturally ſuggeſt the wiſh of multiplying ſimilar ſocieties, and the propriety of addreſſing ſuch a deſire to you. Is it neceſſary for us to requeſt, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townſman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beſeech you to rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round a ſociety of this kind as a centre. Draw together your beſt and braveſt thoughts, your beſt and braveſt men. You will experience, as we have done, that theſe points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the aſſemblage of ſuch ſocieties, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulſe and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itſelf; ſpeaking with its voice, expreſſing its will, reſiſtleſs in its power. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form thoſe ſtable ſupports on which Ireland may reſt the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take thoſe ten. If there be but two, take thoſe two, and truſt with confidence to the ſincerity of your intention, the juſtice of your cauſe, and the ſupport of your country.

Two objects intereſt the nation, a plan of repreſentation, and the means of accompliſhing it. Theſe ſocieties will be a moſt powerful means; but a popular plan would itſelf be a means for its own accompliſhment. We have, therefore, to requeſt, that you will favour us with your ideas reſpecting the plan which appears to you moſt eligible and practicable, on the preſent more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people; at the ſame time giving your ſentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political ſtate and diſpoſition of the county or town where you reſide. We know what reſiſtance will be made to your patriotic efforts by thoſe who triumph in the diſunion and degradation of their country. The greater the neceſſity for reform, the greater probably will be the reſiſtance: We know that there is much ſpirit that requires being

brought into maſs, as well as much maſſy body that muſt be refined into ſpirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible; we do not deſpiſe the enemies of the union, the liberty and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honeſt and honourable cauſe. In great undertakings like the preſent, we declare that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accompliſh. The people of Ireland muſt perform all that they wiſh, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *ſec.*

No. IX.

Some outrages committed by the defenders and united Iriſhmen in the year 1795.

THIS month (January,) an attempt was made on the houſe of Mr. Sterne Tighe of Carrick, in the county of Meath, by a body of defenders, but they were repulſed after many ſhots fired on both ſides. The ſame night they plundered the houſe of Mr. Monaghan of Caſtletown-delvin of arms. In the ſame neighbourhood many houſes were attempted, ſeveral cows were houghed, and other damages done.

March twenty-firſt, at Carrickmacroſs, a private of the Galway militia was murdered by three defenders.

March twenty-fifth, the houſe of Mr. Grattan, of Bensfort, in the county of Meath was attacked by a body of defenders, who broke into the hall, but were repulſed by him and his ſervants. A ſhort time before, in his abſence, they forcibly entered it, and carried off ſome fire arms, plate, and other valuable articles.

This month, (May,) near Sligo, between two and three thouſand defenders had the temerity to attack a company of the Derry militia, who repelled the attack, after killing thirty, and taking many of the inſurgents. About the ſame time, a numerous body of them aſſaulted a company of the Tyrone militia, quartered at Tuam, who in their defence killed eighteen, and took and wounded a great number of them.

June twenty-ſecond, a party of defenders broke into the houſe of Coote Molloy, eſquire, near Boyle, in the county of Roſcommon, but his ſon having ſhot one of them dead in the hall, the remainder fled; he alſo wounded another who turned approver.

During the ſummer of this year, the counties of Meath, Weſtmeath and Kildare, were dreadfully agitated by the defenders. In ſhort, moſt of the reſpectable inhabitants of them were obliged to keep ſoldiers in their houſes for their protection. Mr. Thomas Ryan, a magiſtrate of the county of Kildare, when returning to his houſe, after having aſſiſted at the committal of ſome defenders, was way-laid and ſurrounded by a large number of theſe ruffians, who fired ſeveral ſhots at him, and gave him a ſevere wound in the temple with a muſket ball.

The houſe of Mr. Lillé, near Caſtlepollard, county of Meath, was attempted by a numerous body of them; but after a gallant defence he repulſed them.

June twenty-fourth, they attacked the houſe of Mr. Murdock, of Heathſtown, county of Weſtmeath, and robbed it of arms. Four of them were ſoon after taken, and condemned to be hanged on the evidence of one Sommers his ſervant. The night before the execution the defenders aſſaſſinated Sommers.

In

In July, William Finlay, of Ginnetts, in the county of Kildare, eſquire, was fired at in mid-day, while walking in his demeſne, and the ball lodged in his arm.

In the county of Meath, the houſe of the reverend Mr. Knipe, a proteſtant clergyman, was attacked in the night, by a large body of defenders. In his defence he killed one of them; in revenge, they afterwards murdered him, and mangled his body with ſavage barbarity.

In Auguſt, in the neighbourhood of Finglas, the houſes of Mr. Rowe, and many others, were plundered of arms.

The houſe of the reverend Mr. Mc. Alliſter, near Summer-hill, county of Meath, was robbed by the defenders of money and arms. Near Slane, many cows and bullocks were houghed by them. In Eaſt Meath, many outrages too tedious to mention were committed; where improving in cruelty, they often cut off the udders of cows.

Mr. Talbot's houſe in the Phœnix park was robbed of arms.

Auguſt fourth, they attacked the houſe of Mr. Pentland, of Hollywoodrath, and becauſe he refuſed to ſurrender his arms, they burned his hay and corn.

Auguſt fifth, not ſatisfied with houghing eleven cows, the property of Mr. Read, near old Caſtle, they burned to the ground his houſe and offices; and this becauſe he proſecuted two ruffians for burglary and felony.

A body of them burned to aſhes the houſe and furniture of Mr. Peter Brady, of Mace-town, county of Meath.

In September, the houſe of Mr. Monfort, of Gladſton, in the county of Weſtmeath, was attacked by ſome defenders, who ſet fire to it; however, he ſallied out with his ſon and a ſervant, and repulſed them; but the houſe and furniture were conſumed.

Many houſes were forced and plundered, and various outrages committed near Drogheda, and in the county of Meath.

The houſe of Mr. Walſh, who keeps flour-mills near Drogheda, was forced and robbed of arms.

That of Mr. Taylor, who keeps the Black Lion, was attacked, but after a vigorous defence the defenders fled.

They forcibly entered the houſe of Mrs. Fulham, near Navan; and becauſe ſhe mildly reaſoned with them on the impropriety of their conduct, they ſhot off the roof of her ſkull.

The ſame banditti attacked the houſe of one Mullins, in the county of Meath, who alarmed his neighbours, and ſeized one of them.

They forcibly entered the houſe of Mr. Walſh near Swords, took his arms, and made him ſwear the defenders oath.

The houſes of ſir Henry Wilkinſon, of Corballis, near Swords, county of Dublin, and of alderman Lynam near Pichardſtown, were forced in the night and plundered of arms.

The latter end of December, a moſt horrid murder was committed near Trim, by a party of defenders, on James Hyland and his wife, merely becauſe they ſuſpected that they had given information againſt ſome of their body. They ſhot the man through the forehead, and his wife through the back, as ſhe endeavoured to make her eſcape.

Soon after notices were poſted on all the neighbouring chapels, announcing that all thoſe who gave information againſt, or ſearched for defenders, ſhould be ſacrificed in the ſame manner as Hyland and his wife.

The

The confeſſion upon oath of Henry Ledwich, who took refuge in the gaol of Mullingar, before ſome magiſtrates thirtieth of January, 1796. He is a private in the 12th dragoons, and voluntarily made a very uſeful diſcovery of a murder and robbery intended to be committed in the houſe of Lavallin Nugent, eſquire, of Tulla, in the county of Weſtmeath. Deponent was two years a defender, and to get rid of them, enliſted about two months ago in the ſaid regiment. The firſt oath he took was to be true to the king, and to his brethren, when occaſion required; the ſecond was to be true to his brethren, and to join the French when they would land, and to deſtroy the members of every religion but their own. Deponent was ſworn a defender in the county of Cavan, but never acted as ſuch till about a month ago, and was out but three times with them, in Weſtmeath, whither he came from the county of Cavan to avoid them. Deponent was ſpoken to by one Clarke a publican, who was a committee man and treaſurer to the defenders, and lives at Parſon's-town, and has ſeduced many perſons. Deponent's motive for giving information about the Nugent family was, that his family had ſerved under them in the wars of Ireland. That Clarke has the country under contribution, and iſſues his orders to paſs ſuch perſons as pay their ſubſcriptions. Deponent was at the robbery of Mr. John Dillon, tenant of count Dalton, and took from him two guns and a caſe of piſtols; and at that of Mrs. Thompſon at Parſon's-town, from whom they took one gun, three guineas, and ſix ſhillings; and at that of K. Kenny's, where they got fourteen guineas, two ſhillings, and two guns, after firing many ſhots through the doors; and alſo at that of Mr. Leſtrange's; that about a dozen defenders went uſually on an expedition.

On the firſt riſing they were to ſeize on the caſtle of Dublin, and to maſſacre the Proteſtants every where.

No. X.

Mr. Grattan's anſwer to the Roman catholicks.

GENTLEMEN,

IN ſupporting you, I ſupport the Proteſtant; we have but one intereſt and one honour; and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all. The Proteſtant already begins to perceive it; a late attack has rallied the ſcattered ſpirits of the country, from the folly of religious ſchiſm to the recollection of national honour, and a nation's feuds are loſt in a nation's reſentment. YOUR EMANCIPATION WILL PASS, rely on it, YOUR EMANCIPATION MUST PASS; it may be death to one viceroy, it will be the peace-offering of another; and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one governor, to be craftily converted into the olive of his ſucceſſor.

Let me adviſe you by no means to poſtpone the conſideration of your fortunes till after the war; rather let Britain receive *the benefit of your zeal* during the exigency which demands it, and you yourſelves, while you are *fighting to preſerve the bleſſing of a conſtitution*, have really and *bona fide* thoſe bleſſings.

My wiſh is that you ſhould be free NOW, there is no other policy which is not low and little; *let us at once inſtantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.*

On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permiſſion, immediatcly after the receſs.

You are pleaſed to ſpeak of the confidence and power with which for a moment I was ſuppoſed to have been poſſeſſed.

When

When his Majeſty's miniſters were pleaſed to reſort to our ſupport, they took us with the incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our country.

To have accepted a ſhare of confidence and council without a view to private advantage, will not meet, I hope, with the diſapprobation of my country; but to have accepted that ſhare without any view to publick advantage, would have been refinement on the folly of ambition. Meaſures therefore, publick meaſures and arrangements, and that which is now diſputed, were ſtipulated by us, were promiſed in one quarter and with aſſurances; they were not reſiſted in another.

In the ſervice of government, under his excellency's adminiſtration, we directed our attention to two great objects, the Kingdom and the Empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws, the diſcovery and reformation of certain abuſes, and were in progreſs to reform more; we obtained a great force, and a great ſupply with the conſent and confidence of the people; theſe were not the meaſures of courtiers, they were the meaſures of miniſters.

His excellency lord Fitzwilliam may boaſt that he offered to the empire the affections of millions; a better aid to the war than his enemies can furniſh, who have forfeited thoſe affections, and put themſelves in their place.

So decidedly have the meaſures of Ireland ſerved the empire, that thoſe who were concerned in them might appeal from the cabals of the Britiſh cabinet, to the ſenſe of the Britiſh nation. I know of no cauſe afforded for the diſpleaſure of the Engliſh cabinet; but if ſervices done to Ireland are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I muſt lament the gloomy proſpect of both kingdoms, and receive a diſcharge from the ſervice of government, as the only honour an Engliſh miniſter can confer on an Iriſh ſubject.

I conceive the continuance of lord Fitzwilliam as neceſſary for the proſperity of this kingdom: his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to diſcountenance a progreſs of vulgar and rapid pollution: if he is to retire, I condole with my country: for myſelf, the pangs on that occaſion I ſhould feel on rendering up my ſmall portion of miniſterial breath would be little, were it not for the gloomy proſpects afforded by thoſe *dreadful* guardians which are likely to ſucceed. I tremble at the return to power of your old taſk-maſters; that combination which gailed the country with its tyranny, inſulted her by its manners, exhauſted her by its rapacity, and ſlandered her by its malice: ſhould ſuch a combination, (at once inflamed as it muſt be now by the favour of the Britiſh court, and by the reprobation of the Iriſh people,) return to power, I have no heſitation to ſay, that THEY WILL EXTINGUISH IRELAND, OR IRELAND MUST REMOVE THEM. It is not your caſe only, but that of the nation. I find the country already committed in the ſtruggle. I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the iſſues of her fortunes.

I ſhould have expected that there had been a wiſdom and *faith* in ſome quarter of another country, that would have prevented ſuch cataſtrophe; but I know it is no proof of that wiſdom, to take the taxes, continue the abuſes, damp the zeal, and daſh away the affection of ſo important a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, cordial and confident with the offering of her treaſure and blood, and reſolute to ſtand or fall with the Britiſh nation; it is, I ſay, no proof of wiſdom nor generoſity, to ſelect that moment to plant a dagger in her heart.

But whatſoever ſhall be the event, I will adhere to her intereſts to the laſt moment of my life.

HENRY GRATTAN.

The

No. XI.

The conſpiracy in the county of Carlow.

NOT only in Carlow, but in moſt of the counties of Ireland, the prieſts in the years 1791 and 1792, began to take an accurate account of their ſectaries in every family within their reſpective pariſhes, which was ſuppoſed to be done with a view of aſcertaining their relative ſtrength by their numbers, when compared with the members of the eſtabliſhed church.

About the ſame time maps, pointing out the property of the old popiſh poſſeſſors, were printed and publiſhed.

The great zeal with which the prieſts began about that time to eſtabliſh religious fraternities among the populace, of which the ſcapular was the moſt prominent, gave an additional proof that a conſpiracy was in contemplation. This inſtitution introduced amongſt them an extraordinary ſanctity and auſterity of manners, and afforded a trial of their ſilence, which was ſo eſſential to promote ſuch a meaſure.

The inſolence of the lower claſs of the people was obviouſly encreaſed about the year 1793, by the following incidents: The prieſts were enabled to build ſtately chapels by the ſubſcriptions not only of their own flock, but of proteſtants; which formed a ſtriking contraſt to, and reflected on, the ruined edifices where proteſtants, leſs enthuſiaſtic, worſhipped their God.

At a time that a proteſtant clergyman in that county could not obtain a ſum of money to build a church for three hundred proteſtants, whom he had attended for twelve years in a ſooty cabbin, the prieſt of Carlow built a college and chapel, which muſt have coſt from 3000l. to 4000l.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the inſolent looks and haughty demeanour of the peaſants, who would not formerly approach a gentleman but with the greateſt humility, challenged his attention with a broad ſtare, often followed by a ſardonic grin.

Such was the ſtate of the county of Carlow in the month of November, 1797, when ſome informations, ſworn privately before a magiſtrate, gave unqueſtionable proofs that a conſpiracy was forming; and the following event removed every doubt on that head: Mr. Bennett, who lived near Leighlinbridge, was raſh enough to declare his deteſtation of an united Iriſhman, and that he would give 500l. for the head of one; for which on the ſame night he was murdered, in the dead hour of the night, and his houſe was robbed of 500l. in caſh.

This money, and their ſucceſs in gratifying their vengeance againſt ſo reſpectable an enemy, inſpired them ſo much with the hope of accompliſhing their main deſign, that they began to aſſemble in great numbers, and to organize with great celerity

A gentleman paſſing thro' Leighlinbridge, ſaid, he made it a rule to give the people a drink; and having ordered a barrel of ale for them, the conſpirators in great numbers, who ſeemed prepared for the buſineſs, mounted one of their drummers on the barrel, and proceeded in regular array, and with ſome arms, to the houſe of a man at Moneybeg, who had ſworn examinations againſt ſome of them, and murdered him in his bed; they then proceeded to the houſe of Mr. Bagenal, a gentleman who had formerly repreſented the county, but having kept behind a bank of earth, it protected them from the ſhot of three of his proteſtant yeomen, who kept up a conſtant fire on them, until an accidental ſhot, from a blunderbuſs of one of their own party, killed one of the united men, of the inauſpicious name of Paine.

Six

Six of his popiſh yeomen were poſted outſide his houſe, behind a wall, (for he kept the proteſtants within it,) commanded by his lieutenant, who afterwards recommended to Mr. Bagenal, not to depend on a papiſt, though he, and his two ſons, were of that perſuaſion, as he could not prevail on the three others to fire on the aſſailants; and he declared, that he never would ſerve with any of them.

In their retreat, they plundered and ſhattered the houſe of Mr. Mulhallow, and beat and inſulted him in the moſt cruel and ferocious manner.

From that time they never ceaſed to plunder houſes of arms, and other valuable articles, avoiding the patroles of Mr. Robert Rochfort, of Clongrennan, and of Mr. Cornwall, of Myſhall-lodge, who, much to their honour, never ceaſed to haraſs thoſe miſcreants by night, at the head of their reſpective yeomen corps; while other gentlemen, palſied by fear, ſought for protection by courting the prieſts. In ſhort, I have been aſſured, that the county of Carlow would have been as much deſolated as the county of Wexford, but that theſe gentlemen, by unabated exertions and the moſt undaunted courage, ſtruck terror into them, by ſurpriſing and arreſting numbers of them, in their moſt ſecret haunts and receſſes.

In all their depredations, they never offered any injury to the property, or inſult to the perſon of a papiſt, except that in ſome caſes they took arms from ſuch perſons of that perſuaſion, as were not likely to uſe them, or were not engaged in the confederacy.

On requiring arms of a widow of the popiſh religion, near Leighlin, they informed her that they were for her benefit, and that of the Catholick cauſe. A man of the name of Hughes, appeared before Mr. Cornwall, of Myſhall-lodge, a magiſtrate, on the twenty-firſt of July, and confeſſed that he had been a lieutenant, under a captain James Nowlan; and he ſtated the whole progreſs of the rebellion from its commencement. He ſaid that the night previous to the attack on Borris, Leighlin bridge, and Bagenalſtown, he received orders from Nowlan, how he was to attack the enemy; and on aſking him whom he was to conſider as ſuch, the captain replied, the king's troops and the proteſtants in general. The popiſh rabble, and numbers of Roman catholicks in comfortable, nay in opulent ſituations, took oaths of allegiance before magiſtrates, who gave them certificates of their having done ſo; and an abundance of ſuch certificates were found in their pockets when they were made priſoners at the battle of Kilcomney, and elſewhere.

Many proteſtants were murdered, many of their houſes were burnt, and much of their property was deſtroyed, in that part of the county of Carlow bordering upon the counties of Wicklow and Wexford. I have not obtained a minute account of them, but I ſhall refer the readers to the affidavit of Jervis Pue, at the end of this, for a ſpecimen of them, and of the ferocious ſpirit by which the rebels were actuated.

Moſt of the popiſh yeomen in the county of Carlow, were diſaffected, and would, had an opportunity offered, have turned their arms againſt their king and country.

In ſir Richard Butler's corps of cavalry, nine papiſts, of whom his permanent ſerjeant was one, conſpired to murder its proteſtant members. The ſerjeant was to have poſted in the rear the conſpirators, who were to have fired on the proteſtants in action. Seven of them were convicted and hanged, the other two fled; but coming in under the proclamation, obtained their pardon.

Mr. Burton, member for the county, had a corps of infantry, in which he diſcovered twenty popiſh traitors, whom he expelled, and ſeventeen of them were afterwards hanged or tranſported. The arms of his corps being depoſited in the guard houſe, and guarded by ſix popiſh members, when the inſurrection was expected, they poured water into the muzzles, and wet the pans, of their firelocks.

About thirty-six popiſh yeomen were ſhot in Carlow and its vicinity; but there was not a ſingle inſtance of diſaffection diſcovered in a proteſtant, that I could hear of.*

As the attack on Carlow, and the defeat of the rebels, took place on the firſt exploſion of the rebellion, I included a deſcription of it in the events which took place on that occaſion.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE information of Jervis Pue, of Johnſtown, in the county of Carlow, yeoman, who being ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath and ſaith, That on or about the firſt day of July, 1798, he, this informant, being in the yard of the Rev. Henry Braddell, his landlord, was informed that the rebels were advancing; in conſequence of which he, this informant, and two proteſtants more, made their eſcape into an adjoining wood, on the lands of Ballyconnel, in the county of Wicklow.—Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels advanced to the houſe of the ſaid Henry Braddell, and plundered the ſame of liquor and proviſions, and carried off a black mare, the property of George Braddell, eſquire, brother of the ſaid Henry; and that the ſame day the ſaid rebels forcibly carried off from the houſe of the widow Halfpenny, at Coolkinnoe, in the county of Wicklow, two ſons of the ſaid widow Halfpenny, Thomas Charleton, near ſaid place, James Twamly, who lives near Coolkennoe aforeſaid, George Driver, of Tinnehaly, all of the proteſtant religion, and whom they inhumanly butchered and put to death with pikes, on the hill of Boulamorogue, in ſaid county, for no other reaſon than becauſe they were proteſtants. Informant ſaith, that the bodies of the ſaid perſons were ſo mangled and butchered, that their friends were obliged to convey them to the place of burial ſwathed in linen clothes. Informant ſaith, that about three weeks ago, a party of ſaid rebels went to the houſe of Joſeph Faris, of Crownaſkeagh, in the county of Carlow, farmer, who lay ſick in bed with a violent fever; and that the ſaid rebels took the ſaid Joſeph Faris out of his bed, and ſhot him at the end of his own houſe, which they burned to aſhes.—Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels, about the ſame time, aſſaſſinated Thomas Mathers, of Crownaſkeagh aforeſaid, farmer: And he, this informant, verily believes that the ſaid rebels murdered the ſaid Faris, and the ſaid Mathers, for no other reaſon than becauſe they were proteſtants, who they, without exception, denominated orangemen; and informant further ſaith, that the ſaid rebels, never to this informant's knowledge, injured the houſe or property of any Roman catholick, reſident in any of the aforeſaid places. Informant ſaith, that a numerous body of rebels burned on the twenty-fourth of July laſt, the houſes of twenty-three proteſtants, at Lany and Johnſtown, in the county of Carlow, and at Ballyduff in ſaid county, and at Ahold, Coolkennoe, Killybeg, and Gold, in the county of Wicklow; informant ſaith, that the houſe of Lorenzo Nickſon, eſquire, at Coolkennoe aforeſaid, was among the houſes ſo burned; and that the ſaid rebels, previous to the burning of the ſame, had the poſtillion of the ſaid Lorenzo Nickſon, who was dying in a conſumption, brought out from ſaid houſe by two women, and that the ſaid rebels ſhot the ſaid poſtillion in preſence of his wife. Informant ſaith, that about a fortnight, previous to the date hereof, a party of rebels went to the houſe of Robert Davis, a farmer, and of the proteſtant religion, and reſident within half a mile of Tullow, in the county of Carlow, and ſhot the ſaid Davis in his houſe, at a late hour in the night; and that the ſaid rebels compelled a daughter of the ſaid Davis, who did not exceed the age of ten years, to hold a candle while they ſhot her father, and that ſaid rebels burned a bible;

* Except ſir Edward Croſbie, who was hanged at Carlow; and it is well known that he had long piqued himſelf on being a deiſt and a republican.

a bible, the property of the ſaid Davis. Informant ſaith, that Ephraim Singleton, farmer, and of the proteſtant religion, was murdered by the ſaid rebels at Coolroe, near Clonegal, in the county of Carlow, about a fortnight ago, and that they robbed him at the ſame time of a conſiderable ſum of money, as informant heard, and verily believes. Informant ſaith, that the proteſtant inhabitants of the places and townlands aforeſaid fled from their reſpective houſes many weeks ago, and that they dare not reſide in them, leſt they ſhould be aſſaſſinated by the ſaid rebels. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels have frequently purſued him, and have gone to different places in queſt of him; that about three weeks ſince, he, this informant, was obliged to fly precipitately, and bare-footed, to the garriſon of Tullow, at the diſtance of near five miles, from his houſe, to ſave his life from the rebels; and that in doing ſo, he was obliged to avoid the road, and croſs over the hedges and ditches. Informant ſaith, that his houſe has been burned, and all his ſubſtance has been deſtroyed, and that he was at laſt obliged to fly to the city of Dublin for protection.

JERVIS PUE.

Sworn before me the 29th day of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING.

The rebellion in the King's and Queen's county.

IN theſe the defenders had exiſted before an attempt was made to organize them by the united Iriſhmen, which took place in the beginning of the year 1797.

We find in the report of the ſecret committee* that the King's county was reckoned one of the beſt organized in the kingdom.

Popiſh fanaticiſm was the only ſpring of action among the rebels there, and the diſcovery of it by a proteſtant of republican principles, who had been deluded by them, prevented the fatal effects of the plot.†

He pointed out the captains who were to have headed the conſpiracy, on which many of them fled, and others were taken up.

Many of them, the confidential ſervants of noblemen and gentlemen, in whoſe families they had lived long, were to have ſurpriſed and murdered their maſters.

Two opulent ſhopkeepers of the name of Dempſey, in the town of Tullamore, were captains, and were tried and convicted of being ſuch. As one of them had been principally concerned in the maſſacre at Rathangan, the ſquadron, who had ſuffered ſo much there, requeſted to have the ſatisfaction of hanging them; and they accordingly did ſo, and buried them in the barrack yard.

The inhabitants of the town, to teſtify their concern for the fate of their fellow-traitors, cloſed their doors and windows, and obſerved a dead ſilence during the execution.

Coffey, a captain, was taken up, and threatened to be whipped, but after a ſolemn invocation to the Almighty, declared his innocence. He ſtill remained obdurate, after receiving ſeventy-five laſhes. Next morning, when he was on the point of receiving ſeventy-five more, he ſent for general Dunn, and confeſſed that he had been ſworn, but denied that he had ever acted with the rebels, on which the general diſmiſſed him; and yet within a fortnight after, he was engaged in a committee of united Iriſhmen,

 and

* Appendix, No. XXXI. p. 275.

† I already mentioned in page 258, that this was effected by one Dennis, an apothecary.

and deeply concerned in a conſpiracy to attack the king's troops at Philipſtown and Tullamore, and had ſworn his ſon, a yeoman, to join in it. Having been convicted of theſe crimes, he was hanged, and buried in the ſtable of the barrack.

On the trial of Andrew Ryan, a ſhopkeeper, it appeared in evidence, and which he acknowledged himſelf, that he had been a member of the ſociety ſince the year 1792, and that the object of it was to ſubvert the exiſting government. He muſt have meant the defenders, as the united Iriſhmen had not attempted to organize the King's county at that time.

By a court martial, held by orders of general Dunn, two men were convicted of ſwearing a perſon to be in readineſs to attack Tullamore, and murder the proteſtants. There was much diſaffection among the popiſh yeomen in the King's county. Of eighteen papiſts in the Dunkerrin cavalry, ſeventeen were ſworn as united Iriſhmen, and five of them were convicted of being concerned in robbing houſes of arms. Some or moſt of the papiſts in the Shinrone, Roſcrea, Caſtleotway and Nenagh corps, were ſworn to be true to the united cauſe, though they had taken the oaths of allegiance.

An oath was framed by general Dunn, with a paragraph importing that they would ſurrender any arms in their poſſeſſion, and diſcover ſuch perſons as had any in their cuſtody. But this produced no effect whatever, and no diſcoveries were made, or arms yielded up, until ſome of the notorious rebels, on being flogged, gave full information, and on this, great quantities of pikes were ſurrendered by thoſe very perſons who had taken the above oath. A ſhort time before the rebellion broke out, numbers of popiſh farmers ſtrenuouſly urged to be admitted into the yeoman corps, for no other purpoſe, as appeared afterwards, than to acquire arms and military diſcipline; and ſome of them bought very good horſes, to induce the officers to prefer them to proteſtants, who were not ſo well mounted. It was obſerved that the maſs of the people were very ſober and diſcreet for a conſiderable time before the rebellion broke out, which aroſe from their having taken an oath not to drink more than a naggin of whiſkey in the courſe of the day.

A magiſtrate,* who lives in a country much ſubject to tumult and diſturbance, on the confines of the King's county and Tipperary, aſſured me, that no information had been ſworn before him, for ſome time previous to it.

It is obſervable that not a ſingle inſtance occurred of diſloyalty in any of the proteſtant yeomen; at leaſt I could not hear of ſuch, after the moſt minute enquiry.

A ſhort time before the general exploſion, a printed letter, from the executive directory in Dublin, was diſperſed in the King's county, recommending to the rebels to riſe on a particular night, and to repair to Slievebloom mountain, where they would receive further orders.

Every thing that could incite or ſtimulate the multitude to action, was mentioned in it; and to inflame them againſt the proteſtants of the church of Ireland, whoſe unſhaken loyalty was well known, it was ſaid the orangemen would riſe and murder the Roman catholicks.

In the King's county the rebels never aſſembled but once, on the twentieth of Auguſt, when they were to have been joined by their brethren of the Queen's county, and to have formed a camp at the Devil's-bit; but the latter having diſappointed them, the former were ſoon diſperſed by the Dunkerrin and Shinron yeomen.

The maſs of the people in the King's and Queen's county are papiſts; the gentlemen of landed property in general, and many of the farmers and ſhopkeepers, are proteſtants.

* James F. Rollerton, eſquire.

proteſtants; there are but few preſbyterians in them. Though the ſtate of the former was in general very alarming, the number of proteſtants in Roſcrea and its vicinity was ſo great, and they were ſo loyal and courageous, as to overawe the diſaffected, and to repreſs their hopes of ſucceeding in an inſurrection there; and yet a numerous corps of united Iriſhmen was organized in and about that town.

The circumſtances attending the rebellion in the Queen's county, were exactly ſimilar to thoſe in the King's county, except that it was not ſo well organized. Religious fanaticiſm was almoſt the only engine made uſe of by the directory to inflame the multitude in it; and the extirpation of proteſtants, under the name of orangemen, was held out to them as an irreſiſtible lure.

To diſarm ſuſpicion, and lull the magiſtrates, oaths of allegiance were taken, and as a matter of courſe were afterwards violated; and there was much diſaffection among the popiſh yeomen.

The inſurrection was prevented in it by the following incident:

A meſſenger was ſent from the directory in Dublin, with a letter to a man of the name of Deegan, a leader of the united Iriſhmen, to fix the time for riſing; in a miſtake, he went to a loyal perſon of the ſame name, who entertained, and plied him with drink; and in the mean time ſent for a guard of ſoldiers, who conveyed him a priſoner to Stradbally, and he was afterwards hanged at Maryborough. Many murders and atrocities were committed in this county, and moſt of the Proteſtant houſes were plundered of arms, except ſuch whoſe inmates were able to defend them.

The conſpiracy in the county of Clare.

THE firſt ſymptoms of the conſpiracy appeared in the county of Clare, in the ſummer of the year 1797, when it was diſcovered that at Ennis and in its vicinity, numbers of people had formed clubs and combinations, and had taken illegal oaths; but no certain proof was obtained of it till the month of October, when a countryman having attempted to ſwear a gentleman's ſervant in that town, his maſter perſuaded him to give information againſt the countryman; on which he was committed to gaol. When he was arreſted, he threw away from him, for fear of diſcovery, the conſtitution and the teſt oath of the united Iriſhmen, printed on fine paper, and with an excellent type. On his committal, he ſaid, that he would make a full diſcovery of what he knew; but that he feared it would put his life in danger; having been aſſured of the contrary, he confeſſed that many perſons had come from Dublin for the purpoſe of forming aſſociations which were cemented by oaths; and that they wore green ribbands, having embroidered on them in gold the harp without the crown, and the words, Erin go bragh, meaning "Ireland for ever." Among others he charged one Thady Griffy, a ſerge weaver, with being very active in diſſeminating the principles and doctrines of the united Iriſhmen. He was a canting hypocrite, who was engaged, and deeply verſed in the myſteries of the Carmelites, and affected an extraordinary ſanctity and auſterity of manners, which he aſſumed as a cloke to conceal the moſt flagitious and turbulent principles. He was tried at the ſpring aſſizes of 1798 at Ennis; but by the ſeduction of ſome witneſſes, the intimidation of others, and the puzzling of thoſe who meant to declare the truth, by the gentlemen of the bar, he was acquitted, and immediately chaired by his rebellious friends, who in immenſe numbers celebrated their triumph over juſtice by vociferous acclamations, and with all the wantonneſs of ſavage joy.

A number

A number of ſtrangers, who were all of the Carmelite order, went into the county of Clare in the year 1796, and ſettled in the barony of Tullagh, on the borders of the county of Galway. The moſt part of them were weavers, and as they were very induſtrious, and ſeemed to have a great purity of morals, conſtantly recommending ſobriety and good order to the multitude, the gentlemen of the country rejoiced at their arrival. Thus they continued to be protected, till the winter of the year 1798, when they began to hold ſecret nightly meetings, to plunder the houſes of proteſtants, particularly the yeomen, of arms, and to cut down great quantities of young aſh trees to make pike handles, and to employ the blackſmiths in making pikes. On the twelfth and thirteenth of January, 1799, they and the proſelytes whom they initiated into the Carmelite order, to the number of ſeveral thouſands, aſſembled in the day, at Milltown and Inniſtimmon, and moved forward apparently with an intention of meeting the king's troops; but on their approach under general Meyrick, they fled to the mountains of Slievecullane, which are inacceſſible; they pretended to ſurrender their arms, but it was well known that they kept the beſt, and the greater part of them. Soon after their riſing they houghed great quantities of cattle, for which compenſation was made to the ſufferers by large ſums of money levied by the grand jury on the county; they went with unparalleled aſſurance next day, to the places where they had committed theſe acts of ſavage cruelty, to carry off the fleſh of the poor animals whom they had butchered the preceding night, and lamenting with diſſimulation the perpetration of them, ſaid, as they are killed,* we may as well as any other perſons carry home the meat. They killed ſome of them which were not quite dead. Mr. Lyſaght was the only perſon of conſideration concerned with them, and he engaged in the buſineſs merely from private reſentment to individuals; he was tried, convicted, and tranſported.

The pariſh prieſt of Kilfenora, of the name of Carrick, was committed on the following charge: That during the inſurrection, a great number of theſe rebellious hypocrites were proceeding in a body to plunder the houſe of Mr. Smith of Smithſtown of arms, and that they were entertained by Carrick, who exhorted them to unite, and be zealous in the cauſe, as the French would ſoon land and give them ample aſſiſtance. The proſecutor who charged Carrick was kept in the guardhouſe of Ennis, where ſome vagabonds pretending to make a riot, the guard ruſhed into the ſtreet to quell it, on which the informer made his eſcape, according to a preconcerted ſcheme.

The magiſtrates diſcovered at that time an itinerant Carmelite who ſeemed to be a high prieſt of that order; he had a long beard, and a cowl like the Capuchin friars, and a cloke which he hooked over his chin, and prevented, when he choſe, his beard from being ſeen; he had a long brown ſhirt which reached to the ground, and on the breaſt of it, there was the image of a coffin in white; he had one bag full of ſcapulars which he ſold to the beſotted multitude, and another full of ſhreds to make them; he had many little religious books containing the moſt abominable ſuperſtitious doctrines, and which the prieſts conſtantly circulate among their flock. He ſaid, that he went from one holy well to another, where he preached to a numerous auditory, who never failed to attend him. He had recently come from a holy well near Burren, where a great concourſe of people aſſembled, under religious pretences, but in reality to promote rebellion. It appeared by ſome papers found on him, that he was a Northern man, and had fled from near Belfaſt in conſequence of having committed ſome crime. He was diſcovered by a gentleman who overheard

* They killed great numbers of them in the night.

heard him preaching to a number of people in a weaver's houſe, where he was inveighing againſt proteſtants, and the government of Ireland. The magiſtrates urged the pariſh prieſt to baniſh him; but he ſaid that he could not venture to do ſo, though he highly diſapproved of ſuch perſons; for his ſubſiſtence depended on the will of the people, and as they had a ſtrong predilection for ſuch holy men, he ſhould incur their diſpleaſure by denouncing him; but he ſaid he would be glad that he was removed.

The conſpiracy in the county of Waterford in the years 1797 *and* 1798.

A ſlight ſketch of the ſtate of the conſpiracy in the counties of Waterford, Cork, and Tipperary, will anſwer to ſhew the leading principles of the rebels in the province of Munſter, and the deſigns by which they were actuated.

IN the county of Waterford, the inhabitants of large diſtricts were ſworn, and the proteſtants in them were diſarmed, in the courſe of a few nights. The main object of the rebels, who were excluſively papiſts, was to join the French on their landing, to extirpate proteſtants, and even ſuch perſons of their own order as ſhould oppoſe them, to plunder wealth, and confiſcate landed property; but it could not be diſcovered, that they were headed by any perſons of education and fortune. The Roman catholick gentlemen, much to their honour, remained loyal; but from the paucity of their numbers, they muſt have yielded to the wiſhes of the multitude to preſerve their lives and fortunes, if the conſtitution had been ſubverted. It is moſt certain that a general inſurrection would have taken place in the county of Waterford, in the winter of 1797, but that a large body of troops was introduced into it, and divided into cantonments; and that many diſtricts were proclaimed on the fourth of December, 1797. However, ſuch was the infatuation of the people, that they would have riſen before theſe events took place, but for the following difficulty which occurred: The farmers were the leaders, and the peaſants, who were to be the immediate and efficient inſtruments in the buſineſs, objected at firſt to co-operate with them, becauſe they had no proſpect of being rewarded for the imminent danger which they ſhould incur; while the others were to enjoy in fee ſimple the farms which they rented. However, it is believed, that theſe difficulties were overcome; for plans were formed for murdering moſt of the gentlemen reſident in the country, and for deſtroying their houſes; and even nights were fixed on for that purpoſe. It was remarkable that the conſpirators held the yeomanry in the greateſt deteſtation: The following anecdote will prove that, and the very depraved ſtate of the popiſh multitude:

Thomas Scammadon, a yeoman in the Cappoquin corps, juſt of age, was going on Sunday the twelfth of November, 1797, from that town to Claſhmore, about ten miles off; and as he paſſed through the village of Agliſs, when the popiſh congregation were leaving their chapel, his red uniform attracted their notice, and marked him for an object of their vengeance. Some of them invited him to drink in an alehouſe, to which all the traitors of the adjacent country had reſorted after maſs, in order to form their plots. They amuſed themſelves with his ſinging, (for he was a famous ſongſter) till it was dark; and then offered to adminiſter to him the united Iriſhman's oath; but he refuſed it, having ſaid, that he had taken an oath of allegiance a few days before. Finding that his loyalty was unſhaken, a party of them retired to another room, as a committee, and condemned him to die; and in obedience to the ſentence, two of his pot companions waylaid him, about half a mile

out

out of the village, and murdered him, having perforated his body in eighteen different places with his own bayonet.

In the pariſh of Modeligo, a committee of aſſaſſination, conſiſting of twelve farmers, in very good circumſtances, deliberately condemned one Thomas Curreen to die in the month of October, 1797, for no other reaſon, than that they ſuſpected he would not keep their ſecrets, for he was one of the brotherhood. They then proceeded in the dead hour of the night, with a number of their aſſociates, and ſhot him, after which every one preſent was obliged to inflict a wound on the body; this atrocity was afterwards proved by the information of one of the party. When they called Curreen out of his houſe, and informed him that he muſt die for the good of the cauſe, he aſked permiſſion to have the aſſiſtance of a prieſt before he was put to death; but they ſaid, that they ſhould not have time for that purpoſe, and that they would ſay a prayer for his ſoul. They therefore kneeled down, croſſed themſelves, and implored the divine favour for the ſoul of the victim whom they were going to immolate.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1798, the prieſt of that pariſh and ſeven hundred and eighty of his pariſhioners aſſembled at their chapel, publiſhed a declaration of their loyalty, and of their abhorrence of the principles and practices of the united Iriſhmen, which they publiſhed in the Dublin Journal, though it was well known, that they were as generally and deeply infected with them, as thoſe of any other pariſh in the county.

By informations ſworn before Henry St. George Cole, eſquire, by Michael Hiffernan, turnpike-keeper of Red Cliffe in the county of Waterford, 27th of January, 1798,

IT appears, that ſome time in the month of November, 1797, one Thomas Chriſtopher of Abbey-ſide, in ſaid county, aſſembled with ſeven or eight hundred united Iriſhmen in a field near Cuſhcam, with a treaſonable deſign of taking ſome cannon out of the Vulture privateer, then lying at Dungarvan, in order to level a number of gentlemen's houſes, particularly thoſe of the marquis of Waterford at Curraghmore, and murdering a number of gentlemen, particularly colonel Uniacke, and captain Cole; and that ſaid Thomas Chriſtopher went to informant three different days, and required him to give his conſent to put this deſign into execution.

The ſame informant ſwore before the ſaid magiſtrate, the twenty-fourth of March, 1798, that the united Iriſhmen in and about Dungarvan, aſſembled at different times in great numbers, in the autumn of 1797, and took arms from different people, and committed various outrages; and ſwore numbers of people to be true to their cauſe.

On the ſeventh of October, they cut off one of the ears of Patrick Sheehan of Glynbeg; that they pulled and proſtrated a quantity of corn in ſtack belonging to colonel Uniacke; that on the eighteenth of November, 1797, they reſolved to take five pieces of cannon out of the Vulture privateer, in order to level the houſe of Curraghmore, and to take away the lives of colonel Uniacke, Henry St. George Cole, eſquire, Richard Power of Claſhmore, eſquire, John Muſgrave of Ballyin, eſquire, Richard Barrett of Snugborough, eſquire, Roger Dalton, eſquire, the reverend Jabez Henry,* ſeveral others, and of all informers.

Anne Connor ſwore an information before Thomas Garde, eſquire, that her huſband Richard Connor, a police conſtable of the county of Waterford, and pariſh clerk

* All magiſtrates and men of fortune.

clerk of the parish of Temple Michael in said county, was murdered about the nineteenth of November 1797, and was buried in some place unknown to informant; and that some of his clothes and other articles belonging to him were found soon after in the house of Michael Smyth of Garryduff in said county. Sworn the eighth of December, 1797.

By information sworn before John Keane, esquire, thirtieth December, 1797, John Landy, alias Landers, of Dromore in the county of Waterford, blacksmith, alledged that on the night of Sunday the twelfth of November, he saw the body of Thomas Scammadon of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, yeoman, lying dead in the road between Aglish and Clashmore; and that Thomas Roche, and James Hickey, who had murdered said Scammadon, were standing near the body; and that they threatened to murder informant, unless he would assist them in removing said body into an adjacent field, with which he complied, and swore him by the cross to keep secret what he saw.

A police constable in the county of Waterford, deposed before the author of this work the third of December, 1797, that the united Irishmen assembled often in the barony of Decies tumultuously and in great numbers, and deprived him of his arms on the tenth of November, 1797; that they had resolved to murder many gentlemen in the country, and to level their houses; and that he heard them say, that John Musgrave, esquire, of Ballyin, Richard Power of Clashmore, esquire, and Pierce Power of Affane, esquire, were to be served so; that he heard some of the united Irishmen say, that a Roman catholick would ensure salvation by killing three Protestants.*

Michael Morrisey of Ballykarroge, farmer, swore an information dated the twentieth January, 1798, before John Keane, esquire, that a number of united Irishmen fired many shots into his house, and compelled him to swear to be true to their cause, and to kill all informers, and they threatened to murder him instantly if he refused; they swore him other oaths which he did not recollect.

James Parker of Killvogue in the county of Waterford, farmer, swore an information dated twenty-first January, 1798, before William Kirby, esquire, that Daniel Killiger, alias Cox, swore him the united Irishman's oath; and that he would keep his secrets, and that he would inform him if the gentlemen of Tallow would take any steps against him or his friends; that said Cox owned he was sworn to be true to the French, who would land in Ireland in December, and he recommended to him not to pay his debts, or any rent; and that when they landed he advised him to go to him, or some other friend to be sworn thoroughly, as it would be necessary for his protection.

An information of Mary Burke, sworn second January, 1798, before L. H. Jephson, esquire, a magistrate of the county of Waterford; that a number of men whose names are set forth, entered the house of Walter Wall of Mass-hill in said county, on Wednesday twenty-second November, 1797, and swore him, his father, and brother, to be just and true to them, to keep secret what they saw and heard, to pull down taxes and petty landlords; to be true to the French when they would land, and to weed out Protestants as they would an ear of corn.

William Flynn swore an information dated the second day of January, 1798, before Michael Keane, esquire, a magistrate of the county of Waterford, that about the eighth day of August, 1797, Maurice Power, attended by other united Irishmen, swore him in the town of Dungarvan, to be true to the French convention, his God, and his brothers, which words he read out of a paper.

* His name and place of abode are concealed, lest he should be assassinated.

Michael Heffernan ſwore an information before Henry St. George Cole, eſquire, the twenty-ſeventh January, 1798, that about the night of the ſeventh of November preceding, Thomas Quealy and others went to the houſe of Michael Morriſſy of Ballykarroge, broke his windows, dragged him out of his houſe, and ſwore him to be true to the French convention, and extorted money from him; that ſome time in ſaid month, the ſaid Thomas Quealy held a meeting near Cuſhcam, of ſeven or eight hundred united Iriſhmen, for the purpoſe of going to Durgarvan, to take cannon out of the Vulture privateer, with a view of levelling the marquis of Waterford's houſe at Curraghmore, and of murdering colonel Uniacke, captain Cole, and others.

Patrick Fling ſwore an information the ſecond of January, 1798, before the reverend Jabez Henry, that Thomas Quealy ſwore informant in the town of Durgarvan, an oath of ſecreſy, to be true to the French convention, and to have a brotherly love for each other.

Morgan Fowlow of Dungarvan, ſwore an information the fourth of January 1798, before Roger Dalton, eſquire, a magiſtrate, that John Driſcol, and David Bohan, ſwore him the firſt of November preceding, to love God and his brothers, to be true and faithful to the French and their convention, and to put all traitors to death.

Laurence Collins of Dungarvan ſwore an information the thirty-firſt of December, 1797, that John Driſcol, and many others, on the twenty-eighth inſtant at Dungarvan, ſwore him to be true to the French, and to cut and hack all his Majeſty's true and loyal ſubjects, and to join the French whenever they ſhould land.

William Sheehan ſwore an information the thirty-firſt of January, 1798, before Roger Dalton, eſquire, that a party of united Iriſhmen entered his houſe on the night of the ſeventh of October, 1797, and that his left ear was cut off by Michael Quinlan.

Richard Cahill ſwore an information the firſt of January, 1798, that Patrick Heavy, carpenter, ſome time in the month of November, 1797, agreed to ſhoot Henry St. George Cole, eſquire, and that a ſubſcription was made up for that purpoſe.

John Goolding and John Keys ſwore to the ſame purpoſe.

Michael Heffernan ſwore an information the fourth of January, 1798, before Michael Keane, eſquire, that Patrick Oagly of Abbey-ſide, ſhoemaker, went to him four times in the month of November, to concert meaſures for taking cannon out of the Vulture privateer, for the purpoſe of levelling the marquis of Waterford's houſe; and that he aſked the conſent and aſſiſtance four different times of informant, to murder R. Uniacke, eſquire, Richard Power, of Claſhmore, eſquire, John Muſgrave, eſquire, Pierce Barron, eſquire, Richard Barrett, eſquire, Roger Dalton, eſquire, Pierce Power, eſquire, H. St. George Cole, eſquire, and the reverend Jabez Henry.

Many aſſaſſinations were committed in the county of Waterford, in the autumn and winter of 1797.

The moſt noted was that of one Colclough, a publican, within three miles of Youghal. A numerous body of ruffians broke into his houſe in the night, murdered him, his wife, and ſervant maid, and mangled their bodies in a moſt ſavage manner. They were led to do ſo by a ſuſpicion that he had given information againſt ſome of them, who had houghed his cows.

It was proved that a neighbouring prieſt who has been ſince tranſported, gave the perpetrators of this horrid crime abſolution, for having committed it, and for other murders intended to be perpetrated.

It

It has ſince appeared, that many of the farmers and labourers in Colclough's neighbourhood were concerned in murdering him and his family.

John Brown, a farmer, depoſed before John Keane, eſquire, a magiſtrate, the fourth of January, 1798, that the object of the united Iriſhmen in the county of Waterford was to murder all the proteſtants as ſoon as the French ſhould land, and to join them. All theſe informations are in the crown office.

The conſpiracy in the city of Waterford.

THE conſpiracy at Waterford was as terrifick and as general, as in Dublin or Cork, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. The conſpirators were to have riſen, to have ſet fire to the city in different places, and to have maſſacred all the loyal ſubjects in it, if the rebels had ſucceeded in taking the town of Roſs.

The conſpiracy was diſcovered in the following manner :

A perſon who happened to be in a publick houſe at Johnſtown, a ſuburb of the city, overheard, through a thin partition, a number of the conſpirators conferring in the next room on the plot which was to be carried into execution, on the eruption of the rebellion. They were, in the firſt place, to ſet fire to Mr. Alexander Alcock's houſe, which is about a quarter of a mile from the city; and as he was a member of the corporation, and had numerous and reſpectable connexions in it, they knew that the moſt conſiderable perſons in Waterford, their retainers and dependants, would fly to his aſſiſtance, and that the fire-engines would be carried there. During their abſence, occaſioned by this wicked device, they were to ſet fire to the city in different places at the ſame time; and ſuch was their malignity, that, for the ſake of concealment, and the better to carry their treaſonable deſigns into execution, they meant to have ſet fire to their own houſes* in the firſt inſtance. The perſon who overheard the conſpirators repaired directly to counſellor Paul, and revealed to him what he had heard, but under the ſtricteſt injunction of ſecreſy.

Mr. Paul conducted him ſecretly to Humphrey May, eſquire, collector of the revenue at Waterford, and a magiſtrate for the city and county, and he gave full information to him upon oath, of the whole of what he had heard; on which Mr. May took up many of the conſpirators, and among others one Bohan, a baker, who, though enrolled in a yeomanry corps, and had taken the oath of allegiance, was one of the leaders of the conſpiracy.

As the maſs of the people of Carrick-on-Suir, and moſt of the yeomen there were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy, and as they were to have repaired to Waterford, to co-operate with their fellow traitors there, on the general inſurrection, Bohan uſed to go there three or four times a week, to concert meaſures for their future operations.

One Sargent, a publican, was alſo deeply concerned in the plot.

As the yeomen officers, and ſome of the principal gentlemen of the town, dined frequently at his houſe, and uſually left their ſwords in an antichamber, he laid a plan of cutting them off while at dinner. Carey, a ſtone-cutter, deeply concerned in the conſpiracy, was taken up, and on being examined, inſiſted on his innocence; but on receiving about a dozen laſhes of a cat-o'nine-tails, he acknowledged that he was engaged in the plot, and confeſſed all the circumſtances which had been diſcovered and related by the perſon who overheard the conſpirators at Johnſtown; and at the ſame time, he diſcloſed the names of his principal accomplices, who were immediately arreſted.

* They did ſo in Enniſcorthy and Roſs.

The conſpirators had ſeduced a great number of the Clare militia, quartered ſome months at Waterford, who were to have acted with them on the general inſurrection; and it appeared that their artillery-men were to have fired on the city, with their battalion guns, from a hill which hung over it.

It is to be lamented that there was a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection among the Roman Catholick yeomen of Waterford, for which many of them were diſmiſſed; and it was proved, that they had entered into the ſervice for no other purpoſe but to acquire arms and a knowledge of military diſcipline.

The plot was conducted with ſo much ſecreſy in Waterford, that a very reſpectable inhabitant of it, and a member of the corporation, who piqued himſelf on the loyalty and tranquillity of its inhabitants, was on the point of inſerting in the Waterford newſpaper a warm panegyrick on them, the day on which the plot was diſcovered.

The hon. colonel Burton, who commanded in Waterford for ſome time after the battle of Roſs, aſſured me, that many Roman catholicks, in rather a reſpectable ſituation, went privately to him, acknowledged they were concerned in the plot, expreſſed contrition for it, and craved his protection and the mercy of government; and that he never diſcloſed their names.

So ſure were the conſpirators, that a general riſing would take place in conſequence of the ſuppoſed victory of their friends at Roſs, with whom they had kept up a cloſe and conſtant intercourſe, that money was given out by their treaſurers, to repair to the ſouth and weſtern parts of the country, to invoke the maſs of the people to riſe. But the ſucceſs of the king's troops at Roſs defeated their ſchemes.

As many of the fugitives from Roſs to Waterford, announced in their flight, that the rebels had been ſucceſsful, moſt of the labourers and farmers in that part of the county of Kilkenny oppoſite to Waterford ſuddenly deſerted their different occupations, and repaired to their fellow traitors: But on diſcovering their diſappointment, returned; and dreading that their conduct would bring on them the vengeance of the law, they ſlunk into Waterford, and repaired to ſome magiſtrates there, to take the oath of allegiance, in hopes of getting protections, to ſcreen them from the penal conſequences of their treaſon.

On the trial of Edmond Quin, for being a rebel, held at Waterford, the ſeventeenth of July, 1799, by court martial, it appeared, that he told John Whelan, when they were both priſoners in the gaol of Waterford, that if matters had remained as they were in the height of the troubles, for two days and two nights, Waterford would have been taken by the united Iriſhmen, and that in two months from that time, they would be in poſſeſſion of it.

The facts contained in this account of the conſpiracy at Waterford are not founded on vague aſſertion, but were proved on court martials, which I have read.

On many of the trials of the diſſaffected inhabitants of Roſs and Waterford it appeared, that there was a conſtant intercourſe between them, and that the fate of Waterford was to have depended on the ſucceſs of the rebel army of the former.

By a court martial held at Waterford, the twenty-ſecond of June, 1798, John Abbot was convicted of having conſpired to aſſiſt the rebels in an inſurrection in that town, and of ſaying that he would ſet fire to his own houſe for the purpoſe of confounding the army; and that he declared, that Thomas Gough and Michael Bohan, were preparing to do the ſame. It was proved alſo that he had concealed arms.

On

On the trial of Garret Murphy, by court martial, held at Waterford, the twenty-fifth of July, 1798, captain Lowrie, of the thirteenth regiment, president, it was proved, that Mr. Thomas Anthony, architect, who had employed the prisoner, pretended that he had been an united Irishman, for the purpose of learning his secrets, and that Murphy informed him a few days after the battle of Ross, that he had been, previous to that event, with Mr. Colclough, in the county of Kilkenny, and that Mr. C. having left him, went to Carrick and Clonmel, to prepare the people there for rising: That he told Mr. Colclough of the insurrection intended in Waterford, and that he must go there to save a particular friend: That he was sure the king's troops would be completely defeated, as there were so many united Irishmen encamped in the county of Wexford. He told him that there were arms in the outlets of the city of Waterford: That he was concealed in a ditch in the county of Kilkenny, near Ross, and missed fire twice at two gentlemen, who rode by in their way to Waterford; and that one of them, when they proceeded a little farther, was shot in the arm: He believed one to be young Mr. Tottenham; that Waterford was the object of the united Irishmen, when they had defeated the king's troops at Ross; but that city had nothing to fear, unless they succeeded there. Mr. Anthony gave a most excellent character of him, but fanaticism made him a rebel.

Before a court-martial held at Waterford, the twentieth of June, 1798, Patrick Rourke was found guilty of conspiring with others, in an insurrection and an attack upon Waterford, and that at a meeting of united Irishmen at his house, he declared, that for the good of the cause, he would set fire to his own house; and that he said, the object of setting fire to the houses, was, to create confusion among the king's troops, the easier to overcome them. It was proved also, that it was said at his house, that some of the Clare militia, then quartered in Waterford, were to seize the cannon, arms and ammunition, for the purpose of taking the city.

William Lewis, a soldier of the Clare regiment, proposed at the house of Patrick Rourke, in the presence of some of his fellow soldiers, and the united Irishmen of Waterford, to seize the cannon and ammunition then in that city, and to carry them up to the hill and to fire on it; and that that plan had been agreed upon in the presence of the militia men.

By a court martial held at Waterford the sixth of July, 1798, corporal Curry of the Clare regiment, Simon Ryan, and Thomas Reily, privates of the same, were convicted of being concerned in the conspiracy to seize the city and all the cannon in it, for the purpose of assisting the rebels in taking it; and in having conspired to murder all their officers, except lieutenant Mc. Mahon, who was a Roman catholick. It was proposed there also by one Carey, to murder the union corps of that city. At the same meeting, corporal Woods, in the artillery of the Clare regiment said, that he had eight or ten united Irishmen in the artillery, who would draw the guns up the hill, and fire on the town: That a committee was formed to carry that plan into execution. Garret Murphy confessed on his examination before some magistrates, that John Forrestal, publican, at New Ross, told him, that the rebel army would march through the county Kilkenny to Waterford, if the king's troops were beaten at Ross: That great numbers of people at Waterford and Ross, some of whom he mentioned, were concerned as officers, or privates, and that he was a serjeant, and used to collect 6dh. per month, from the men under his command, which he paid to Messrs. Hunt, Foot, and Farrell, who were captains, for the purpose of sending messengers to Dublin. It was very fortunate that the rebels in the county Kilkenny mistook the day destined for the attack upon Ross.

By

By two court martials held at Waterford, one the fourteenth of June, the other the twenty-third of July, 1798, it was proved that Walter Power, Richard Connolly, and James Hynes, went to the houſe of Mr. Valentine Lannagan, of Charleſtown, with ſome other rebels, and took his fire arms and ammunition; and that the ſaid V. Lannagan heard the priſoners ſay in converſation, on the ſeventh of June, that, if it were not for the cannon, they would have cut off the Roſcommon regiment, which marched the day before from Waterford to Roſs, as two thouſand united Iriſhmen had aſſembled at Glanmore, on the ſixth of June, for that purpoſe.

Conſpiracy in the city of Cork.

THE conſpiracy was infinitely more terrifick in the city of Cork than in Dublin, becauſe the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, whoſe deſtruction was meditated, were much fewer in proportion to the Roman catholicks; and the conſpirators were better organized and armed, as the vigilance and the exertions of the executive power were not ſo active and vigorous as in the metropolis, the ſeat of government.

It was divided into three diviſions, the north, the centre, and the ſouth; and each of them was ſubdivided into ſections. It was diſcovered, that there were one hundred and thirty of the latter, from North-gate bridge, through Black-pool, and that portion of the city, and that each conſiſted of a ſerjeant and twelve men. They were all regimented, and had a regular gradation of officers from a colonel down to a corporal.

An immenſe quantity of pikes was fabricated in Cork. Meaſures were concerted for taking the magazine; and ſo ſure were the conſpirators of ſucceeding, that poles were prepared, exactly fitted to the ſocket of a bayonet, that they might mount them the inſtant thoſe weapons, (of which there was a great number in the magazine,) fell into their hands.

There was great diſaffection among the popiſh yeomen, particularly in the Cork legion. Sweeny and Donovan, two leaders in the conſpiracy, and Drinane, continued members of it, until they were arreſted. Some of them owned to perſons who became approvers, that they entered into it merely to obtain arms and a knowledge of military diſcipline. Roger O'Connor, confined in gaol, was the chief director of the union in Cork; and he paid the bills at the houſes of entertainment which were kept open for the reception of the ſoldiers, who were regaled in them *gratis*, with the moſt delicious fare; and they were even ſupplied with concubines, the more effectually to ſeduce them.

As two ſoldiers of the Dublin regiment were condemned to be ſhot for diſaffection, John Sweeny, a woollen draper, diſtributed printed hand bills, not only among the ſoldiers, but among the diſaffected of the city, and the adjacent country, inciting them to riſe in maſs, to overpower the garriſon, and to reſcue the priſoners; but doctor Harding, at that time high ſheriff, arreſted Sweeny in the gaol, while conferring with R. O'Connor, on the morning of the day that the execution of the ſoldiers took place; by which the inſurrection was defeated. The great vigilance, and active exertions of that loyal gentleman, preſerved the city of Cork from conflagration and a general maſſacre, for which many plots were formed to murder him.

A man of the name of Caſey, was hired to aſſaſſinate him, and was on the point of firing a piſtol at him, when fortunately a pig ran between his legs, and threw

threw him down, by which the life of that valuable member of ſociety was preſerved. A committee of aſſaſſination was conſtantly ſitting in Cork, by which ſir Henry Mannix, captain Weſtropp, Mr. Shaw the collector, doctor Harding, alderman Shaw, meſſrs. Alexander and Johnſon, high conſtables, and other loyal gentlemen, were condemned; and purſuant to their ſentence, ſir Henry Mannix was fired at, and wounded, near Cork, by one Callaghan, the aſſaſſin hired to murder him; and who immediately repaired to John Sweeny, and claimed the reward which the committee had offered for killing him; but Sweeny refuſed to pay it to him, as he was not actually killed; but being a woollen draper, he gave him two ſuits of clothes, as a recompenſe for the zeal which he diſplayed in the cauſe of the union.

Four men, who became approvers at an early period of the conſpiracy, continued to attend the committees, and conſtantly gave information to the magiſtrates of every thing that paſſed; and their communications exactly correſponded with the evidence which was afterwards given on the trials of the conſpirators by different profecutors.

They often produced black liſts of the principal proteſtant families in the kingdom, who, under the denomination of hereticks, were to be aſſaſſinated, and the Beresford family, and Mr. Ogle, were among them; and it was often aſſerted in theſe committees, that a perſon would enſure ſalvation by killing a certain number of proteſtants.*

As captain Weſtropp's corps, all proteſtants, were conſpicuous for their loyalty, an order for aſſaſſinating them was iſſued by the grand committee, to which all the reſt were ſubordinate; and the bloody deed was to have been performed when they were proceeding to mount a piquet guard at Blarney, four miles from Cork, by a band of aſſaſſins,† who were ſupplied with blunderbuſſes for that purpoſe. When in a deep road, they were to have been fired on from the hedges on each ſide, which were high; and at the ſame time they were to have been aſſailed in front and rear, by men appointed with muſkets; but the plot was defeated by the ſeaſonable diſcovery of one of the approvers to whom I alluded.

The members of the union in Cork were ſo deſperate and ſanguinary, that a propoſal was made, and it was ſome time diſcuſſed in a committee, to murder the amiable doctor Moylan, titular biſhop of Cork, partly from motives of revenge, on account of his loyalty; but the principal reaſon aſſigned in the committee for it was, that it would be imputed to the proteſtants, and rouſe the vengeance of the Roman catholicks againſt them, as ſtrong ſtimulants were thought neceſſary at that time. The proteſtant yeomen of Cork are entitled to the higheſt praiſe, for the unremitted ardour which they diſplayed, and the great fatigue which they endured, in ſupport of the conſtitution, againſt confederated traitors, who conſpired for its deſtruction.

County of the city of Cork. } THE information of Thomas Boyle, private in captain ——————— } Ormſby's company of the North Mayo regiment of militia, taken this twenty-eighth day of May, 1798. Deponent being duly ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, That ſome time ſince he got acquainted with Thomas Meagher, of Half-moon-ſtreet, publican; that about a fortnight ago deponent was brought into the houſe of ſaid Meagher, by a ſeaman, of the name of Patrick Meade, who called for a pot of porter, and taking deponent by the hand, ſqueezed and

* This reward is held out by the council of Lateran, ſee page 11 of the Memoirs; and this opinion was frequently uttered and maintained by the rebels, ſee in Appendix XIII. an affidavit on the ſtate of Dublin, and Whitney's Affidavit, Appendix XIX 11.

† The author has a liſt of them in his poſſeſſion.

and hurt him with his thumb; on deponent complaining, ſaid Meade replied, you are not a true brother, or you would return the ſqueeze; this paſſed in the preſence and hearing of Meagher before mentioned.

Deponent further depoſeth, and ſaith, that he frequently met the aforeſaid Meagher, who was remarkably civil to him, and invited deponent to his houſe; that about eight or nine days ago* Meagher, in his own houſe, told informant, "that the "majority of the people were ſworn brothers, and that they would be much better "off, if they had been ſworn long ago." Said Meagher then wanted deponent to ſwear, and to get his friends in the regiment to ſwear, as no man's life would be ſafe, who was not ſworn; deponent refuſed to ſwear at that time. Deponent depoſeth and ſaith, that he informed enſign Con, and colonel Jackſon of the Mayo, of theſe converſations, and that they adviſed him to be ſworn; that on the ſame evening, being Friday the twenty-fifth May inſtant, deponent went to the houſe of the ſaid Meagher, when the ſwearing was again ſpoken of by the ſaid Meagher, and he the deponent was then ſworn on a book by the ſaid Meagher, "to be true "to the united men, and their party, and never to draw a trigger, or a ramrod "againſt the united Iriſhmen, or againſt the French if they ſhould land here;" ſaid Meagher then wanted deponent to go with him to Cow-lane, where he would meet ſome friends, but deponent declined going there; ſaid Meagher adviſed deponent to get as many of the regiment ſworn as he could, and that he would give him money, and alſo adviſed him to get firearms and ammunition conveyed out of the barrack to him the ſaid Meagher. Deponent further depoſeth, that ſaid Meagher ſaid he would give him money to treat the officers ſervants, and deſired he would get acquainted with them, and appeared very anxious to know when colonel Jackſon, and the head officers would dine with general Stewart; for that there was a quarry at Leitrim very convenient to kill colonel Jackſon, and that he could very eaſy make his eſcape in a boat without coming over the bridge. Meagher further told informant that if he did not wiſh to remain here, he would give him money and coloured clothes to go to Briſtol in the packet.

The following very extraordinary circumſtance occurred in the conſpiracy at Cork: A ſhort time before the intended inſurrection, an order was ſent to all the inferior committees, as if from a committee of twelve prieſts, to eject from them any proteſtant members which they might have admitted. It is ſuppoſed that they were afraid of having the plot diſcovered, after it had come to maturity, knowing that the proteſtants were loyal, with but few exceptions. All the approvers have uniformly agreed, that this order was conveyed to all the inferior ſocieties, as if from the committee of twelve prieſts; and one Mockler, a ſhoemaker, who delivered all the orders, has diſappeared, left, it is ſuppoſed, he ſhould be led to make a diſcovery of this tranſaction, and to diſcloſe the myſteries of it.

Conſpiracy in the county of Cork.

THE organization in the county of Cork was exactly ſimilar to that which took place in every part of the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter. There were committees of aſſaſſination in every pariſh, ſimilar outrages and barbarities prevailed, and the members of the union in that county, who were almoſt excluſively Romaniſts, ſeem to have been actuated by one general deſign of joining the French, of extirpating proteſtants, and ſuch of their own perſuaſion as would not join them, and of confiſcating their property; and it appeared, on moſt of the trials, that the perſons who carried

carried on the buſineſs of organization, and diſſeminated the doctrines of united Iriſhmen, were ſent from the city of Cork.

To give the reader a catalogue of the many inſtances of nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination which occurred there, in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799, would only fill him with horror and diſguſt.

Mr. Robert Hutchinſon, of Codrum, near Macroom, an amiable and unoffending gentleman, was murdered in his own houſe, on the night of the 21ſt of April, 1799, by a gang of aſſaſſins, headed by one Timothy Carthy; and it appeared on his trial* that he had converſed with other captains, and formed plans with them for murdering every other gentleman in the country, and that they were to deſtroy four or five of a night.

Patrick Murphy was murdered in the month of December, 1797, at Ballymocada, near Youghall, having been previouſly condemned by a committee of aſſaſſination, conſiſting of nine perſons.

Father Neil, a prieſt, of Ballymocada, was taken up, and confeſſed, that he adviſed and approved of the murder of Murphy and another man, and that he gave abſolution to the perſons who perpetrated it.

Thomas Neil, a farmer, in very opulent circumſtances, was hanged at Cork for having been privy to, and preſent at the murder of Murphy, with a drawn ſword; it is ſuppoſed at the inſtigation of his relation the prieſt. The day before his execution, he confeſſed to his landlord, Edward Hoare, eſquire, a magiſtrate, that at firſt he was loyal, and intended to join lord Boyle's corps, but was diſſuaded from it by his father, and others of his relations, (among whom it was ſuppoſed the prieſt was concerned) who induced him to ſwear the following oath: "I do moſt ſolemnly ſwear, that I will pay no rent or tythes; that I will uſe my utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy all proteſtants,† and falſe brothers; and be true to the French in caſe they land in Ireland;" and he confeſſed, that, in conſequence of his entering into this aſſociation, he preſided at the murder of Murphy; when firſt apprehended, he made ſome ſevere charges againſt his couſin, the prieſt, relative to the murder, but ſaid at the time of his execution, that he had them only by hearſay.

One Deſmond, a tobacconiſt, in opulent circumſtances in Youghall, was committed on ſome treaſonable charges; and while he was in gaol, a perſon employed by him in his buſineſs, was murdered in his houſe, with circumſtances of horrid barbarity. This unfortunate man was privy to their treaſonable ſchemes; and Deſmond and his aſſociates, fearing that he would diſcloſe them, if threatened with corporal puniſhment, from his weakneſs of mind and timidity, had him aſſaſſinated. He was found hanging in a garret in Deſmond's houſe, with ſome deſperate wounds in his body; and a knife with which they had been inflicted, lay on the ground near the body. This horrid crime was perpetrated by Deſmond's brother, and one Dunn, who came to town that day from the place where father Neil lived. The doctrines of the united Iriſhmen, and their ſyſtem, were firſt introduced into Youghall, and its neighbourhood, by ſome ſoldiers of the Meath regiment quartered there, as the united Iriſhmen had ſome miſſionaries in it, and indeed in almoſt every regiment.

A young man of the county of Cork, and of the Romiſh perſuaſion, was peculiarly active in forwarding the deſigns, and in diſſeminating the principles of the united Iriſhmen, for which he attracted the notice and the eſteem of lord Edward

 Fitzgerald,

* His trial took place at Cork the twenty-third of May, 1799.

† All proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church were enemies to the rebellion, and were therefore regarded as falſe brothers.

Fitzgerald, and all the great leaders in Dublin and Cork. He had received a good ſchool education; and having afterwards turned approver, declared, that he found nothing ſo effectual to accelerate his ſcheme of proſelytiſm, as that part of Mr. Erſkine's pamphlet, which I have already quoted, as it varniſhed over the nefarious proceedings of the united Iriſhmen. But he declared, that what crowned his efforts with ſucceſs, was gaining over to his cauſe the Romiſh prieſts, by awakening their jealouſy and hatred againſt the eſtabliſhed church, and by aſſuring them that, on the ſubverſion of the government, theirs ſhould have an aſcendancy, and ſhould enjoy a ſplendid and an opulent hierarchy; but he owned at the ſame time, that ſome of them remained immoveable by his arguments; and declared they would reſiſt any efforts to overturn the eſtabliſhed government; however he mentioned but three of thoſe whom he attempted to ſeduce, doctor Moylan, titular biſhop of Cork, Mr. Barry of Charleville, and Mr. Barry of Mallow.

By the circulation of an addreſs to the yeomen of Ireland, which was framed by Arthur O'Connor, he was enabled to pervert a great number of thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion; but he could not make an impreſſion on any of the eſtabliſhed religion.

The conviction of various delinquents at the ſpring aſſizes of Cork in the year 1798, proved that the maſs of the people, who are all papiſts, were ſtrongly infected with treaſon; even in the moſt remote and barbarous parts of that immenſe county, where they were but one degree above animal inſtinct.

Denis Sullivan, and Daniel Keefe, were convicted of having compelled Luke O'Brien, a ſoldier, with a cocked piſtol at his breaſt, to ſwear that he would not be true to the king, becauſe he was not qualified, or entitled to enjoy the crown.

Timothy Kavanagh, of having on the twenty-eighth of March, at Sunville, fired a ſhot at Mr. William Martin, a proteſtant, whoſe hat he knocked off with a bullet.

James Coppinger, and others, of having on the thirty-firſt of March, 1798, at Skibbereen, drank ſucceſs to the French, and bad luck to their enemies.

John Collins was found guilty of having ſaid at the ſame place, on the twelfth of February, 1798, George the third is a ſcoundrel and a raſcal.

Timothy Carthy, (the murderer of Mr. Hutchinſon, a few months after,) was found guilty of having, with many others, attempted to enter forcibly the houſe of Mr. John Gilman, near Dunmanway, and of having fired many ſhots into it.

The manufacture of pikes was carried on univerſally, and with uncommon celerity, in every part of the county of Cork.

Nothing accelerated the progreſs of treaſon ſo much in that county, as aſſuring the lower claſs of people that the payment of rent, tythes, and taxes, would be aboliſhed by the revolution; and that they would be allowed to gratify their ſanguinary ſpirit againſt proteſtants.

So rapidly was the organization carried on, that in all the country contiguous to Mallow, Doneraile, and Charleville, the maſs of the people was ſworn, and all the proteſtants were diſarmed in the courſe of a few nights; and ſuch was the ſyſtem of terror there, that the magiſtrates would not venture to make any efforts to recover them, until lord Doneraile calling the gentlemen of the country together, encouraged them to unite; and by his own ſpirited conduct, animated them to ſtep forward in defence of their lives and property.

The

The leaders of the rebellion in that county, uſed the ſame device which was ſucceſsfully practiſed in many other parts of the kingdom to inflame the Romaniſts againſt their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, videlicet, that they were united in clubs as orangemen; and that they had bound themſelves by oath, not to remit their exertions for the extirpation of papiſts, until they walked knee-deep in their blood; and ſuch fictions were implicitly believed, not only by the credulous multitude, but by perſons of wealth and education, though no ſocieties of orangemen had then exiſted in that county. It was diſcovered, that ſuch reports were propagated by the popiſh clergy of Youghall, and its vicinity, where they were extremely active.

In the month of March, 1798, a Roman catholick gentlewoman, in the barony of Imokilly, expreſſed very great fears to a gentleman of my acquaintance, that every perſon of her religion would be aſſaſſinated by the orangemen; but being queſtioned on the foundation of her apprehenſions, ſhe acknowledged that no orangemen had ever been ſeen in the country, and that ſhe had no other knowledge of them, but by report.

The Leitrim regiment of militia, quartered between Mallow, Doneraile, and Charleville, were on their arrival there, very loyal and obedient to their officers; but as they were Romaniſts, ſuch malignant reports ſoon made them enemies to the ſtate, and to proteſtants of every deſcription.

A ſanguinary oath ſuppoſed to have been taken by proteſtants, and which was circulated among the ſoldiers of this regiment, had ſuch an effect on them, that thoſe quartered at Mallow, wantonly quarrelled with the Engliſh artillery ſtationed there at the ſame time, and had ſome conflicts with them, which would have been attended with much bloodſhed, but for the ſeaſonable interference of the officers of both regiments.

A committee to ſuperintend and tranſact the buſineſs of the county ſat conſtantly in Cork; and they ſent directions to every part of it, relative to the finances, the ſeizing of arms, and the military organization; and they iſſued orders to all the country committees of aſſaſſination, to murder every perſon in their vicinity, whoſe loyalty and ſpirited exertions made him obnoxious to them.

Meſſrs. St. George and Uniacke were murdered at Arraglin, near Kilſworth, on the ninth of January, 1798, by order of that committee.

One Burniſton, a moſt ſanguinary wretch, who had been one of the moſt active and efficient members of the union at Cork, iſſued the order for that purpoſe, to a committee at Arraglin; and they having accompliſhed the buſineſs, their leader wrote a letter to Burniſton, to inform him of it; and Burniſton read the letter to a perſon in Cork who turned approver, and proſecuted him.* Burniſton had been bred a proteſtant, but confeſſed that the conſtant peruſal of Paine's Age of Reaſon, had completely extinguiſhed all religious principle in him.

The following very remarkable event happened at Kinſale, in the county of Cork: Eighteen popiſh ſoldiers of the North Mayo regiment, voluntarily conformed to the proteſtant religion, in the autumn of 1798, before the reverend Peter Foley, curate, and ſovereign of that town. They unanimouſly declared, that their converſion aroſe from the accounts which they received from their own country, of ſhocking cruelties committed there, on pretence of religion; and that the heads of their commu-

 nion

* The letter was conceived in the following words:

"CITIZEN BURNISTON,

"Your order has been obeyed, and St. George and Uniacke are no more; twenty-ſeven perſons have been taken in Arraglin, on account of their death; if you wiſh it, they ſhall be reſcued."

nion had been the chief inſtigators to the commiſſion of them. Mr. Foley explained to them the main points of difference between the two religions; and gave them Secker's lectures on popery. They regularly attended the ſacrament, and received it apparently with very great devotion.

It appeared on the trial of one Simon Donovan, held at Cork, the ſixth of March, 1799, that one Long, a ſchoolmaſter, was employed by the county committee in Cork, to organize different parts of the country; and that he was a moſt active agent for them. He reported to them, that he had made a moſt rapid progreſs in a country called Carnavar; and that he had formed a committee of twelve there, conſiſting of the moſt opulent farmers in that diſtrict; but that they wanted the aſſiſtance of the people of Cork, to cut off ſix perſons whom they called ſtays, becauſe they, by their courage and activity, impeded materially the progreſs of the buſineſs. Sir Henry Mannix was one of theſe perſons, and in about two months after he was fired at and wounded. It was proved on the ſame trial, that races were ſet on foot at the fair green of Cork, by the county committee in Cork, for the purpoſe of aſſembling the country people to ſwear them, which anſwered that deſign very well. It was proved that Denis Lane, one of their moſt active agents, gave the following toaſt in the company of ſome united Iriſhmen at the fair green: 'That the king's ſkin may make a drumhead to beat the united Iriſhmen to arms!' which toaſt Lane and the company drank.

On the trial of Daniel Wollaghan, and Daniel Harrington, held at Cork the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1799, it appeared, that they with eleven other ruffians, armed with ſcythes on the end of poles, in the month of September, 1798, iſſued forth in the night to hough cattle; and that they according houghed and mangled in a moſt barbarous manner, the cows of different people.

In the month of May, 1798, there was a dreadful mutiny in the Meath regiment quartered at Mallow, which was excited by ſome agents of the united Iriſhmen ſent there for that purpoſe; one of them who turned approver, aſſured me of it, and ſtated to me the particulars of it. It was occaſioned by reports ſedulouſly circulated among them of the plots of orangemen againſt papiſts.

On the trial of Peter Shea, at Cork, on the thirteenth of June, 1799, it appeared that he and others endeavoured to ſeduce the crew of the Venerable and Ajax men of war, ſtationed at the Cove of Cork.

On the night of the twenty-third of March, 1798, a band of ruffians forcibly entered the houſe of the reverend Mr. Stopford, near Blarney, ranſacked and plundered it, and broke all the doors and windows, and would have murdered him, but that he eſcaped in his ſhirt through a back window.

On the tenth of January, 1799, a number of aſſaſſins broke into the houſe of the reverend Mr. Blackwood, rifled and plundered it of arms, ammunition, and various articles, and murdered in cold blood William Hogg, a ſoldier, who was ſtationed there to guard it; and they would have aſſaſſinated Mr. Blackwood, but that he happened to be from home.

Some of the prieſts in that county refuſed to exhort their congregations to loyalty and obedience to the laws; ſome of them, when they, by deſire of the magiſtrates, preached from the altar, endeavoured rather to teach their flock how to evade the vengeance of the law, than to remain peaceful and loyal. One of them recommended ſobriety and early hours to his congregation; becauſe, as he ſaid, there were ſocieties of orangemen forming in the country, whoſe only object was their deſtruction.

Doctor

Doctor Moylan's paſtoral inſtructions, which they were all obliged to read from the altar, ſoon after the arreſt of Arthur O'Connor, in Kent, produced a very good effect, in checking the ſpirit of treaſon and diſaffection.

There were two committees of united Iriſhmen conſtantly ſitting at Bantry, who organized the whole of the South Weſt of the county, and planned a general riſing in that part, in which the Weſtmeath regiment, at that time much infected, would have joined, but that the ſeaſonable diſcovery of their deſigns, and the critical arrival of the Caithneſs Legion defeated it. In that immenſe tract, the houſe of every proteſtant was robbed of arms, but none belonging to Roman catholicks were moleſted.

This riſing was to have been begun at Clonakilty, where the Weſtmeath was quartered, and was to have extended over the whole of the South Weſt. They were to have murdered all the proteſtant inhabitants, and ſuch of the ſoldiers as did not join them, but the arrival of the Caithneſs Legion prevented it.

I have been aſſured, that the pariſh prieſts of Roſs and Clonakilty were loyal, and endeavoured to preſerve their flocks from the contagion of treaſon.

There was no difference between the conſpiracy in the counties of Cork and Waterford, except that in the former there were ſome perſons of property concerned in it.

One O'Connor a popiſh phyſician who was independent in his circumſtances, was one of the leaders at Bantry.

The county of Kerry was organized, and the Limerick rebels endeavoured to incite the inhabitants to riſe, but the example which Mr. Mullins made of the defenders on the twenty-fourth of June, 1793, at Dingle, completely intimidated them.

In the month of Auguſt, 1798, forty men roſe at Caſtle-iſland, murdered three yeomen, and carried off ſome arms and ammunition which they guarded. They were incited and ſummoned to riſe by a country ſchoolmaſter, the ſecretary of a committee; this was the only inſtance of inſurrection in the county of Kerry.

County of Cork. } WILLIAM HEGARTY, of Gurteen, gentleman, ſwore in his information before Redmond Barry, eſquire, the twenty-ſecond of March, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight, that on the eleventh of March then laſt, informant was ſworn by George Walſh, William Fowlue, and William Joyce, "to be true to the French, to kill, murder and deſtroy all kings and tyrants, lords and earls, miniſters and proctors."

ROBERT BOYD, and James Boyle, privates in the Roſcommon militia, ſwore in their information before Thomas Flyn, eſquire, the eighth of March, 1798, that on the ſeventh of March then laſt, a man of the name of Michael Horrogan, and another man, whoſe name they did not know, went with the informants into a publick houſe, in Mallow, to take a pot of beer; that ſaid Horrogan aſked informants of what religion they were? that informants replied they were Romans; that ſaid Horrogan then ſaid, that if he could rely on their being true Romans, he would let them into a ſecret; informants aſſured him they were. Upon which ſaid Horrogan put his hand into his pocket, and pulled a book half out of it, with an intent, as he ſaid, to ſwear informants, but was prevented by the other man who was in company; that

that informants told ſaid Horrogan that they had already taken the oath of allegiance, and would not take any other oath, when ſaid Horrogan ſaid, that informants might do their duty, and that he would do his; and alſo ſaid, that the magazine of Cork would be burned before five nights were over, and that the united Iriſhmen would riſe, and burn all before them, and that they were all united Iriſhmen from Bandon to the North.

County of Cork. } JOHN DALY, ſoldier in the Limerick light company, ſwore in his information before general Coote, the twenty-eighth of June, 1797, againſt Michael Canty, for adminiſtering to him the following oath: "That he, the ſaid John Daly, ſhould dethrone all kings, quell all nations, and plant true religion in the hearts of the juſt; that he ſhould be true to the Roman catholick defenders of Ireland, and to the French at the firſt attempt of a French invaſion in this kingdom, and ſooner if called on by the committee men; that he would never ſee a brother ſtruck or abuſed by a proteſtant on any account; that he, ſaid Daly, would not ſee a brother want when he had two pence, without ſharing it with him; that he ſhould never recommend a man of an unfair character to the ſociety; and that he, ſaid Daly, ſhould take the life of any man that would give information."*

Conſpiracy in the county of Tipperary.

THE conſpiracy in the county of Tipperary was exactly ſimilar to that in the counties of Cork and Waterford; but it was infinitely more terrifick, becauſe ſome Roman catholicks, poſſeſſed of property, were at the head of it, and all the popiſh multitude were engaged in it; and one of the chief agents of the directory in Dublin, aſſured me, that the popiſh prieſts, who have at all times an unbounded influence over the common herd of papiſts, embraced the ſyſtem with eagerneſs, and promoted it with zeal. The main deſigns of the conſpirators were, to join the French, murder all the proteſtants, and to confiſcate their property. It was very fortunate that Thomas Fitzgerald, eſquire, of Liſheen, near Thurles, happened to be high ſheriff of that county, in the year 1798; for, from the ſingular boldneſs and hardihood of his character, he was peculiarly formed to ſtem the rough torrent of the times; and it is generally allowed, that by his ſpirited and ſeaſonable exertions, he prevented the maſſacre of many thouſand ſouls, and the deſtruction of half a million of property in that opulent and populous county. A man of his ſagacity and courage would have ſaved the county of Wexford from deſolation and indelible diſgrace. The firſt information which he received, coſt him much trouble and expence. Being thoroughly convinced of the alarming ſtate of things, and that the barony of Ormond was the beſt organized of any part of the county, he repaired to the town of Nenagh, aſſembled the people, told them that he was well acquainted with their ſchemes and combinations, and ſeized ſome of thoſe of whoſe guilt he had undoubted information; and he announced to them in the publick ſtreets, that if the remainder, who were involved, did not acknowledge their errors, and who had led them aſtray, their ſecrets ſhould be forced from them; at the ſame time he told them, that he would give them twenty-four hours to conſider and determine what part they would take. They all made the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations of their innocence, though he had unqueſtionable proof that a general inſurrection and maſſacre was to take place in a few days. One man, deeply concerned, was taken up, and whipped on the ſixteenth of May; however, he called God to witneſs his innocence,

* Theſe informations are in the Crown-office.

innocence, and the barbarous treatment which he received; but after receiving thirty laſhes, and having been informed where he was concerned on a particular night, in the commiſſion of a robbery and burglary, and on being aſſured that he ſhould die under his puniſhment, unleſs he made a full confeſſion, he inſinuated to a magiſtrate, that he would make a full diſcovery, if he was taken into a private room, which having been done, he gave ſuch general and important information, that numbers of arreſts were immediately made, to the aſtoniſhment of the gentlemen of the country, who were totally ignorant, until that moment, of the ſtorm which was ready to burſt over their heads, and overwhelm them. Confeſſion followed confeſſion, and a ſcene of treaſon, whoſe malignity could be equalled by nothing but its extenſiveneſs, was brought to light; and the loyal ſubjects were ſurpriſed at diſcovering that a committee of aſſaſſination, at that time ſitting in the town, was actually correſponding with the military committee in Dublin; that the maſs of the people were regularly regimented, under the command of a general of diviſion, who was then in Dublin, receiving final orders preparative to the general inſurrection and maſſacre, which was to take place on the night of the twenty-third of May. Every other part of that county was regularly regimented in the ſame manner, and commanded by generals of diviſion.

Mr. Fitzgerald, therefore, proceeded with the utmoſt celerity, through the moſt alarming parts of it; and by whipping ſome of the moſt notorious rebels, he developed all their dark and malignant deſigns, took up ſome leaders, and hunted others out of the country; by which he broke the links of the organization, and ſaved that great and opulent county from imminent deſtruction.

He was ſo ſucceſsful in diſcovering the moſt latent views and ſecrets of the conſpirators, partly by threats and flageſlation, partly by pecuniary means, and by pardoning ſome notorious delinquents, with whom he compromiſed, that the maſs of them really believed that he was endued with the power of divination; inſomuch, that wherever he went, the multitude prevented his wiſhes, and were emulous in making diſcoveries, in ſurrendering their arms, and in confeſſing their errors, dreading leſt their ſilence, being conſidered as contumacy, might provoke his vengeance. A gentleman who conſtantly attended him in his perambulations, aſſured me, that fear had operared ſo ſtrongly on them, as to produce the following effect wherever he went: On approaching a popiſh chapel, round which a numerous congregation were aſſembled, he has ordered them to fall on their knees, and they inſtantly complied. He then ordered the ſerjeants to riſe and come forward, and they inſtantly obeyed; then the captains, the majors, and the committee men ſucceſſively, and they yielded obedience. They ſurrendered their arms in every pariſh which he viſited, as ſoon as he iſſued his mandate for that purpoſe. The diſaffected were very active and ſucceſsful in ſpreading reports, that the orangemen formed plots for extirpating the Roman catholicks, in conſequence of which the latter in great numbers deſerted their houſes in the night, and aſſembled in the fields, where they were ſworn and organized; which, and to influence them againſt proteſtants, were the ſole object of ſuch malignant ſuggeſtions; and yet no orangeman ever exiſted in that county. In conſequence of this, the inhabitants of Caſhel publiſhed the following advertiſement:

WHEREAS we have heard with much ſurpriſe and concern, that ſeveral perſons in this neighbourhood have lately been induced to deſert their habitations at night by falſe reports of being attacked by orangemen:

We the inhabitants of the city of Caſhel, having met this day, for the purpoſe of inquiring into the origin of theſe reports, have, after the moſt minute inveſtigation, found

found that they are totally deſtitute of foundation; and we do hereby offer a reward of one hundred guineas, to the perſon or perſons who ſhall diſcover and proſecute to conviction, the author or authors of ſuch fabrications, and do alſo promiſe every degree of protection, to people of all perſuaſions without diſtinction.

Caſhel, September 14th, 1798.

Signed at the requeſt of the meeting,

ALEXANDER DON, colonel, commanding in Caſhel.
RICHARD PENNEFATHER, captain, Caſhel cavalry.

On the twelfth of March, 1798, at a meeting of the magiſtrates and gentry held at Nenagh, it was propoſed by the proteſtant gentry, that the Roman catholicks ſhould unite in preſerving peace and good order, and in mutually aſſiſting each other; and an oath for that purpoſe was produced, and ſeveral proteſtant gentlemen took it; but not more than one or two Roman catholicks.

On that day it was propoſed to proclaim the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, and ſeven magiſtrates were for it, and four againſt it; but from that miſtaken lenity, which has been the ruin of this kingdom, the propoſal was withdrawn; and yet ſo little did it conciliate the people, that the outrages committed by them encreaſed ſo much, that the whole county was proclaimed on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, by the unanimous vote of twenty-nine magiſtrates aſſembled at Caſhel.

The reader may form an idea of the boldneſs and audacity of the rebels in the county of Tipperary, from the following fact, ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee of 1798, of the houſe of commons, page 22: "That in open day, eight hundred inſurgents, principally mounted, inveſted the town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, and held poſſeſſion of it, until they had made a regular ſearch through every houſe, and carried off in triumph all the arms and ammunition they could find."

I ſhall refer the reader to the following informations to ſhew him the ſtate of that county:

Phineas Hunt, a young lad, the ſon of Mr. Hunt, a proteſtant gentleman of fortune, of Cappagh, in the county of Tipperary, was impelled by a ſyſtem of terror, to be ſworn, and to join the united Iriſhmen, in the month of February, 1798, having been aſſured, that the French would ſoon land and join them; and that all thoſe who were not of their party would be murdered: but in ſwearing him they committed a groſs error, for the oath which they exhibited to him contained an obligation to murder all the proteſtants * in the kingdom; which he acknowledged afterwards, by information dated the eleventh of April, 1798, and ſworn before the honourable and reverend James St. Leger, a magiſtrate of the county, which is lodged in the Crown-office.

Philip Cahill, of Kilduff, in ſaid county, ſwore an information before George Bennet, eſquire, a magiſtrate thereof, dated the eighteenth of February, 1798, and which is lodged in the Crown-office, that he was at Killea in ſaid county, where upwards of a hundred perſons were aſſembled, for the purpoſe of forming themſelves into

* In thoſe counties where the rebellion did not explode, they were very retentive of this ſecret, (which was their primum mobile) in order to lull and inveigle proteſtants; but ſtill it tranſpired. When the oath was preſented, young Hunt ſtarted and ſaid, Am I to murder my father and mother, and all my family? on which the rebel officers ſeemed much confuſed, and ſaid it was not the right oath.

into bodies, and chuſing corporals and ſerjeants, which they did accordingly; [*here come the names of the perſons preſent*] and ſwore all the perſons then preſent to join the French, and aſſiſt them on their landing.

Richard Murphy, of Killenaule, in ſaid county, ſwore an information before Oliver Latham, eſquire, a magiſtrate thereof, dated the twenty-ſecond of February, 1798, that being in the houſe of Pierce St. John, he was addreſſed by William Ryan, who, in the courſe of converſation, offered him a watch if he would take the defenders oath.

Michael Hogan, of Newport, ſwore before William Anderſon, a magiſtrate, dated the twelfth of March, 1798, that on the firſt of ſaid month, he was invited by Daniel Reddy, into his houſe to drink, and in the courſe of converſation, he offered him fifty guineas if he would murder Robert Lloyd, and Francis Quinn, eſquires; and informed him, that, in the courſe of a few nights, the united men would put Mr. Waller, of Caſtle Waller, and Mr. Anderſon, of Foxhall, to death; and he ſhewed him the plan of a pike, according to which he was to get fifty made by a blackſmith.

Oliver Brown, of Boolaree, ſwore an information before George Bennet, eſquire, dated the eighteenth of April, 1798, that on the night of the firſt of March, 1798, a number of people, about four hundred, aſſembled on the hill of Tullagh, where they formed themſelves into ranks, under officers and ſerjeants; that James Keary and Daniel Colliſon acted as officers, and that the ſaid party marched three abreaſt into the village of Templetooky.

John Maher, of Ballingarry, ſwore before William Deſpard, eſquire, on the eighth of May, 1798, that on the night of the twenty-ninth of April, Denis Maher, of Graſhagh, gave him a written paper, containing a kind of catechiſm, or conſtitution of the united Iriſhmen, and ſwore him the oath of ſecreſy, and to be true to the ſaid conſtitution until they met again, which he told him would be the Sunday after, at Kilbechan chapel; and informant declared, that he took ſaid oath through fear of the ſaid Denis Maher and the party that attended him.

I ſhall defer diſcuſſing at preſent the policy and the good effects of whipping and free quarter, but the reader may form ſome judgment of it from the following inſtance: Mr. Otway, of Caſtle Otway, near Nenagh, had undoubted proof that the people in his populous pariſh were ſworn, organized, and well ſupplied with arms; and that they were ſoon to riſe and maſſacre all the loyal ſubjects. He then took up a fellow, well known to have been ſworn, and threatened to whip him, unleſs he diſcloſed his ſecrets of the conſpiracy; but he called God to witneſs his innocence, and offered to make an affidavit of it; but Mr. Otway ordered him to receive twenty-five laſhes in the preſence of Sir James Duff; but he perſiſted in profeſſing his ignorance of the plot. Having been tied up next day, when his ſkin was tender from the preceding whipping, he acknowledged his guilt, that the pariſh was organized, and the people were well armed with pikes. Soon after he was taken down, which convinced the conſpirators that he had made a full acknowledgment of what he knew. They then inſtantly became emulous in making confeſſions, and in ſurrendering arms, and in the ſpace of a few hours, ſeventeen hundred pikes were ſurrendered; and father Kennedy, the pariſh prieſt, voluntarily acknowledged, that he had been ſworn by father Meara, a prieſt who had ſworn many others, though he had been previouſly examined by Mr. Otway, and ſwore that he was perfectly ignorant of the conſpiracy. It appears alſo, that father Meara, pariſh prieſt of Nenagh, had ſworn many prieſts in his neighbourhood; and that father O'Brien, of the pariſh of Doone, and he, were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy; and they were both ſentenced to be tranſported.

No. XII.

Diſſenting miniſters in the counties of Down and Antrim implicated in the rebellion 1798.

COUNTY DOWN.

Names.	*Abode.*	*Sentence.*
Porter,	Gray Abbey,	Hanged.
Warwick,	Kercubben,	Hanged.
Simpſon,	Newtownards,	Tranſported.
Sinclair,	Do.	Do.
Ward,	Kellurchy,	Do.
Birch,	Saintfield,	Do. to America.
Adair,	Cumber,	Proclaimed.
Hull,	Bangor,	Do.
Mc'Mahon,	Hollywood,	Do.
Dickſon,	Portaferry,	Confined Fort George.
Barber,	Rathfryland,	Two Years impriſonment.

COUNTY ANTRIM.

Acheſon,	Glenarm,	Tried, acquitted.
Hill,	Ballynure,	Tried, partly guilty.
Mc'Neill,	Clogh,	Accuſed of being a leader, ſentenced to tranſport himſelf.
Glendy,	Mahera,	Accuſed, ordered to leave the kingdom.
Worte,	Larne,	Taken up, never tried.
Henry,	Connor,	Do.
Kelburne,	Belfaſt,	Do. diſcharged.

Outrages by the defenders in the year 1793.

I HAVE already ſtated that one hundred and eighty houſes were attacked by them in the year 1792, in the county of Louth alone.

On the twenty-ſecond of January, 1793, a numerous body of them well armed, wantonly attacked a detachment of the forty-firſt regiment near Peterville, in the county of Meath, and had a ſevere conflict with them; and on that occaſion the preſbyterians who live in that country aided the king's troops with great zeal, which ſhews that they were loyal at that time. About the ſame time the defenders in great numbers furiouſly aſſaulted a company of the ſame regiment commanded by major Grey, when on their march, at Manor Hamilton, in the county of Leitrim, and deſtroyed their baggage, though they were ultimately repulſed; on that occaſion the defenders charged the ſoldiers, and wrenched their bayonets from their muſkets.

A proclamation iſſued on the thirteenth of February, 1793, againſt them, ſtating that outrages had been committed by them in the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Dublin, Monaghan, and the county of the town of Drogheda; and it alludes to enormities perpetrated by them in the preceding year.

In the ſame month a large mob of people aſſembled at Woodford, in the county of Galway, declaring they would pay no more taxes; and ſwore numbers of people

to

to be true to them and their cauſe. They were incited to this by inflammatory hand-bills.

In the ſame month a detachment of the eighth regiment was attacked by a numerous body of them at Athboy, in the county of Meath, and two of the ſoldiers were killed.

In the ſame month a party of them attempted to carry off four pieces of cannon from Garretſtown in the county of Meath, but were prevented by the volunteers of Ardeath.

In the ſame month they committed dreadful outrages in the barony of Inniſhowen, in the county of Donegal; ſuch as burning houſes, deſtroying corn, houghing cattle, extorting money, and writing threatening letters. At laſt the proteſtant inhabitants aſſembled and offered a reward of two hundred guineas to any perſon who would enable their committee to proſecute them.

In the ſame month juſtice Graham ſeized eight of them near the Naul, and found on Joſeph Corbally, their leader, a liſt of ſixty-ſix perſons who had enrolled themſelves as defenders.

In the ſame month a numerous body of them forcibly entered and plundered the houſe of Mr. Mark Caſſidy, of Derry, in the county of Monaghan, of arms, and other valuable articles.

The ſame month a party of them well armed, attacked and fired on a body of the king's troops near Ardee, who killed ſeven, and wounded a great number of them. For ſome time after the inhabitants of that town were ſo much afraid of being maſſacred, that they, headed by the magiſtrates, kept guard by night.

In the beginning of the year 1793, they often aſſembled in great numbers at Moneymore, in the county of Derry, and aſſumed the title of green cockade men, becauſe they wore that badge in their hats; they paraded in arms, and exerciſed in a publick manner; and at laſt they became ſo formidable, that general White was ſent there with a body of troops to ſuppreſs them.

In the month of May, 1793, there was a general riſing of them in the counties of Sligo, Mayo, Leitrim, and Roſcommon; and they ſhewed great eagerneſs to procure the fire-arms of proteſtants. They deſtroyed ſeveral gentlemen's houſes; they plundered and demoliſhed Coalville, the ſeat of Mr. Tenniſon, valued at 6000l. Mr. Tenniſon, with a party of ſoldiers, took ſome of them priſoners, but the mob, ſuppoſed to be ſix thouſand, ruſhed on them, killed three of the ſoldiers, and reſcued the priſoners.

They robbed of arms and ammunition captain Ormſby's ſeat of Caſtle-dangan, Mr. Johnſon's of Adderſaid, and his ſons, and captain Carter's of Drumleaſe. Mercury, the ſeat of Mr. Cooper, member for the county of Sligo, they plundered of fifty muſkets, and various other articles, broke all his windows, and drank or ſpilled all the liquors in his cellars; moſt of the gentlemen in that country were obliged to fly from their houſes.

In the month of June, a body of inſurgents burned the houſe of Mr. Wilſon, of Caſtlecomer, and aſſaſſinated Mrs. Wilſon, as ſhe endeavoured to eſcape from the flames.

This year we find them in a ſtate of inſurrection in the four quarters of the kingdom. Swearing the defenders oath took place very generally in the beginning of the year 1793, in the county of Wexford.

In the month of July, a number of them aſſembled near Enniſcorthy, and after threatening to break open the gaol, they proceeded in immenſe numbers to Wexford, to liberate the priſoners confined there; and the brave major Vallaton, having led

C. C. Jan^{y}. 22, 1798.

					Pd. prisoners.		
Tal.	2974	20 3 10	———			119 0 0	
Low. D.	706	———	———	1st.	12 10 3	35 15 0	
Ar.	2400	59 8 3	———	2d.	22 15 0	———	
Rd.	1200	17 0 0	5 0 0	3d.	37 19 3	83 5 0	
N. C.	1800	35 15 0	———	N°2.	12 6 5	162 3 4	
W. B.	1800	13 15 0	———		———	———	
L. B.	840	8 2 0	———		85 10 11	245 8 4	
Shil.	1080	7 19 3	$\frac{4}{6}$ ——		———	85 10 11	
	———	———		Rest to province		———	
	12800	162 3 4			———	159 17 5	
		73 4 6	88 18 10		73 4 6		

	G.	P.	S.	B.	Ps.	B. C.	B.	lb.	P.
Tal.	181	78	66	134	321	3331	8315		75
Ar.	265	85	68	87	200	400	8050	500	
N. C.	158	41	20	32	355	———	5965	169	
R. D.	185	94	62	75	380	980	500		17
	789	298	216	328	1256	4711	22830	761	
Ar.	210	75	62	}					
N. C.	100	0	0	} At					
R. D.	200	0	0	}					
	1299	373	278						

No. I.

Papers found in the room at Bond's.

Hand-writing of John M'Can.

I, do solemnly declare, that I came duly elected.

No. II.

Hand-writing of John M'Can.

19th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863	In Treasurer's Hands.	20 18 3
Wicklow	12095	- -	
Dublin	3010		20 — —
Do. City	2000		
Queen's Co.	11689		
King's Co.	3600		
Carlow	9414		
Kilkenny	624		
Meath	14000		
	67295		40 18 3

Resolved,

Reſolved, that the colonels in each county ſhall make out a liſt of three perſons to be adjutants-general for ſaid counties. The liſts to be tranſmitted, ſealed, either through the provincial, or any other authentic channel to the executive, who will nominate one of the three to the employment.

Reſolved, that our treaſurer be allowed to pay 16 guineas to the delegate for to buy a horſe, which, when the entire county is organized, is to be ſold, and the money paid back into the hands of the treaſurer.

Reſolved, that the ex. comm^{e} be requeſted to account for the expenditure of 60 guineas voted them.

Reſolved, that each co. who have not paid in any finance, ſhall be requeſted to pay in 70l. immediately, except the co. Carlow, which ſhall only pay 40l.

PRIVATES TEST.

Hand-writing not known.

I, *A. B.* do ſolemnly declare, that I will perform my duty, and be obedient to all the lawful commands of my officers, while they act in ſubordination to the duly elected committee.

Hand-writing of John M^{c}Can.

Reſolved, that we will pay no attention whatſoever to any attempt that may be made by either houſe of parliament, to divert the publick mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing ſhort of the compleat emancipation of our country will ſatisfy us.

No. III.

K.	10863	In hands	20	18	3
W.	12095				
D.	3010	£. 32	20	—	—
C. D.	2000				
Q. C.	11689				
K. C.	3600				
C^{w}.	9414				
K^{y}.	624				
M.	14000				
	67295		40	18	3

Ten in the morning this day three weeks.

No. IV.

Hand-writing of John M^{c}Can.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that if the other Ps. be in an equal ſtate of preparation as Leinſter, as ſoon as we can procure the information of their ſtate, and their determination to act in concert with the nation, we ſhould immediately proceed to act; and that the exe^{ve} be requeſted to take ſuch ſteps immediately, as will tend moſt expeditiouſly to bring about an union of the different prov^{s}.

Reſolved,

Resolved, that the select com[e] of five be requested to prepare a military test to be laid before the prov[l] at their next meeting for their approbation.

Extracts from the pocket-book of John M'Can, found at Bond's.

P. C. [Provincial committee.]

20th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863							
Wicklow	12895				£.	20	18	3
Dublin	3010	-	-	-		20		
Do. City	2177	-	-	-		104	6	5
Queen's Co.	11689	-	-	-				
King's Co.	3600	-	-	-				
Carlow	9414	-	-	-				
Kilkenny	624	-	-	-				
Meath	14000	-	-	-				
	68272				£.	145	4	8

Subscriptions:

	Febr[y]. 9th, 1798.		Febr[y]. 16th.		Febr[y]. 23.		
No.	8	8					
1	1	1	6½		6½		
2	1	1	6½		6½		
3	2	8½	6½				
4	1	1	6½		6½		
5			6½		1	1	
6			6½				
7	1	1	6½		6½		
8			6½		6½		
9	2	8½					
10	1	1			2	8½	2 2
11	1	1					6 6
12			6½ &	2 8½			
				3 9½			
£.	1	0 7	1	7 1			15 2

C. C. [County committee.]

February 19th, 1798.

1	812	28 8 11	[Four divisions of the city Dublin.]
2	865	19 15	
3	500	9 13 6	
4		46 9	
	2177	£. 104 6 5	

D. C.

D. C. 2d March.

					In hands £.	1 16 0½
No. 1	118	4	11			6½
2	118	3	19	7½		6½
3	84	12				
4	72					6½
5	120	2			4	4
6	99	1	15		3	3
7	53					
8						6½
9		1	12	10½		
10	80	1	6	9		6½
11	70	1			4	4
12	115	1	11	9	1	1
13					1	7½
14					2	8½
					£. 2	16 4

D. C. 8th March, 98.

B. C. [baronial committee.]

5th March, 1798.

No. 1	118	4	3	6½	12	£. 2	17 5
2	118	4	3	3	12		
3	48	1	0	6	12		
4	72				12		
5	120				12		13
6	105	1	15	2	10		
7	107		14		12		
8	89	12					
9	86	3	8	3			
10	118	2	4	9	8		15
11	102	1	13				
12	115	2	11	6			
13	86	1	7	8			
14	84	3	7	8			

Extract of a letter found upon Oliver Bond, signed H. W. (Hugh Wilson) and dated, Cork 6th, 1798.

I have been so cooped up since I came here, that had I known the situation of the place, my mind should never have been so abominably closeted, for any emolument that I may derive before a change of the present government takes place.

You can but faintly imagine how things are going on here; give the people but a little time, and rest assured the progress science is making will astonish the world. The enemies of the human race are much alarmed, and the revolt of the Dublin county militia has increased their fears. Mr. Finlay says, they are all assassins, and he is almost afraid to trust himself with them. I hear they are to be dispersed among the Highlanders through the country. Numbers of preachers of

the true goſpel are better than few, and thoſe diſperſed grains may not fall on rocky ground.

When the news came this morning of the Spaniſh fleet being out, the ariſtocrats ſeemed happy, ſaying, their doom was at hand, Jervis being after them.

With beſt regards to Mrs. Bond, and all friends,

I am ſincerely yours,
H. W.

No. XIII.

THE ſubſtance of an information ſworn by a white ſmith, in the city of Dublin, in the month of June, 1798, before John Claudius Beresford, eſquire, who had him arreſted on a charge of being concerned with the united Iriſhmen. His name is concealed, leſt he ſhould be aſſaſſinated for being an informer.

That he was ſeduced and made an united Iriſhman the firſt day of May, 1797, and belonged to a ſociety of twelve, of which Rowland Goodman, a ſlator, was ſecretary.

That he hoped to riſe to the rank of an officer in a ſuperior committee, which regulated his, but which he had never ſeen, but he ſaw among their rules, ſet out in a printed paper, that no blackmouth or blackbane, ſhould ever riſe; and he diſcovered afterwards that theſe appellations ſignified a proteſtant, and Goodman reported him to be ſuch.

That one Hely, a chimney doctor, was ſubſtituted as ſecretary in the place of Goodman; and carried to the ſuperior committee a propoſal and plan for burning the caſtle of Dublin, which was approved of. Informant aſked Hely how it was to be done? and when he was about to inform him of it, the reſt of the committee prevented him, becauſe, as informant believed, he was a proteſtant.

Hely told informant, that Horiſh* was a ſound good fellow, and much attached to the cauſe.

Rowland Goodman, and John Graham, aſked informant to make pikes for the united Iriſhmen, but on his heſitating, ſuſpicions were entertained of his ſincerity in the cauſe; and Goodman went to his wife, and ſaid he feared that he was not to be depended on, and that he would hang thouſands. One Maſterſon ſaid, if he makes the pikes he will do; if not, Browne will cut him; which was a cant-word for killing informers.

That a plan was formed in his committee, and carried up to the ſuperior one, to ſeize the ſoldiers who lined the ſtreets, when the lord lieutenant was going to the houſe of lords: That three men armed with daggers were to attack each ſoldier, and diſarm him, and if he reſiſted, put him to death: That they were to enter the houſe of parliament to kill ſuch members as were not their friends, and at the ſame time to get poſſeſſion of the caſtle. At laſt ſtrong ſuſpicions being entertained of informant, the queſtion for his expulſion was put, and every member of the committee, but one, voted for it.

That no perſon of his committee had any knowledge of, or connection with the ſuperior committee, but the ſecretary.

While he was in the ſociety, a plan was formed, and ſent up to the ſuperior committee, "That each committee ſhould ſupply two men, who were not afraid of loſing their lives, and that they were to form aſſaſſination committees of five, to kill the leading men of the kingdom."

* A maſter ſweep, deeply concerned in the conſpiracy, was ſaid to be engaged in a plan to burn the caſtle and many other buildings and houſes.

That they endeavoured to keep the object a ſecret from him; but ſome of the members informed him, that it was to do out* the leading men of the kingdom.

He underſtood that every Roman catholick in the kingdom was in the united cauſe, that the militia and yeomen of that perſuaſion were attached to it, and that they were to kill all thoſe of a different religion in action.

He was informed that all the popiſh ſervants in Dublin were united Iriſhmen; and he ſaw many of them at their different meetings.

They made it a religious cauſe, and often ſaid, that a Roman catholick would certainly go to heaven, if he killed three proteſtants.

They reſolved, never to lay out ſix pence with any proteſtant.

Such fanatical converſation was very common in their clubs.

The caſtle was to have been attacked in front, and in rear from Ship-ſtreet.

The leading men in government, particularly the Beresford family, were to be done out. There was to be a general riſing; a ſky-rocket was to be the ſignal for it, and informant was to get twenty-four hours notice of it.

The following regiments of militia were conſidered as moſt attached and ſteady to the united cauſe, the Kildare, Weſtmeath, Longford, Kilkenny, and King's county.

The following paper, found by alderman Alexander in a box, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Sheares, was read on his trial:

Note. The words in italicks were interlined: Thoſe between crotchets were ſtruck acroſs with a pen.

"*Iriſhmen,*

["Your country is free; all thoſe monſters who uſurped its government to oppreſs its people are in our hands, except ſuch as have"]

"Your country is free, and you are about to be avenged, [already] that vile government which has ſo long and ſo cruelly oppreſſed you, is no more; ſome of its moſt atrocious monſters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the reſt are in our hands [waiting their fate.] The national flag, *the ſacred green*, is at this moment flying over the ruins of deſpotiſm, and that capital which a few hours paſt [was the ſcene] witneſſed the debauchery, [the machinations] plots and crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotiſm *and virtue*. Ariſe then, united ſons of Ireland; ariſe like a great and powerful people, determined to [live] be free or die; arm yourſelves by every means in your power, and ruſh like lions on your foes; conſider, that [in diſarming your enemy] for every enemy you diſarm, you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful; in the cauſe of liberty, inaction is cowardice, and the coward ſhall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be ſeized, and transferred to thoſe gallant [patriots] *ſpirits* who want, and will uſe them: Yes, Iriſhmen, we ſwear by that eternal juſtice, in whoſe cauſe you fight, that the brave patriot, who ſurvives the preſent glorious ſtruggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or ſhall fall hereafter in it, ſhall receive from the hands of a grateful nation, an ample recompence out of [thoſe funds] that property which the crimes of our enemies [ſhall] have forfeited into its hands, and his name [too] ſhall be inſcribed on the national record of Iriſh revolution, as a glorious example to all poſterity; *but we likewiſe ſwear to puniſh robbery with death and infamy.*"

"We

* Do out, was a cant word for aſſaſſinating.

" We alſo ſwear, that we will never ſheath the ſword until every [perſon] being in the country is reſtored to thoſe equal rights, which the God of Nature has given to all men,—until an order of things ſhall be eſtabliſhed, in which no ſuperiority ſhall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin, but that [which] of virtue and talent [ſhall intitle to.]"

" As for thoſe degenerate wretches who turn their ſwords againſt their native country, the national vengeance awaits them: Let them find no quarter unleſs they ſhall prove their repentance by *ſpeedily* deſerting, exchanging from the ſtandard of ſlavery, for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may ſhare the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland."

" Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breaſts, and have [already to] joined the national ſtandard; receive [thoſe] with open arms, ſuch as ſhall follow ſo glorious an example, they can render ſignal ſervice to the cauſe of freedom, and ſhall be rewarded according to their deſerts: But for the wretch who turns his ſword againſt his native country, let the national vengeance be viſited on him, let him find no quarter. Two other crimes demand———

" Rouſe all the energies of your ſouls; call forth *all* the merit and abilities which a vicious government conſigned to obſcurity, and under the conduct of your choſen leaders, march with a ſteady ſtep to victory; heed not the glare of a [mercenary] hired ſoldiery, or *ariſtocratick yeomanry*, they cannot ſtand the vigorous ſhock of freedom, [cloſe with them Man to Man, and let them ſee what vigour the cauſe of freedom can.] Their trappings and their arms will ſoon be yours, and the deteſted government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, ſhall learn, that the treaſures, [ſhe, it] *they* exhauſt on [their mercenary] its accoutered ſlaves, for the purpoſe of butchering Iriſhmen, ſhall but further enable us to turn their ſwords on its devoted head."

" Attack them in every direction by day and by night; avail yourſelves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, *and with which you are better acquainted than they:* Where you cannot oppoſe them in full force, conſtantly haraſs their rear and their flanks: Cut off their proviſions and magazines, and prevent them as much as poſſible from uniting their forces: Let whatever moments you cannot [paſs in] devote to fighting for your country, be [devoted to] paſſed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone, muſt occupy every mind, and every hand in Ireland, until its long oppreſſed ſoil be purged of all its enemies."

" Vengeance, Iriſhmen, vengeance on your oppreſſors—remember what thouſands of your deareſt friends have periſhed by their [murders, cruel plots,] *mercileſs orders*; remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military maſſacres, and their legal murders. Remember ORR."

Letter from John Sheares, found upon Samuel Neilſon, on the evening of the 23d May.

SIR,

I HAVE ſought you in every direction, but unfortunately in vain. It is now too late to uſe many words upon the ſubject of our intended interview—let it ſuffice to ſay that I am acquainted with the deſtructive deſign you meditate, and am reſolved to counteract it, whatever it may coſt me—reſt aſſured that nothing ſhall check a reſolution, which honour, private affection and publick duty unite to demand the immediate execution of; and that however unwilling I may be at any other moment to take the only ſteps which your obſtinacy may render neceſſary this evening, for the preſervation of my friends and my country, I will without heſitation take them. The ſcheme you have undertaken I view with horror, whether its effects be conſidered as relating to my impriſoned friends, the deſtruction of whoſe property and lives muſt be the conſequence,

conſequence, even of your ſucceſs, or as affecting Arthur O'Connor's exiſtence, the precarious chance for which you thus cruelly leſſen, or (what is ſuperior to every other conſideration) as enſuring the ruin of Ireland's freedom—in ſhort, Mr. to be candid with you, the ſcheme is ſo totally deſtitute of any apology, even from the plea of folly or paſſion, that I cannot avoid attributing its origin to a worſe cauſe, and nothing can convince me of the contrary, but your immediately foregoing ſo pernicious an enterpriſe. In theſe ſentiments I am not ſingular, nor in the reſolution which ariſes from them; and ſhould you doubt me, you muſt purchaſe conviction at a very ſevere coſt: My reſolution, and that of my friends, is this, if you do not by nine o'clock this evening, give us every neceſſary and ſacred aſſurance, that you will counteract and prevent the perpetration of this plot againſt all that you ought to hold dear, notice of it ſhall be given to the government without a moment's delay—for we do prefer that a few miſguided (not to ſay guilty) individuals ſhould periſh, than that every remaining hope of our country's ſucceſs, and the lives of our moſt valued friends ſhould be ſacrificed, by the accompliſhment of a ſtupid, perhaps wicked undertaking. Do not feed yourſelf with hope that any conſideration ſhall deter me from fulfilling this threat—if every poignard you could command were at my throat I would do my duty—I did think well of you—I wiſh to do ſo ſtill—you alone can prevent me.

J. S.

I dine at 52, Abbey-ſtreet, where I ſhall expect your anſwer before eight o'clock.

No. XIV.

Three papers found in the pocket-book of lord Edward Fitzgerald, and in his poſſeſſion, at the time of his arreſt.

No. I.

T. Keathy, Enverneſs fencibles	50	with 1 Batt^{n} of	
Salt, Londonderry - -	47	1	
Naas, Armagh - - -	250	1	
Green-Horſe - -	22		
Connell - - -	-	- -	1
Clane, Armagh - -	50	1	
Narragh Rab^{n} K^{s} county M. Longford 6th dragoons Louth M.	500	2	
Kilkea, Do. Do. Do.	500	1	
Kilcullen, 9th dragoons	80	0	
Tyrone M.	30		
Suffolk	50		
Orange Yeo^{n}	90		
Carbery, Inverneſs fencibles -	50	0	
Ophilia, ſundr^{s} - -	600	2	
County ſundry returns	2319	with 10 batts^{s} of	
	1500		
	3819		

50 chains

No. II.

50 chains of 6 foot long, with 50 padlocks.
1000 ſpike nails, 4, 6, 8 inches.
200 round ſtaples.
20 cramp irons, ⌐¬ in this form.
50 large ſledges.
50 ſmall ones.
50 hammers.
50 groove irons.
100 hatchets.
300 ſhovels and ſpades, or as many as can be procured.
150 hooks for ſcaling ladders, the catching point to have a hackle face.

No. III.

[*In the hand writing of lord Edward Fitzgerald.*]

Suppoſe R. force divided into three columns. The left *of the Kildare line** to [column] to [aſſemble at] Cloncurry, or between it and Clonard-bridge; a detachment to be ſent to Clonard-bridge, as ſoon as poſſible; that *body* [column] to advance by Kilcock, Maynooth, Leixlip and Chapelizod, towards Dublin.

No. XV.

An attempt to murder the reverend Mr. Jones in the county of Kildare.

AS the reverend Mr. Jones, curate of the pariſh of Moyglare, in the county of Kildare, was riding between Kilcock and Maynooth, on the eighteenth of January, 1799, he was informed by a gentleman that ſome armed rebels were riding about the pariſh in queſt of him, for the purpoſe of murdering him; on which he proceeded towards Maynooth as faſt as poſſible; but his horſe having loſt a ſhoe, he ſtopped at a ſmith's forge, where it was ſoon replaced. When he was about to mount, he ſaw ſome horſemen galloping towards him, on which he put ſpurs to his horſe and fled with the greateſt precipitation; but his horſe growing reſtif, and refuſing to proceed farther, he diſmounted, croſſed a ſmall river on foot, ran behind a farm houſe, lay down, and endeavoured to cover himſelf with ſtraw; but one of the men coming up, curſed the woman of the houſe for having concealed him; ſaid he would cut him to pieces as a yeoman and a clergyman, and called to his comrades to come to his aſſiſtance; on which Mr. Jones ſtarted up, and inſtantly one of the men diſcharged a gun at him. The ball hit him on the upper part of the forehead, inflicted a ſevere wound, and made him ſtagger ſome paces; but recovering, he ran at the aſſaſſin, and endeavoured to prevent him from charging his gun again. While he was attempting to do ſo, the other gave him many violent blows with the butt end of his gun; on which he ran towards ſome men who were ploughing in an adjoining field, and who remained tame ſpectators of this horrid tranſaction, without offering him any aſſiſtance. Mr. Jones perceiving that they purſued him cloſe, and that he could not poſſibly fly from them, and deriving courage from deſpair, he turned about ſuddenly, ſeized the piſtol of one of them, and while in the act of ſtruggling

* The words in italicks had a line drawn through them in the original.

ſtruggling with him, the other, by repeated blows of the butt end of his piſtol on the head, at length knocked him down As the laſt reſource, he lay proſtrate, pretending to be dead, and while one of the ruffians went in purſuit of the horſes, the other laid his foot on his body, placed the muzzle of his piſtol cloſe to his head, and having fired it off, the ball produced only a ſmall fracture, but which was attended with a great effuſion of blood. Though he ſuffered very great pain, he remained motionleſs, pretending to be dead; but the aſſaſſin fearing that he had ſtill ſome remains of life, charged his piſtol a ſecond time, and fired it on his hip, and being then certain that he was lifeleſs, he left him. The names of the two aſſaſſins were Adams and Fox. The former, after he had perpetrated this atrocious act, exultingly boaſted, that he had put out of the world a yeoman and an orangeman, at the ſame time damning his orange blood. Mr. Jones, with a laudable ſpirit, had acted as a yeoman during the rebellion. After the laſt ſhot was fired, they boaſted that they had ſent his ſoul to preach in hell. The ploughman, one of the calm ſpectators of this bloody deed, was uncle to one of the villains, and the driver of the plough was his brother-in-law. Mr. Jones having heard that they were taken up, and confined in the provô's priſon in Dublin, repaired thither, recogniſed them, and having proſecuted them, they were convicted of this horrid crime and hanged.

Mr. Henley, of Summer-hill, in the county of Meath, in paſſing near Maynooth in the autumn of 1798, in his chaiſe, a party of ruffians having ſtopped him, dragged him out of it, and would have murdered him but that his poſtillion ſwore he was a Roman catholick, on which they let him paſs; but one of his ſervants who followed him on a jaunting car having ſaid ſomething that diſpleaſed them, they murdered him.

In the month of October, 1798, captain Walſh, of the Kilkenny regiment, quartered at Kilcock, going to dine at Maynooth, about three miles off, was attended by two dragoons to eſcort him at his return; at the turnpike, which is about half way, eight ruffians ruſhed from behind a wall, and fired four ſhots at the dragoons, which fortunately only hit their belts and their ſaddles. They fired two ſhots at captain Walſh, quite cloſe to him, and one of the balls paſſed by his ear. The dragoons having drawn their carbines, the aſſaſſins fled with great precipitation, but the encloſures prevented the dragoons from purſuing them; however they ſhot one of them. They were deſerters from ſir Fenton Aylmer's corps of yeomanry. Their vengeance was directed againſt the earl of Ormond, on account of his well known loyalty, for one of them cried out at firſt, that they had got the bloody Ormond.

Captain Rawſon, who commands the Athy yeomanry, compoſed and publiſhed the following exhortation, in hopes of conciliating the deluded multitude:

MY neighbours have hitherto conducted themſelves in a peaceable manner, but ſhould any of them have been unfortunately ſeduced to enter into illegal aſſociations, or to procure pikes or other weapons, with views hoſtile to the king and government, their lives and properties will be at the mercy of the ſoldiers.

I beſeech them to fly the many evils that muſt attend a perſeverance in error. Nothing ſhall be left undone on my part to protect the peaceable and well-conducted from ſuſtaining any injury, or even thoſe who have erred, provided they make ſeaſonable atonement by returning to their allegiance.—Such is the lenity of government, that ſhould any miſguided perſons ſurrender their arms, and acknowledge their errors, they ſhall find protection and forgiveneſs.—Some perſons have baſely and maliciouſly endeavoured to agitate the publick mind by reports that certain ſocieties called

called orangemen have been formed for the extirpation of Roman catholicks: I declare ſolemnly, that I do not know, nor do I believe that any ſuch ſociety exiſts, or ever has been formed in the country. I am convinced in my mind, that ſuch infamous reports were propagated for no other purpoſe but to diſunite the proteſtants and Roman catholicks; and to kindle the moſt implacable hatred in the latter againſt the former, to anſwer the purpoſes of rebellion. It is hoped then, that the members of both theſe orders will go hand in hand in love, in harmony, and reſpect for the laws; and in their joint adoration of the Almighty, and in praying that he will unite all deſcriptions of chriſtians in mutual affection; and in defence of their king and country; ſuch union would be worthy of Iriſhmen, and ſuch is the conſtant and fervent prayer of

THOMAS JAMES RAWSON.

Glaſſealy, 27th January, 1798.

N. B. The above was ſent and read at all chapels in the country, and diſperſed through every part of it.

In Auguſt, 1798, information was given to captain Rawſon, upon the oath of a creditable perſon, that the proteſtants of Athy and its vicinity, were to be maſſacred on the following Sunday, at the time of divine ſervice; the plan was, to ſet fire to ſome cabins outſide the town, near the chapel; a cry of fire was to be given; and it was ſuppoſed the yeomanry would ruſh irregularly to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing the flames. Three hundred men who were to be concealed in Walſh's inn yard, were to ruſh out, gain poſſeſſion of the gaol and court-houſe; and on a ſignal being given, the mob at the fire were to ſeize the yeomanry, and diſpatch them, and then, at their leiſure, all the remaining proteſtants, men, women, and children, were to be butchered. There was an heſitation about giving information to a proteſtant, who was married to a Roman catholick, not to go to church that day, as was his conſtant practice; but it was determined to let him die with the reſt, as he might diſcover.

The informations of the above helliſh plot were ſent to government, and one hundred and twenty of the Fermanagh militia, under the command of major King, by forced marches, arrived at Athy, on Saturday evening, to the aſſiſtance of the yeomanry, who, but for divine protection, muſt have fallen an eaſy prey to the nefarious plot.

At a late hour at night, the chapel of Athy was burned; large rewards were offered by the proteſtant gentry, the magiſtrates, the yeomanry, and ſome of the towns people. Nothing tranſpired that has as yet become publick, until Timothy Sullivan, late a ſoldier of the South Cork, who had volunteered for general ſervice, was about to leave the town. He then told a ſerjeant, that the officers and men of the regiment were in a very perilous ſituation, and had much cauſe to be watchful. The ſerjeant gave information to his officers, major Hennis, and captain Langſton, who had Sullivan examined; and the reſult of their enquiry will appear by his depoſition.

County of Kildare, to wit. Timothy Sullivan, late a private ſoldier in the ſouth militia, maketh oath, that he was centinel at the gate next Mrs. Dooley's houſe on the night the chapel of Athy was burned; ſaith he was ſolicited by James Noud to ſwear againſt three men undermentioned, and that he refuſed, declaring his want of knowledge of the tranſaction; that he was afterwards followed

followed to Kildare by Patrick Kelly, a Roman catholick prieſt, and Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, who having got him into a private place, offered him 400l. to ſwear againſt the three men undernamed, for burning the chapel; and on his perſiſting in his want of knowledge of the tranſaction, and refuſing to ſwear, ſaid Kelly and Fitzgerald went away; that on the night of the ſixth of April, inſtant, he was in company with ſaid Kelly, ſaid Noud, Patrick Dooley of Athy, and Joſeph Hendrecan; that ſaid Noud, in preſence of the others, preſſed him to ſwear againſt a ſoldier of the South Cork regiment, and two yeomen, videlicet, John McKeon, John Drill, and John Willock; and though he denied his knowing any thing of the buſineſs, yet he was ſtill preſſed, under promiſes of large rewards, which they had made up in the country; and after he had ſworn, he might deſert, and he would find protection at the houſes of the undernamed rebel captains, whoſe names were written down by ſaid Dooley, videlicet, James Ryan, Patrick Dowling, Terence Toole, James Whelan, Cornelius Moore, Patrick Magher, and Thomas Connell, and at Engliſh's of Mageny, where they uſed to meet in committee; that they were all actively employed in engaging large numbers to be prepared for a publick riſing on the twenty-ſeventh of April, inſtant, when they expected French aſſiſtance; that rebel leaders from the counties of Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow, and Queen's county, met at Engliſh's, on the firſt Sunday in every month, in order to concert their plans; that Maguire and Dalton, two rebel leaders from the county Wicklow, had thouſands under their command, ready to turn out at a moment's notice; that Mr. Fitzgerald, of Geraldine,* was their great friend; and that he was then in Dublin, ſettling about the buſineſs of riſing with ſome of their friends there; that forty thouſand would come from Roſcrea and Tipperary ſide, to aſſiſt the cauſe here; that this country was to be the central ſituation for the firſt attack; that all the county Kildare rebels were to meet at Mageny-bridge; that the riſing was to be general, in order to prevent the military knowing where to act. Saith, that early in the morning of the ſeventh, inſtant, he again ſaw ſaid Patrick Kelly, who deſired him to wait behind a party he intended going with to Kildare; that ſaid Kelly would be at Geraldine, where he would have an horſe and ſervant of Mr. Fitzgerald's, with coloured clothes; that they would then proceed to a magiſtrate for examinant to lodge the wiſhed-for examination; that he could then deſert, and a place of concealment would be provided by ſaid Kelly, and would ſend ſaid Sullivan's wife after him.

Sworn, &c. &c. &c.

The original examination, as ſworn before a magiſtrate on the ninth of April, 1800, is in the Crown-office; and the names of the rebel captains as written by Dooley, are in the magiſtrate's hands.

There is not a doubt but that many other chapels were burned wantonly in the night in the province of Leinſter, to throw the odium of it on the proteſtants.

County of Kildare, to wit. } THE examinations of faith, that on or about the fourteenth of April laſt, Patrick Dooley, James Noud, and Joſeph Hendrecan, all of Athy, were committed to Athy gaol; that informant ſhortly after was informed by ſaid Dooley, that they (meaning the diſaffected) were in expectation of the French coming ſhortly to this country; that there was a new conſtitution totally different from the old one; that they

 were

* This gentleman commanded a corps of yeomanry which was diſmiſſed for diſaffection, and he was impriſoned ſome time, but was afterwards liberated.

were making pikes on a new plan; that he had a converſation with a particular friend of his from the lower part of the county of Weſtmeath, who informed ſaid Dooley, that the people there were going on faſt with the buſineſs; and that ſaid Dooley knew that the people in the lower part of the county Kildare were going on with it too, but that it had not properly reached up here yet; that the ſaid Dooley was as well armed, accoutred, and prepared, as any man on the night they (meaning the rebels) were to have attacked Athy; that he had a cartridge-box before him, and another behind, both full of ammunition, two piſtols and a ſword; that when his houſe was ſearched, they could not be found as he had them concealed behind the fire-place.

That on or about the ſixteenth of April laſt, Terence Toole, of Fonſtown, (who to informant's knowledge was a rebel captain,) and Cornelius Moore of Gurteen, with others, were apprehended and committed to ſaid gaol; that a converſation ſhortly after took place in preſence of informant, between ſaid Dooley, Toole, and Moore, about the chapel of Athy which had been burned; ſaid Dooley told ſaid Toole and Moore, that he knew the cauſe of their being committed to gaol, which was, "that the ſaid Dooley, with Mr. Kelly the prieſt, and James Noud, had offered Timothy Sullivan, a ſoldier of the South Cork militia, 400l. to ſwear againſt John Willock, and John Drill, two of the yeomen, and a ſoldier of the South Cork, as orangemen, for burning the chapel;" that he, ſaid Dooley, had written down the names of ſaid Toole and Moore, with ſeveral others, in whoſe houſes the ſaid Sullivan would be concealed, after he ſhould ſo ſwear; that he, ſaid Dooley, gave ſaid Sullivan a written order, requiring ſaid Toole and Moore, and ſaid other perſons to conceal ſaid Sullivan; and ſaid Dooley repeated, that ſuch was the cauſe of their being confined, as he was afraid ſaid Sullivan had made a diſcovery; and that ſaid Dooley, Kelly, and Noud, had offered him ſaid ſum to hang three of the loyal men; and ſaith, ſaid Dooley further declared that he had mentioned the buſineſs of hanging ſaid orangemen to Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, eſquire; and that ſaid Fitzgerald replied, that if ſaid three orangemen could be hanged, he would get him ſaid Sullivan 400l. from government, and make up as much more amongſt themſelves; and that he would then if poſſible get Rawſon's yeomanry broke; ſaith ſaid Dooley alſo informed ſaid Toole and Moore, that the ſaid Sullivan was to quit the army, and be protected by other perſons in the Queen's county, and ſo on from place to place, until he got home to his own country; ſaith, ſaid Toole, in the courſe of ſaid converſation, told ſaid Dooley and Moore, that the party under the command of Patrick Dowling, of Fonſtown, who were to have attacked Athy, expected Queen's county aſſiſtance; that he, ſaid Toole, had gone acroſs the river Barrow, to the Queen's county, to ſolicit it; and that the Queen's county people would not aſſiſt; and on ſaid Toole's return with the account of ſuch refuſal, the ſaid party under ſaid Dowling, as principal in command, broke up and diſperſed.

*Sworn before a magiſtrate the 2d May, 1800. Original is in the Crown-office.**

Note, by any poſſibility the above informant could not have had any communication with Timothy Sullivan.

After

* To the lenity of general Dundas on the Curragh, or what is commonly called his capitulation, the dreadful ſtate of the county of Kildare, and the adjacent counties is to be imputed; and it is to be lamented, that wide-extended mercy has produced the ſame effect in every part of the kingdom, wherever it has taken place.

After Sullivan's having given information was become publick, Mr. Fitzgerald mentioned, that the perſons who burned the chapel, were Drill, Willock, and a Cork ſoldier; on the report reaching captain Rawſon, he had the two yeomen arreſted, and committed to the guard-houſe.

A long range of ſtables in the poſſeſſion of Mrs. Dooley, a publican, were converted into a temporary chapel; and in three weeks after the firſt burning, theſe were ſet fire to at nine o'clock at night; the military and yeomanry inſtantly aſſembled, and by great exertions got the fire under, without the interference or aſſiſtance of any except two ſervants, and two only of the Roman catholick inhabitants of the town. Captain Rawſon then applied to Mrs. Dooley, to ſend her hoſtlers, leſt the high wind ſhould again fan up the flames; but ſhe poſitively refuſed, ſaying, that her men (poor fellows) were tired, having had two gentlemen's horſes to do up; and that they were gone to bed, and ſhe would not diſturb them; and with much difficulty ſhe was prevailed on to lend ſome veſſels, to put water on the yet-burning ſtraw; after doing every thing poſſible, the military and yeomanry were diſmiſſed; and about one o'clock at night, the fire again broke out and conſumed the whole of the building.

On the following day, a number of gentlemen met at the ſovereign's, and Mr. Fitzgerald came there; Drill and Willock were brought in cuſtody, and no charge being brought againſt them by Mr. Fitzgerald, or any other perſon, they were diſcharged: They have brought actions for deſamation.

Captain Rawſon felt much for the diſtreſs of the reverend Mr. Keegan, the pariſh prieſt, a man of moſt exemplary conduct; and offered him the uſe of a large houſe he had lately purchaſed near the town, for a temporary chapel: He accepted the offer; and the houſe was prepared accordingly. His good intentions were fruſtrated, as the rebellious had more influence than their worthy paſtor, and not one man would attend him in the houſe of a heretick. Such is the force of fanaticiſm!

The affidavit of Thomas Davis, of Proſperous.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE examination of Mr. Thomas Davis, late of Proſperous, in the county of Kildare, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath and ſaith, That for many nights previous to the night of the twenty-third of May laſt, this examinant and his family were very much alarmed, leſt they ſhould be attacked by the rebels, commonly called united Iriſhmen; that examinant thought that he and his family were in ſome degree ſecure by the arrival of detachments of the Ancient Britons, and the North Cork militia; that however, examinant ſtill continued to be alarmed, as his houſe was at a conſiderable diſtance from the barracks; that examinant ſaith, that he was awakened about the hour of one o'clock in the forenoon, by the barking of a large dog he had; and ſome time after he was alarmed by the firing of ſome ſhots. Examinant ſaith, that on looking out of his window, he perceived a great body of people, armed with pikes and fire arms, between whom and the ſoldiers in the barracks, a conſtant firing was maintained; that as the balls paſſed by this examinant's houſe, (and one of them cloſe to his head,) he withdrew, and let down the window; that ſoon after examinant ſaw the barracks on fire, and heard the ſoldiers exclaim, "The houſe is on fire, we ſhall be burned or ſuffocated: We can fight no longer!" That ſoon after examinant ſaw the roof of ſaid barrack fall in. Examinant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels, whoſe numbers had encreaſed ſo much as to fill the ſtreets of Proſperous aforeſaid, and to cover the adjacent fields, on the falling in of the roof of ſaid barrack, gave many ſhouts, which ſeemed to rend the ſkies, and made this

examinant and his family, thrill with horror ; that the ſaid rebels exclaimed, that the day was their own, and they would then plant the tree of liberty. Examinant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels knocked at his door, and deſired to have it opened, expecting to find there a party of ſoldiers, who had been billetted there a ſhort time before, and Mr. Stamers, who had lodged therein when he went there to receive his rents, as part of the town of Proſperous aforeſaid, belonged to the ſaid Stamers. Examinant ſaith, that as the ſaid rebels approached his houſe in a large body, ſix of them preceeded the reſt, mounted on ſome of the horſes which they had taken that morning from the Ancient Britons at Proſperous aforeſaid ; that examinant, as ſoon as he came out of his door, was ſurrounded by a party of the ſaid rebels, who preſented their pikes at him, and who he expected, from the ferocity of their looks, would have inſtantly put him to death ; that one of ſaid rebels held a muſket at examinant's breaſt, with his finger on the trigger ; that another of the ſaid rebels, who was a turf cutter, held a drawn ſword over examinant's head ; and examinant verily believes they would have inſtantly put him to death, but a young man in the crowd, who ſeemed to have ſome influence, interpoſed, beat down the muſket which was preſented at his breaſt, and ſaid, they ſhould not kill him. Examinant ſaith, that he knew many of the ſaid rebels to whom he and his family had been very kind ; that ſoon after the ſaid rebels went in queſt of the ſaid Stamers, who lodged at ſome diſtance from the ſaid town ; that having ſeized him, the ſaid Stamers, they led him through the ſtreet, by examinant's houſe, ſurrounded by a number of pikemen, while a low fellow held a piſtol at his head. Examinant ſaith, that as he paſſed by the houſe of examinant, he, the ſaid Stamers, caſt a melancholy farewel look at examinant and his family ; that ſoon after the ſaid rebels maſſacred the ſaid Stamers. Examinant ſaith, that ſoon after he went out, with an intention of enquiring for his friend Mr. Norris, an inhabitant of Proſperous aforeſaid, and that before examinant had gone far, he was again ſurrounded by the ſaid rebels, who, he verily believes, would have put him to death but for the interference of the perſon who had ſaved him before. Examinant ſaith, he diſcovered ſoon after that Mr. Brewer, a reſpectable manufacturer of ſaid town, who had employed many of the ſaid rebels, had been maſſacred by them, and that his body had been mangled with ſavage barbarity. Examinant ſaith, that they alſo maſſacred a poor old man, of the age of ſeventy years, and upwards, who ſerved as a ſerjeant in his majeſty's forces, having conſidered him as an orangeman, though examinant is convinced in his mind that the only reaſon why the ſaid rebels murdered the ſaid ſerjeant was his being a proteſtant. Examinant ſaith, that when the ſaid rebels had committed the ſaid barbarities, they exclaimed with ſavage joy, " Where are the heretieks now ? Shew us the face of an orangeman !" Examinant ſaith, that many women who were acting with the ſaid rebels, uſed expreſſions of that tenor, as often and as loud as the men ; and that ſome old women who were amongſt them, ſeemed to brighten up on the occaſion, and to ſhew as much fervent joy as the youngeſt amongſt them : That ſome of the ſaid women kiſſed and congratulated their fathers, their huſbands, or their brothers, on the victory they gained, and exclaimed with joy, " The kingdom is our own, for Dublin and Naas have been taken, and are in poſſeſſion of our friends—down with the hereticks ! down with the orangemen !" Examinant ſaith, that many of the wretches who had been actors in that bloody ſcene, had come into the town of Proſperous aforeſaid, the preceding day, and in the preſence of captain Swayne, of the city of Cork militia, (whom, with a party of his regiment, they had maſſacred that morning, viz. the twenty-fourth of May,) and alſo in the preſence of their pariſh prieſt, of the name of Higgins, had declared their contrition for their paſt errors,

errors, and gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of their loyalty in future; that many of the ſaid rebels ſurrendered their pikes to the ſaid Swayne; and as ſuch ſurrender was conſidered as a teſt of their repentance, and as neceſſary to entitle them to a written protection, numbers of them lamented that they could not obtain ſuch protection, as they never had a pike; and that many of them declared, they would ſell their cow to purchaſe a pike, if they knew where it could be bought. Examinant ſaith, that notwithſtanding theſe declarations, many of the ſaid rebels appeared in the rebel ranks, well armed with pikes. Examinant ſaith, he is convinced in his mind that the ſaid rebels would have plundered and burned all the other loyal houſes of Proſperous aforeſaid, and would have murdered the remaining proteſtant inhabitants thereof, but that a patrol of the Ancient Britons and the city of Cork militia, being a part of the detachment they had murdered that morning, unexpectedly approached the town; and that the ſaid rebels on their appearance, fled towards the bogs and moraſſes. Examinant ſaith, he could not refrain from ſhedding tears at ſeeing ſuch ſcenes of ſavage barbarity; and that a ſervant who continued faithful to him, deſired him not to ſhew any ſigns of concern, leſt he might draw on him the anger and vengeance of the rebels.

THOMAS DAVIS.

Sworn before me the 16th of September, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

No. XVI. 1.

The following addreſs to the inhabitants of the county of Wicklow was printed and generally diſtributed:

WE the magiſtrates of the county of Wicklow, after the moſt ſerious deliberation, the moſt correct information, and the moſt cautious delay, have at length conſidered it as our indiſpenſable duty, to have recourſe to the ſtrong meaſure of proclaiming the county to be in a ſtate of diſturbance, as the only means to cruſh the ſeeds of rebellion, to repreſs outrage, and to protect innocence.

It is with extreme reluctance that we find ourſelves thus compelled to impoſe a temporary reſtraint, in ſome particulars, on the freedom of the inhabitants: But this reſtraint will ceaſe with the occaſion; and will, by preventing its abuſe, ſerve the cauſe of real liberty. The impartial judgment of the publick, when the preſent ferment ſhall be ſufficiently ſubſided to permit calm and diſpaſſionate reflection, will bear teſtimony to the moderation of our conduct—And we appeal to the Searcher of Hearts for the purity of our intentions.

During the courſe of ſeveral months, we have held repeated meetings; at which we received too certain proofs that a ſpirit of diſaffection had been diffuſed through the county; that ſeditious meetings were held, and illegal arms concealed. We held out repeated warnings, that unleſs thoſe arms were ſurrendered to the magiſtrates, and thoſe ſeditious practices deſiſted from, it would be incumbent on us to purſue meaſures of rigour. The event has not been ſuch as we had reaſon to expect; the ſame diſloyal conduct has been continued, with the addition of many atrocious inſtances of violence and outrage. While any hope remained that theſe outrages were caſual and local, and not the effects of a ſyſtematick plan of plunder and inſurrection, we heſitated—we endeavoured to conciliate—we deferred perhaps beyond the bounds of propriety this act of neceſſary ſeverity: We are now called upon by every motive of prudence and duty to adopt it; and having adopted, we ſhall vigorouſly and ſteadily ſupport it.

But while the arm of juſtice is thus ſtrengthened, let it be remembered, that it is only ſtrengthened to cruſh the traitor, to puniſh the aſſaſſin, to reſtrain the plunderer.

In

In no point are the rights of the peaceful and honeſt man infringed: No perſon can fall under the cenſure of the inſurrection laws, or feel their vengeance, but ſuch as diſturb the peace of the publick; ſuch as conſpire the deſtruction of the innocent; and ſuch as, forgetting their ſacred duty to the country which gave them birth, endeavour to entail on it all the miſeries of civil war, of foreign invaſion, of deſolation and maſſacre; and to proſtrate its honour and independence at the feet of an inſolent enemy, who have treated with equal tyranny the countries they have conquered, and the countries they have ſeduced.

'Let us therefore implore you by every thing ſacred, as you reſpect religion, as you regard your unhappy country, as you value your domeſtick happineſs, awake, ere yet too late, from this fatal deluſion; withdraw from this infamous conſpiracy; prove your repentance by ſurrendering illegal arms, and refraining from ſeditious meetings: Act thus, and fear not the laws; re-eſtabliſh the character this county has, until lately, ſuſtained for probity, virtue, and order; and behold in us your friends and protectors; who, on your returning ſenſe of loyalty, will loſe all memory of your temporary errors, and will, with the ſincereſt joy, reſtore you again to the full enjoyment of that glorious and inimitable conſtitution which has rendered theſe kingdoms the admiration of the world; whoſe ineſtimable value, by thoſe who poſſeſs the bleſſing, is too often, not juſtly appreciated; but which, if loſt for ever, would, for ever be regretted, with deep and fruitleſs ſorrow.

Reſolved, that we admire and highly approve of the ſpirited manner in which Abraham Chritchley, of Ballyboy, eſquire, and his family, repelled the attack of traitors upon his houſe and property, on Sunday the twenty-fifth of March laſt; and we do hereby pledge ourſelves to him, and to each other, to give the moſt decided aſſiſtance and ſupport to him, and to all other perſons of every perſuaſion and deſcription whatſoever, upon whom ſimilar outrages may be attempted.

Reſolved, that the thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby given to the reverend Edward Bayly, for the very ſpirited and loyal addreſs propoſed by him to the meeting this day.

Lord Powerſcourt, having quit the chair, and William Hoey, eſquire, being voted into it:—

Reſolved, that the thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby given to the right honourable lord viſcount Powerſcourt, for his very polite and attentive conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,
JAMES M'CLATCHY, *clerk of the peace.*

April 3d, 1798.

2.

County of Wicklow, to wit. } THE information of Terence Kinſelagh of Coolahullen, who being duly ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, That he was ſworn a united Iriſhman—oath of ſecreſy—about twelve months ago, by William Darcy of Kilmner, labourer; that he underſtood the purpoſe of the united Iriſhmen was to riſe in rebellion againſt the king and government; and that it was their intention to deſtroy all perſons who were not of their own religion of popery; that for that purpoſe a number of pikes were made, and that he ſaw pikes in the ſhop of William Hopkins of Ballycoog, and that he has heard that John Doyle of Ballykillayver did alſo make ſeveral; and that to the beſt of his belief there were pikes made for the following town lands, Killahurler, Aſhhinck, Newtown, Ballyfad, Killnener,

Killncner, Croghan, Glinoge; and that the number, as well as he can judge, amounted to three or four hundred.

TERENCE KINSELAGH.

Sworn before me the 28th day of Auguſt, 1798,
EDWARD BAYLY.

3.

Informant bound to proſecute at the next and every enſuing aſſizes, until diſcharged, in the ſum of 50l.

COUNTY WICKLOW.

Publick Notice for ſurrender of arms.

WHEREAS a large body of troops has been ordered into this county for the purpoſe of protecting the well-affected inhabitants, and ſuppreſſing the ſeditious and treaſonable ſpirit which has of late diſgraced the character of this once-loyal and induſtrious county, and which has manifeſted itſelf in various acts of aſſaſſination, robbery, and outrage; and as it is well known that arms, pikes, and other weapons, are concealed in conſiderable quantities for the purpoſes of inſurrection and rebellion, and that notwithſtanding repeated and earneſt admonitions from the magiſtrates to the people, whoſe arms have been, and ſtill are contumaciouſly retained, and no appearance has been hitherto manifeſted of a returning ſenſe of duty:

Lieutenant-general Craig, commanding the eaſtern diſtrict, previous to carrying into execution his orders for coercion, and before the calamities which will attend the obſtinately diſaffected, who are well known, are actually inflicted, conſiders it to be his duty, as well as an act of humanity, to give this publick notice, that he has it in command to aſſure thoſe wicked and deluded people, if they do not immediately ſurrender at ſome of the following depôts, Bray, Newtown-mount-kennedy, Wicklow, Arklow, Coolatin, Rathdrum, Hacketſtown, Baltinglaſs, Dunlavin and Bleſſington, or to the magiſtrates or officers commanding the troops in their vicinity, all fire-arms, ſwords, bayonets, pikes, or pike-ſhafts, old ſcythes and ſpears, and every other offenſive weapon, that they muſt expect to be treated with the utmoſt ſeverity.

It is his ſincere wiſh that he may not be compelled to have recourſe to ſuch rigorous meaſures, but by a *timely ſurrender of their arms, which can alone denote their real repentance and determination to return to their former peaceable demeanour and habits of induſtry.* Thoſe that act ſo may reſt aſſured of protection, both from the magiſtrates and officers commanding the ſeveral detatchments, who are hereby required to uſe their utmoſt diligence to prevent the well-affected, or ſuch as ſincerely return to their allegiance, from ſuffering in perſon or property the ſmalleſt injury.

Such as neglect or deſpiſe this publick and final warning can have no excuſe to offer, and on themſelves and families muſt reſt the conſequences.

PETER CRAIG, *lieutenant-general, commanding eaſtern diſtrict.*

Dated this 11th of May, 1798.

No. XVI.

4.

A liſt of proteſtants maſſacred in the county of Wicklow during the rebellion, and an account of ſome of the outrages committed therein. The number on the left hand indicates where the affidavits of the ſufferers or their repreſentatives are regiſtered in the archives of the houſe of commons. Each affidavit was verified by the ſufferer and the pariſh miniſter, upon oath, and atteſted by a neighbouring magiſtrate.

No. 4 THE reverend Chriſtopher Robinſon, curate of Stratford on Slaney, narrowly eſcaped from the rebels, the twenty-fourth of May, 1798; one Patrick Lea, a rebel, ſnapped a piſtol four times at him. His houſe and all his property were deſtroyed, by which he, his wife and ſeven children were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs.

Sworn before alderman Manders of the city of Dublin, 9th July, 1798.

202 to 250 The houſes and property of forty-nine perſons were burned by the rebels at Arklow the 9th of June.

404 Hannah Wallis ſwore that her huſband, who was pariſh clerk of Ballyhack church, was murdered by the rebels.

418 Judith Frayne ſwore that her huſband, who lived in the pariſh of Caſtle Ellis, was murdered by them.

799 Ann Cahoe ſwore that her huſband was murdered, who lived in the pariſh of Killtegan, and left two children.

Mary Saunders ſwore that her huſband was murdered the 25th June, and left two children of the ſame pariſh.

805 Margaret Elliſon ſwore that her huſband was killed the 25th of June, lived at Hacketſtown and left four children.

1332 Sarah Free, of Stoops, ſwore that her huſband was murdered the 17th of June at Vinegar-hill, belonged to the pariſh of Carnew, and left four children.

1411 Eliza Foley ſwore that her huſband was murdered the 25th of June and left one child; he was of the pariſh of Carnew.

1412 Anne Jackſon of Graige was murdered the 25th of June.

1533 Eliza Freeman ſwore that her huſband was murdered at Denoloſſory, and left two children; he was of the pariſh of Denoloſſory.

1635 Jane Carleton of Kilguagan, ſwore that her huſband was taken from his houſe and murdered the ſecond July, and left one child; he was of the pariſh of Aghald.

1679 Mary Waddock of Tomriland, ſwore that her huſband was murdered the fourteenth of June with much cruelty.

1731 Suſannah Gore of Marigar, ſwore that her huſband was murdered, and left two children; he was of the pariſh of Tomriland.

1736 Mary Twamly of Roſſinaſtraw, ſwore that her huſband was murdered, and left eight children.

1748 Eliza Bolton, of Rathdrum, ſwore that her huſband, a weaver, was killed there, and left one child; he was of the pariſh of Clara.

1827 Eliza Mitchell, ſwore that her huſband was murdered the ſixteenth of September at Carnew, and left four children; was of the pariſh of Carnew.

John Hope, yeoman, taken the 10th of June, brought to Vinegar-hill and piked; was of the pariſh of Carnew,

John Brady, do. do. do. of do.

John

John Forſter, piked the Sunday before the battle of Vinegar hill, at Tinahely, was of the pariſh of do.

John Walker, ſhot and piked the day after do. at Shrule, was of the pariſh of do.

Thomas Braddle piked at Monaſeed, pariſh of do.

Joſhua Scott do. at do. do.

Matthew Dowſe, of Ballynibarny, pariſh of Kilpipe, was killed near do.

On the ſecond of July killed at the battle of Ballyrahin, captain Chamney, his nephew Joſeph Chamney of Ballyrahin, captain Nixon of Nurney, James Twamley of do. Chriſtopher Twamley of do. Michael Leonard of do. and James Bardon of do. in the pariſh of Coolakenny; all proteſtants.

Taken from Coolakenny town ſame day and piked, George Daviſon, Joſeph and William Halfpenny, Thomas Charlton, and alſo William Mires of Crownalay. The ſame day William Watters and John Reſtly of Coolatin, pariſh of Carnew, were piked. The ſame day, George Driver, William Rice and Anneſley Green of Tinahely, pariſh of Kilcomen, were piked; all proteſtants.

The ſame day, James Smith, and John Watters of Croſs Patrick, were piked.

John Waddock, a papiſt, was taken out of his bed and murdered, for having ſeized a rebel with a piſtol in his hand, returning from the battle of Newtownmount-kennedy.

John Beaghan was murdered in cold blood, pariſh of Tomriland.

Mr. Robert Freeman, ſen.	do.	do.
John Burbridge	do.	do.
Henry Marks	do.	do.
John Maſon	do.	of Raheen.
John Langrel	do.	of Cappagh.
Samuel Langrel	do.	of Ballynabarny.
William Carter	do.	of Ballintornhigh.

Thomas Hatton was murdered while attending his farm at Tomriland.

Joſeph Elliſon, John Bolton, John Goggin, } They were three ſupplementary yeomen, and having gone into the mountains to aſſiſt Mr. Chritchley in collecting cattle, they fell into the hands of the rebels, who put them to death with extreme torture with pikes.

Edward Docknell, of the pariſh of Glanely, was piked to death, with extreme torture.

John Wheeler and Samuel Wheeler his ſon, were taken from their looms at Mr. Allen's woollen manufactory, which they deſtroyed, in the pariſh of Greenane, and were carried to Glenmalure, where they were mangled with pikes in a moſt ſhocking manner; the father received ſixty pike wounds.

Michael Twamley, of Coolafaney, and George Heppenſtal of Roſnaſtraw, were taken off ſeveral miles and piked to death.

Moore and Chriſtopher Kavanagh of Mt. Pleaſant, carried to Ballymanus and piked to death.

Peter Twamley, of Coolkenno, was piked to death.

Peter Twamely, of Crownaleagh, do.

Roger Pierce, of Ballythomas, do.

Edward Hopkins, of Currindog, do.

Thomas Bryan, Joſeph Bryan, James Bryan, } Taken from their houſes in the evening and butchered, two brothers and a ſon, of Ballyknockan.

Joſeph Tate, of Coolflake, piked to death.
Chriſtopher Cooper, of Newbridge, do.
John Leeſon, of Ballyteſkin, do.

Edward Keegan, yeoman, in Mr. Beauman's corps, two of Homſpech's dragoons taken in Glenmalure, and two commiſſary generals drivers taken at Killballyowen, and killed at Aughavanagh.

J. Halfpenny, of Coolkenno, was piked to death.

On the 6th of October three men of the name of Hall, a ſon and two brothers, of the Caſtletown corps of yeomanry, were murdered near Wicklow.

In the ſame month two farmers, of the names of Stewart and Synnott, were murdered near Hackettſtown.

One Cooke was murdered at Hollymount the ſame month. George Carr was murdered the 28th of June at Loughpark. Lawrence and John Farren, two papiſts, entered the houſe of William Moody at Coolabeg, county of Wicklow, the 29th of September, 1798, and raviſhed Anne his wife, one after the other, one held her for the other; and they ſaid, 'We will ſow croppies in you, you heretick bitch!' She had ſeven children near her while they perpetrated this barbarous act, for which they were afterwards hanged.

A proteſtant child of four years old was put to death at Tinnebawn, on the borders of the county of Wexford. All the houſes of the middle and low claſs of proteſtants, with very few exceptions, were burnt in the county of Wicklow, and the manſion houſes of the gentlemen ſuffered the ſame fate, except ſuch whoſe proprietors could afford to keep a guard in them.

A proclamation, containing denunciations againſt the government and againſt hereticks, was circulated in the pariſh of Rathdrum and county of Wicklow, in the Spring of 1798, and begins thus:

A notice and caution to the publick.

"WHEREAS we, the united loyal ſubjects of different counties to liberty, are credibly informed that the orangemen and hereticks in general of the pariſh of Rathdrum and county of Wicklow and other parts, by the authority of their diabolical government and their own infernal inſtitution, are circulating through different parts of theſe counties, a proclamation for all united Iriſhmen of every perſuaſion whatſoever, and croppies in general, to bring in all their guns, pikes, and arms of all ſorts, and to diſcover all in general one of another, who made them united Iriſhmen," &c. &c.

This alludes to the manifeſtoes iſſued by the magiſtrates, offering the moſt conciliating terms to the diſaffected, inviting them to return to their allegiance, and offering them a full pardon if they complied with them.

County of Wicklow, to wit. } THE informations of Joſeph and John Thomſon of Roundwood in ſaid county, yeomen, father and ſon, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, ſay, That ſhortly after the pattern of the Seven Churches in June, 1798, they were taken priſoners by the rebels, and after ſome time they were brought to the Seven Churches and kept priſoners in an old yard. When the Wexford rebels joined thoſe of the county of Wicklow, they aſked them, what they, the informants and the other priſoners, were? They received for anſwer, that they were bloody orangemen. The Wexford men ſaid, why are you keeping them there, they ſhould die? They were then driven by a mob of the rebels to the butt of the ſteeple; they ſurrounded them, and made them

them kneel down and were going to pike them, when ſome of the rebels cried out, that, as they were proteſtants, their blood ſhould not be ſpilled on that bleſſed ground; they were then taken to another part of the Seven Churches, again put on their knees and ſurrounded, firſt having been ſtripped of their ſhoes, hats, and clothes; and again ſome of the rebels cried out that it was bleſſed ground, and no proteſtant blood ſhould be ſpilled there; and that they ſhould be taken to the mountains, there to be piked; that ſome of them, ſo far interfered in their behalf with the officers, that at laſt their lives were ſpared on condition of their joining the rebels, which they did, till they had an opportunity of eſcaping.

JOSEPH THOMSON.
JOHN THOMSON.

Taken and ſworn before me, this 20th of June, 1799,

WILLIAM COLTHURST.

Though numbers of the rebels had fallen by the ſword and the gibbet in the province of Leinſter, a ſpirit of diſloyalty continued for many months after to be as great and as univerſal as it was previous to the eruption of the rebellion, particularly in the county of Wicklow.

It appeared on the trial of Joſeph Reilly, and David Condron, by court martial, the twenty-eighth of March, 1799, that they attempted to ſeduce and attach to their cauſe ſome ſoldiers of the Fermanagh regiment; and that they formed a conſpiracy to murder William Booth, a proteſtant, and his family, and to burn his houſe and offices. The ſoldiers pretended that they were Roman catholicks, to gain the confidence of the rebels. They deſired the ſoldiers to go to maraud at Booth's houſe; and that he would entertain them if they ſaid they were proteſtants. Condron declared to one of the ſoldiers, that no perſon would be allowed to live in the country contiguous to Roundwood, that was not a true brother.* He declared that they were well furniſhed with arms; that they were to have taken Enniſkerry, and expected to be joined by the King's county militia.

On the trial of Charles Doyle, at Wicklow, the twenty-ſecond of March, 1799, it appeared on the evidence of John Harriſon, and Arthur Cooper, two ſoldiers of the Fermanagh regiment, that they ſuppoſed them to belong to the King's county regiment, and therefore conſidered them as friends. Doyle aſked Harriſon, whether he was a true catholick? and on being anſwered in the affirmative, he ſaid, "God help the poor catholicks of Ireland! If it were not for the militia raiſed there, not one of them would be alive at this time." He alſo ſaid, what do you think of the French fleet that were ſeen off the coaſt? They are to land, not as they did before, but in two or three places, which will give all the true brethren in the kingdom, an opportunity of joining their friends. He ſaid, that they were all true brothers in the Glyn, in which they lived, except Booth, who was a bloody orangeman. He deſired him to meet him again on a particular day; and that he would procure for him from his delegate a liſt of the members of his corps; and he requeſted that he would bring a liſt of true brothers in his regiment, that he might return it to his delegate. He told him that they were ſoon to have a grand meeting of brethren in the Glyn, to inſpect all their arms, and ſee whether they were fit for

* It appears that the words true brother were uſed by captain Sharkey of the defenders, in the proſpectus found on him in the year 1789. See Appendix, No. II.

an engagement. He ſaid, that they had delegates at that time employed in collecting money for the cauſe at Clonard, in the county of Meath, and at Carbery, in the county of Kildare. He told Harriſon, that if he would deſert from his regiment, he ſhould have the rank of captain among the brethren. He alſo ſaid, that the buſineſs would be ready for a riſing on the ſixteenth or twentieth of April; and that they would be joined by ſome friends from Dublin, and the King's county; that in order to be made a captain, he muſt aſſiſt in murdering Mr. Colthurſt, becauſe he was active in taking up pikes. He ſaid, he had a pike hid in the hill, the head of which, covered with bacon, leſt it ſhould ruſt, was concealed in one place, and the handle or ſhaft in another.

In the month of April, 1799, five ſoldiers of the Fermanagh regiment were tried at Wicklow, for having conſpired to murder their officers, of which three were ſentenced to be hanged, and two to be tranſported. Theſe unfortunate men fell a prey to the deluſive arts of ſeduction, too often ſucceſsfully practiſed on the king's troops.

Early in the month of June, the rebels attacked and entered the town of Bleſſington, and burned the manſion of the marquis of Downſhire, which, with the furniture, was valued at 12,000l. and many good houſes belonging to Mr. Patrickſon. A few days after they burned or deſtroyed every good houſe in it, except the poſt-office, and Mrs. Farley's. In ſhort, they burned and deſtroyed not only the houſes of the proteſtant gentry, but thoſe of the inferior claſs of that order, and carried off all their cattle for ſome miles round Bleſſington; and the army and the yeomanry retaliated by burning the houſes of thoſe who were notoriouſly diſaffected, and had joined the rebels. The rebels burned alſo the houſe of the earl Fitzwilliam, who has a very large eſtate in the county of Wicklow, and whoſe great generoſity and benevolence to his numerous tenantry are univerſally known.

After the rebellion had exiſted ſome time, and had ſpread univerſal deſolation in that country, the marquis of Waterford repaired to his beautiful manſion at Hollywood, and, with his uſual humanity and benevolence, announced that he would rebuild all the houſes of the lower claſs of people which had been burned or deſtroyed, provided they would return to their allegiance, and accept the amneſty humanely offered to them by government; but inſtead of being touched with gratitude by his generous offer, they burned his houſe on the thirteenth of September.

John Mulligan, of Paddock, in ſaid county, depoſed the twenty-firſt of May, 1798, before lord Powerſcourt, lord Monck, and John Edwards, eſquire, that on the night when the report was ſpread that the orangemen were out to murder the Roman catholicks, he was met and informed by George Coleman of the Long-hill, that the orangemen were to maſſacre all the Roman catholicks; and that he ſhould not get intelligence of it, unleſs he was ſworn an united Iriſhman, and that he was accordingly ſworn by the ſaid Coleman, to whom he gave ſoon after 6d. to buy iron to make a pike head. The ſaid Coleman, and others, cut ſome aſh trees on lord Monck's land to make pike handles; and ſaid, that they expected the French would land and gain the battle; and then that they would have their lands cheap.

Roger Coleman, of Ballyteſkin, in ſaid county, ſwore before the ſaid magiſtrates the twenty-firſt of May, 1798, that in the month of November, he met one Buſhe, a ſchoolmaſter, on the commons of the Long-hill, and ſuppoſing him to be a united Iriſhman, aſked him to ſwear him into that ſociety, becauſe he was informed and believed, that the French would come, and that his life would be in danger unleſs he was ſworn.

William

William Kelly, of Killcroney, in ſaid county, depoſed before lord Monck, that he was ſworn a united Iriſhman by one Burke, a ſchoolmaſter, for the ſame reaſon; ſworn the twenty-fourth of May.

Garret Quin, farmer, of Glenene, depoſed before lords Powerſcourt and Monck, the twenty-fifth of May, 1798, that he was ſworn an united Iriſhman by one Kelly, a cabinetmaker; and that Charles Gallagher told informant, that they were to aſſiſt the French when they landed, and to fight for Ireland againſt king George.

County of Wicklow, to wit. ISAAC HARRISON, of Ballinagee, this day came before me, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, that about three weeks ago Daniel Lamb, of Ballinagee aforeſaid, in the county of Wicklow, informed him, that a letter had been received from one Byrne, now impriſoned in Dublin, that the French were expected every day, but certainly not later than the laſt day of May, inſtant; that as ſoon as they arrive, it is intended to murder lord Powerſcourt, lord Monck, Mr. Quin, Mr. Colthurſt, and ſuch gentlemen in the neighbourhood; and farther ſaid Iſaac Harriſon has heard, and does believe, that Daniel Lamb, and many more united Iriſhmen, being apprehenſive that information has been given againſt them, intend to riſe and maſſacre all well-affected perſons in the neighbourhood, either this day or to-morrow.

Sworn before me, May 5th, 1798,
MONCK.

his
ISAAC ⋈ HARRISON,
mark.

Witneſs preſent,
E. QUIN.

State of the archdioceſe of Dublin, in the autumn and winter of 1798.

1 VICARAGE of Killſallaghan, three miles from Finglas, Mr. Collis, the vicar, was obliged to abandon his pariſh, and to retire to Dublin, through fear of the rebels, who broke into his houſe, and plundered it; moſt of his proteſtant pariſhioners were obliged to fly to Dublin to ſave their lives.

2 Vicarage of Garretſtown, Hector Monroe, vicar, was obliged to fly to ſave his life; and all his proteſtant pariſhioners were obliged to abandon their houſes for the ſame purpoſe.

3 Pariſh of Clonmethan, lord Strangford, rector, Galbraith Fenton, curate, moſt of the proteſtant pariſhioners obliged to fly.

4 Vicarage of Holywood, John Echlin, vicar; all the proteſtants but one obliged to fly for their lives.

5 Vicarage of Luſk, Philip Ryan, vicar; all the pariſhioners obliged to fly.
N. B. All the above are in Fingall, and the moſt remote is not more than ſixteen miles from Dublin.

6 Pariſh of Hollywood, William Porter, rector; all the houſes in the town burned by the rebels; the church converted into a barrack; the glebe houſe much damaged; all the proteſtant pariſhioners, except one, obliged to fly.

7 Vicarage of Donard, Arthur Conolly, vicar; the church almoſt demoliſhed by the rebels, and many proteſtant pariſhioners obliged to fly.

8 Vicarage

8 Vicarage of Donoghmore, doctor Edward Ryan, vicar; ſome of the proteſtant pariſhioners murdered, the remainder obliged to fly; the houſes of moſt of them burned; no ſervice in the church for ſeven months.

9 Vicarage of Bleſſington, Hill Benſon, vicar; the church greatly damaged by the rebels; moſt of the proteſtant pariſhioners obliged to fly.

10 Vicarage of Narraghmore, reverend dean Keatinge, vicar; obliged to fly and reſide in Dublin; glebe houſe much injured by the rebels; many of the proteſtant pariſhioners murdered; the remainder obliged to fly to preſerve their lives.

11 Rectory of Fonſtown, Walter Bagot, rector; the church almoſt deſtroyed; one-half of the proteſtant pariſhioners murdered by the rebels; the reſt obliged to fly for their lives.

A ſong of the united Iriſhmen.

ROUSE, Hibernians, from your ſlumbers!
See the moment juſt arrived,
Imperious tyrants for to humble,
Our French brethren are at hand.
Vive la, united heroes,
Triumphant always may they be,
Vive la, our gallant brethren,
That have come to ſet us free.

Erin's ſons, be not faint hearted,
Welcome, ſing then Ca Ira,
From Killala they are marching,
To the tune of Vive la.
Vive la, united heroes, &c. &c.

To arms quickly, and be ready,
Join the ranks and never flee,
Determined ſtand by one another,
And from tyrants you'll be free.
Vive la, united heroes, &c. &c.

Cruel tyrants, who oppreſſed you,
Now with terror ſee their fall!
Then bleſs the heroes who careſs you,
The orange now goes to the wall.
Vive la, united heroes, &c. &c.

Apoſtate orange, why ſo dull now?
Self-willed ſlaves, why do you frown?
Sure you might know how Iriſh freemen
Soon would pull your orange down.
Vive la, united heroes,
Triumphant always may they be,
Vive la, our gallant brethren,
That have come to ſet us free.

This was found on the mother of Dogherty, an united Iriſhman, who was killed by Woollaghan, at Delgany, in the county of Wicklow, in autumn 1798. She was ſeen to throw it out of her pocket, yet ſhe ſwore ſhe never ſaw it.*

A copy

* By means of ſongs the paſſions of the multitude were very much raiſed.

No. XVII.

A copy of a letter addreſſed to the earl of Mountnorris, by the undernamed pariſh prieſts, and their flocks; and ſigned by them at their reſpective chapels, in the county of Wexford.

November 26th, 1797.

MY LORD,

WE the pariſhioners of having heard with aſtoniſhment and concern the very extraordinary reſult of the meeting at Gorey, the twentieth of this month, beg leave to aſſure your lordſhip, that we are unconſcious of having incurred the ſtigma, ſo ungenerouſly thrown upon us, of diſloyalty and diſaffection; we therefore appeal to your lordſhip, as our neighbour, as a magiſtrate, and as a friend to humanity, to receive our oaths of allegiance, and to aſſure his excellency, the earl of Camden, that we are as firmly attached to the conſtitution, as any other members of the community, whatever our enemies may inſinuate to the contrary.

We further entreat your lordſhip's interference with government, to avert a compliance with the prayer of the memorial,* agreed to on Monday laſt, as being unſupported by evidence, and therefore ill founded.

A ſtriking proof of the tranquillity of this peaceable country appeared at the convention at Enniſcorthy, when, after the ſtricteſt inveſtigation, there were not the ſlighteſt grounds for any pariſh in this diſtrict being proclaimed.

Allow us to aſk your lordſhip, Whether any act of outrage has been committed, to juſtify or palliate ſo cruel a meaſure? Should your lordſhip's exertions prove abortive, we mean to beg of you, as one of our governors, to call a meeting of the county; and we truſt that the ſenſe of that meeting will evince how unwarrantably we have been pointed out, as proſelytes to defenderiſm, for the congregate body will always protect the individual's good name, which is dear to him as his life. Before we take leave of your lordſhip, we humbly requeſt, you will accept of our tribute of gratitude, for your oppoſition to the determination of the twentieth; and you will add to the obligation, by conveying our acknowledgments to the ſeven other magiſtrates, who ſo liberally ſtepped forward, to juſtify us from an imputation which we reprobate as unprovoked and unmerited.

In conſequence of this, lord Mountnorris, and ſome more magiſtrates, at his deſire, attended thoſe prieſts at their reſpective chapels, and ſwore the oath (given in the next page) on the altar:

Union of Blackwater, Killina, and three more pariſhes,—Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt.

Millina,—Nicholas Synnott, pariſh prieſt.

Union of Roſmanogue, and two more,—Francis Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt.

Kilcormuck, (the chapel is at Boulavogue,)—John Murphy, curate, a rebel general, who was hanged at Tullow.

Killina,—Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt.

Monomaling,—Michael Lacy, pariſh prieſt.

Caſtle-ellis contains the following chapels, Blackwater, Killila, Ballivaloe, and Ballivalden,—David Cullen, pariſh prieſt.

Ballycanew,

* This alludes to a memorial ſent to government, to have nineteen diſaffected pariſhes proclaimed; and thoſe prieſts and their congregations addreſſed his lordſhip to avert that meaſure, though theſe pariſhes were at that time deeply engaged in the conſpiracy.

Ballycanew,—Michael Murphy, a rebel general, ſhot at the battle of Arklow.
Kilmuckridge, and Killincooley,—Michael Lacy.
Clogh,—Francis Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt; John Redmond, his curate, a noted rebel, was hanged.
Ardemin, called the River chapel,—Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt; Nicholas Stafford, his curate, a notorious traitor.
Gorey and Killinahew,—Francis Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt.
Kilbride and Ferns,—Edmond Redmond.
Donamore and Kiltiriſk,—Nicholas Redmond.
Balwaldin and Blackwater,—David Cullen.

N. B. The Roman catholick biſhops make ſubdiviſions of the pariſhes, and they are denominated from the place where the chapels ſtand.

A copy of an oath, ſworn by nineteen prieſts, and their congregations, in the county of Wexford, before lord Mountnorris, and other magiſtrates, in the month of November, 1797.

I DO ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, upon the Holy Evangeliſts, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majeſty king George the third, and to the ſucceſſion of his illuſtrious family to the throne. That I will, to the utmoſt of my power, ſupport the conſtitution as by law eſtabliſhed. That I will uſe every poſſible exertion to prevent and ſuppreſs all tumult, riot, or ſecret conſpiracy. That I am not an united Iriſhman, and that I never will take the oaths of the united men. That I will give up all kinds of fire arms, or offenſive or defenſive weapons, in my poſſeſſion; and that I will inform againſt any man keeping arms without being regiſtered. All the above I moſt ſolemnly ſwear, in the preſence of the Almighty, and as I hope to be ſaved, through the merits and mediation of my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, without any equivocation or mental reſervation whatſoever. So help me God.

Copy of a certificate given by the proteſtant clergymen, church-wardens, and proteſtant pariſhioners, of different pariſhes, in the county of Wexford, of the loyalty and peaceable deportment of their Roman catholick fellow-ſubjects, at the inſtance of the latter, in the month of December, 1797.

WE the miniſter, church-wardens, and proteſtant pariſhioners of the pariſh of Kilcormuck, in the county of Wexford, do hereby ſolemnly declare, that we know of no diſpoſition to turbulence or diſloyalty, now exiſting in any part of the ſaid pariſh. We ſee the generality of the inhabitants of our pariſh as quiet and as induſtriouſly employed, as in the moſt peaceful times. Given under our hands the third day of December, 1797.*

THOMAS HANDCOCK, *rector.*

It is remarkable that John Murphy, the popiſh curate of this pariſh, laid a plot to aſſaſſinate Mr. Handcock, and his congregation, on Whitſunday, when in church, but very fortunately the breaking-out of the rebellion prevented them from going to divine ſervice.

The

* This does appear like cruelty or oppreſſion in the proteſtants of Ireland, ſo baſely and falſely imputed to them by traitors, to palliate their diſaffection!

The following addreſs was preſented to the viceroy, the eighteenth of April, 1798:

Pariſh of Killenerin, and barony of Gorey; ſigned by John Synnott, pariſh prieſt, &c. ſir Thomas Eſmond, of Ballynaſtra, baronet, Laurence Doyle, of Springhill, Laurence White, of Scarnagh, James Doyle, of Mayfield, and one thouſand three hundred and ſixty inhabitants of ſaid pariſh. Dated Killenerin chapel, April the twelfth, 1798, *and publiſhed in the Dublin Journal, the third of May,* 1798.

To his excellency John Jeffries Pratt, earl of Camden, lord lieutenant, and general governor of Ireland.

WE the Roman catholick inhabitants of the pariſh of Killenerin, in the barony of Gorey, and county of Wexford, do think it our duty to come forward at this criſis of internal diſturbance, thus publickly to declare our unalterable attachment to his ſacred majeſty king George the third; and we do hereby declare, and in the moſt ſolemn manner pledge ourſelves, to ſupport with our lives, fortunes and influence, his majeſty's happy government eſtabliſhed amongſt us, determined as we are to exert ourſelves for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion and ſedition. And we do likewiſe ſolemnly pledge ourſelves, ſhould any perſon attempt to diſſeminate amongſt us ſeditious or levelling principles, all of which we hold in the utmoſt abhorrence, that we will uſe our utmoſt endeavours in bringing ſuch miſcreants to condign puniſhment. And we do further aſſure all our proteſtant brethren, of our ſincere affection for them, and our abſolute determination to co-operate with them in every means in our power, for the ſupport of this happy conſtitution, the ſuppreſſion of rebellion, the welfare of his majeſty's government, and in love and loyalty to his ſacred perſon.

And we do requeſt of the right honourable the earl of Mountnorris, and ſir Thomas Eſmond, baronet, to preſent theſe our declarations to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

The following prieſts and their congregations adopted the ſame addreſs:

1. Caſtlebridge chapel, ſigned by Michael Redmond, pariſh prieſt, and one hundred and fifty Roman catholick pariſhioners.

2. Ballynamonaboy chapel, ſigned by Nicholas Synnott, pariſh prieſt, and above one hundred and ſixty pariſhioners.

3. Ferns and the Union ditto, ſigned by Edward Redmond, pariſh prieſt, and others for themſelves, and one thouſand five hundred of the Union, by and with their conſent.

4. Kilmallock ditto, ſigned by Redmond Rooke, pariſh prieſt, and above one hundred and ſeventy pariſhioners.

5. Gorey ditto, ſigned by Barnaby Murray, and others for themſelves, and ſix hundred and forty-five other Roman catholicks of the pariſh.

6. Kilcormick ditto, ſigned by John Murphy, curate, for himſelf and ſeven hundred and fifty ſeven of the inhabitants, at the chapel of Boulavogue, on Monday, April the ninth.

7. Tomb, Killincher, Roſsmanogue, Clough and Ballyconeen, ſigned by Francis Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt of ſaid union, for himſelf and eight hundred inhabitants.

8. Ballycanoe, ſigned by M. Murphy, coadjutor prieſt, for himſelf and ſeven hundred and ſeventy-three pariſhioners.

9. Ardemine, ſigned by Nicholas Stafford, pariſh prieſt, and three hundred and ſixty pariſhioners.

10. Donoghmore, ſigned by Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt, for himſelf and congregation, conſiſting of five hundred and thirty.

11. Kilmuckridge, Killincooly, and half the pariſh of Monomolin, ſigned Michael Lacy, pariſh prieſt, and eight hundred and thirty-four perſons of ſaid pariſhes. Dated April the eighteenth, 1798, and publiſhed in the Dublin Journal of May the fifth.

A reward of one hundred guineas was offered by the pariſhes of Killenerin, Arklow, and Kilgorman (that is the Roman catholick inhabitants,) for the diſcovery of wicked and deſigning perſons, who ſpread a report that all the different churches in the neighbourhood were to have been attacked on Sunday the twenty-ninth of April, and that a general aſſaſſination of their proteſtant brethren was to have taken place.

Signed by
WILLIAM RYAN,
Pariſh prieſt of Arklow and Kilgorman.

JOHN SINNOTT,
Pariſh prieſt of Killenerin.

D. MURPHY,
Pariſh curate of ditto.

Sir THOMAS ESMOND, *baronet.*

LAURENCE DOYLE, *and others.*

In this they aſſure their proteſtant brethren, that they wiſh to have no intereſt ſeparate from theirs, &c.

No. XVIII. 1.

The diploma of the reverend father John Murphy.

EGO doctor dominus Franciſcus de Aquilar et Rivon, preſbiter, Hiſpalenſis doctor theologus, ejus regiæ univerſitatis portionarius atque prebendatus metropolitanæ ac patriarchalis eccleſiæ ipſiusmet civitatis, adminiſtratorque actualis hujus ſanctæ domus hoſpitii Venerabilium ſacerdotum pauperum atque infirmorum ſalutem, fidem facio dominum Johannem Murphy, preſbiterum Hibernum diœceſis Fernenſis, qui ad has partes ſtudiorum cauſa tranſivit atque exiſtit a die decimo tertio menſis Julii, anni milleſimi ſeptingenteſimi octogeſſimi uſque ad preſens, in prædicta domo vivere ac ſubtentari pie cum aſſiſtentia ad ſpiritualia exercitia, cum bono exemplo, ac obedientia; vacandoque, cum applicatione, ad ſtudia philoſophica ac theologica, majoris collegii divi Thomæ Aquinatis ordinum prædicatorum: Propter quod prædictum dominum Johannem Murphy dignum ac idoneum exiſtimamus ad ſuæ patriæ redditum, ut ſacram miſſionem ſpiritualiaque officia ademplere poſſit; in quorum teſtimonium præſentibus literis ſubſcripſi die vigeſimo nono Martii anni milleſimi ſeptingenteſimi octogeſſimi quinti Hiſpali.

Doctor Franciſcus de Aquilar et Rivon.

The

The teſtimonium of the reverend father John Murphy, obtained in the univerſity of Seville, in Spain.

✠

IN DEI NOMINE. AMEN.

NOS infra ſcripti rector, regens, ac collegiales cathedratici ſacræ theologiæ, et Artium almi majoris collegii, ac generalis ſtudiorum ſcholæ publicæ, pontificiæ, ceſareæ, ac regiæ ſancti Thomæ Aquinatis, ordinis prædicatorum civitatis Hiſpalenſis, notum facimus omnibus, ac ſingulis præſentes literas inſpecturis, D. Joannem Murphy, ex diœceſi Fernenſi oriundum, in publicis ſcholis noſtris philoſophiæ cathedras tribus integris annis Melchione Canono, alœxove theologie attente, ſollicite, ſineque notabili interruptione audiviſſe; in quorum fidem hoc illi inſtrumentum ſigillo parvo hujus noſtri majoris collegii munitum damus, juridice denuntiati in ſupradicto majori collegio, die quinto menſis Martii, anni Domini milleſimi ſeptingenteſimi octogeſſimi quinti.

Signed by
F. FRANCISCUS DE LEON,
Rector ac theolog. moralis cathed.

And a number of others, whoſe names are now illegible.

[SEAL.]

Father John Murphy's journal; found by captain Hugh Moore.

Saturday-night, May 26, at 6 A. M. 1798.

BEGAN the republick of Ireland in Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, barony of Gorey and pariſh of Kilcormick, commanded by the reverend doctor Murphy, pariſh prieſt of the ſaid pariſh, in the aforeſaid pariſh, when all the proteſtants of that pariſh were diſarmed, and, amongſt the aforeſaid, a bigot, named Thomas Bookey, who loſt his life by his raſhneſs.

26. From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the republick attacked a miniſter's houſe for arms, and was denied of, laid ſiege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces; the ſame day burned his houſe and all the orangemen's houſes in that and all the adjoining pariſhes in that part of the country.

The ſame day a part of the army, to the amount of one hundred and four of infantry and two troops of Cavalry, attacked the republick on Oulart Hill, when the military were repulſed with the loſs of one hundred and twelve men, and the republick four killed, and then went to a hill called Corrigrua where the republick encamped that night, and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without reſiſtance, and the ſame day took another town and *fate* of a biſhop*. At three in the afternoon, the ſame day, they laid ſiege to Enniſcorthy, when they were oppoſed by an army of ſeven hundred men, then they were forced to ſet both ends of the town on fire, and then took the town in the ſpace of one hour, and then encamped on a hill near the town, called Vinegar-hill, where they remained that night.

BRYAN BULGER,†
DARBY MURPHY, his hand and pen, dated
this 26th day of

* It alludes to Ferns.

† This it is ſuppoſed was written by one Bulger, who attended father Murphy as aid de camp.

Orangemen are men that formed alliance to kill and deſtroy all the catholicks of this kingdom.

GARET LACEY.

28th. At three in the afternoon, which was Whitſun-monday, they marched towards Wexford, and encamped in a hill that night, called the mountain.

2.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE examination of Samuel Whealey, of Dranay, in the pariſh of Kilcormuck, and county of Wexford, farmer, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath and ſaith, That he, this examinant, received information from ſome of his friends and neighbours of the proteſtant religion, on the firſt day of May laſt, that there would be an inſurrection of the united Iriſhmen on that night, at the hour of one o'clock, and that a ſignal would be given to them for that purpoſe, by the lighting of a fire on the top of mount Leinſter* in ſaid county, which was to be anſwered by fires lighted on the higheſt hills in all the adjacent counties, as a ſignal for a general inſurrection; that in conſequence thereof he and his proteſtant neighbours were on their guard for many nights after, but that examinant could not perceive any ſuch fire until Saturday evening, the twenty-ſixth day of May laſt, when about ſun ſet examinant ſaw a fire kindled on an adjoining hill, called Corrigrua,† in ſaid county, and that examinant ſaw a few minutes after, another fire, on a riſing ground, contiguous to the houſe of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, in ſaid county, and about a quarter of a mile from the houſe of examinant; and that ſoon after the ſaid John Murphy, and ſome other men, repaired to the houſe of one William Goff, a near neighbour of examinant, and that the ſaid John Murphy cried out aloud, "Pull him out! Pull him out! Have you got him?" to which anſwer was made, "Aye, aye," and that ſoon after examinant ſaw the houſes of John and Robert Webſter, both proteſtants,‡ in a ſtate of conflagration, and which houſes were ſet on fire by the ſaid John Murphy, and his party. Examinant ſaith, that ſaid John Murphy, and his party, proceeded to a townland called Mullaunree, in ſaid county, and ſet fire to the houſe of James Denniſon, a proteſtant farmer, after having put him and his family to flight. Examinant ſaith, that he and his family ſat up all night, as the ſaid John Murphy, and his party, were proceeding in their deſtructive progreſs, and that being very much alarmed and terrified, one of this examinant's ſons, a private in the Ballaghkeene cavalry, repaired to captain White, who commanded ſaid corps, to inform him thereof; and his other ſon went to Enniſcorthy, to communicate intelligence thereof to the yeomanry and king's troops quartered there. Examinant ſaith, that early on the morning of Whitſunday laſt, the ſaid John Murphy, after having burned many proteſtant houſes in the neighbourhood, attacked that of the reverend Mr. Burroughs, a proteſtant clergyman, and that ſoon after examinant ſaw the houſe of the ſaid Mr. Burrowes on fire; that the ſaid John Murphy proceeded in his deſtructive progreſs, burning the houſes of proteſtants, until he arrived at the hill of Oulart,§ in ſaid county, where the ſaid Murphy encamped, with a numerous body of rebels, and where he the ſaid Murphy, was joined by one Edward Roche, of Garrylough, attended alſo by a conſiderable body of rebels. Examinant ſaith, that having been informed that the ſaid rebels meant to burn his houſe on the night of Whitſunday, he this examinant ordered his family to take the furniture thereout, and which they accordingly

* Plate II. 6. † Plate II. 7. ‡ Of Garrybritr. § Plate III. 2.

cordingly did; that on the ſaid night, as ſoon as it grew dark, the ſaid rebels, headed by ſaid John Murphy, and the ſaid Edward Roche, went to the houſe of examinant, and burned the ſame; and that examinant lay concealed in a ditch, ſo cloſe to the ſaid houſe while burning, that examinant could with difficulty bear the heat thereof. Examinant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels carried off, or deſtroyed, the whole of examinant's furniture, except one bedtick; that a great number of rebels went the next day in queſt of examinant, in order to put him to death, but that examinant lay concealed in ditches at Dranay aforeſaid. Examinant ſaith, that two or three days after the burning of his houſe, the two daughters of examinant dug a hole in the bawn of ſaid houſe, and having laid ſome oak planks thereon, and having covered the ſame with ſtraw, and afterwards with the aſhes of his houſe ſo burned, examinant lay concealed in ſaid hole for about the ſpace of one month; and that examinant during that time was ſupplied by his wife and daughters with food, but in the night only, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered; examinant ſaith that during his concealment, the rebels came often and examined the ruins of ſaid houſe, and the fields and ditches in its vicinity, for examinant, declaring at the ſame time, that they would put him to death, and that the ſaid rebels often ſaid during their ſearch, at one time that he was a bloody orangeman, though examinant ſaith he never ſaw an orangeman, nor knew what they meant by that appellation, except that examinant has been univerſally informed that they meant a proteſtant by the word orangeman. Examinant ſaith, that one day that the ſaid rebels went to the ruins of ſaid houſe, in queſt of ſaid examinant, they the ſaid rebels knocked down the ſon of examinant, of the age of nine years, with the butt end of a firelock, becauſe the ſaid ſon refuſed to point out where his father lay concealed, and that ſaid rebels put examinant's ſon on his knees three different times, and ſwore they would ſhoot him, unleſs he would do ſo, but that his ſaid ſon declared his ignorance thereof. Examinant ſaith, tha tduring his concealment at Dranay aforeſaid, a great number of proteſtants were ſhot contiguous to examinant's houſe by ſaid rebels, as they were flying acroſs the country from various quarters, from the mercileſs rage of ſaid rebels; and that Michael Shea, Anthony Thackberry, Samuel Judd, Benjamin Judd, Clement Goff, James Shaw and Henry Lancaſter, were of the number of proteſtants ſo ſhot or killed with pikes. Examinant ſaith, that when the king's troops were victorious at Vinegar-hill, that his daughters called to his relief three of the Ancient Britons, who conveyed examinant to Oulart aforeſaid, on horſeback, as examinant was unable to walk, having had a bad fever from his confinement, and that he was afterwards conveyed by his two ſons to Gorey, in ſaid county, where Mr. Peppard gave examinant a ſmall houſe, as examinant's houſe at Dranay aforeſaid, and all his ſubſtance, were deſtroyed.

Sworn before me the 24th day of September, 1798, SAMUEL WHEALEY.
WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURNE.

3.

County of Wexford, to wit. } JOHN ROSSITER of Grange, in ſaid county, came before me this day, one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county, and voluntarily made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That he the deponent heard and believes that John Murphy, aſſiſtant prieſt of Boulavogue pariſh, was at the head of the rebels who had burned the houſes of the two Webſters

ſters of Garrybrit, and killed lieutenant Bookey, &c. ſome hours before the houſe of the ſaid John Murphy was burnt by his majeſty's troops.

Sworn before me this 27th day of July, 1798,
JAMES BOYD.

his
JONH ⋈ ROSSITER,
mark.

County of Wexford, to wit. PETER CRAWLEY of Glandaw, in ſaid county, farmer, this day came before me and voluntarily made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That the reverend John Murphy was at the head of the rebels and had burned the houſes of John Webſter and Robert Webſter, both of Garrybrit, in ſaid county, farmers and proteſtants, long before the houſe of the ſaid John Murphy was ſet on fire by the Enniſcorthy cavalry; and further, that lieutenant Thomas Bookey of the Camolin cavalry, and John Donovan a private of ſaid corps were killed by the ſaid rebels with the ſaid John Murphy at their head, many hours before ſaid Murphy's houſe was ſet on fire.

Deponent further ſaith, no houſe was burned in ſaid John Murphy's pariſh by the army, until he the ſaid John Murphy and party had burned the ſaid Webſter's houſes as aforeſaid.

PETER CRAWLEY *

Sworn before, &c.
RICHARD NEWTON KING.

4.

Copy of an affidavit made before the honourable judge Downes, by T. C. Burrowes, late of Kyle, county Wexford.

THIS deponent ſaith, That the late reverend Robert Burrowes, this deponent's father, was rector of the pariſh of Kilmuckridge in the county of Wexford, and reſided with his family, conſiſting of this deponent's mother, this deponent, who is aged between fifteen and ſixteen years, and two brothers and two ſiſters, all younger than this deponent, upon the lands of Kyle, within about half a quarter of a mile of the village of Oulart, which is diſtant about ten miles from the town of Wexford.

That upon Saturday evening, the twenty-ſixth of May laſt, ſeveral of the pariſhioners of Kilmuckridge and other loyal inhabitants of the neighbourhood of this deponent's father, with their families, took refuge in his houſe from an attack which they ſaid was to be made on them by a numerous body of rebels; that they continued in ſaid houſe until eleven o'clock of ſaid night, when a man named Murphy came to the houſe and informed deponent's father, as this deponent has heard and believes, that he, ſaid Murphy, was himſelf an united Iriſhman, and warned deponent's father to protect himſelf againſt an attack which was intended to be made at day light in the morning; that this deponent looked out about the houſe, and that it being an uncommonly light night, they could clearly diſcern men crowding about the adjacent cabbins, and lurking about the hedges and ditches; that having fire-arms and ammunition ſufficient for eight or nine perſons in ſaid houſe, they reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; that they accordingly barricaded the lower part of

* Crawley was a lieutenant colonel in the rebel army.

of the houſe, and ſtationed themſelves at the upper windows at different ſides of it. Deponent ſaith, that about ſunriſe of ſaid morning, a numerous body of rebels, amounting to three or four hundred perſons, as this deponent believes, armed principally with pikes, approached ſaid houſe and attacked the ſame, and ſet fire to a range of thatched out-houſes belonging to and adjoining ſaid dwelling houſe, and fired ſeveral ſhots at the windows at which this deponent and ſaid men were ſtationed, and notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours of this deponent and ſaid men, by firing ſeveral ſhots at ſaid rebels, and killing and wounding ſeveral of them as they approached ſaid houſe, the ſaid rebels ſet fire to the kitchen door, which ſhortly after came to the ſtaircaſe and other parts of ſaid houſe.

This deponent ſaith, that after a defence of about half an hour, being in danger of being ſuffocated by the ſmoke, or conſumed by the flames, and one Murphy a prieſt, who headed ſaid party, having promiſed protection to deponent's father, upon condition of ſurrendering his arms, deponent and his father iſſued from ſaid houſe, and this deponent and his father gave up their fire arms, whereupon a ſhot was immediately fired at this deponent, and deponent's father was attacked and murdered by ſeveral men, and this deponent himſelf was ſeverely wounded by a ſtab of a pike through the body, and left by the ſide of his father apparently dead, and that ſeven of the nine men who were armed by this deponent's father in defence of the houſe were murdered, and that the houſe and furniture, plate, clothing, leaſes, ſecurities for money, and property of every kind contained in ſaid houſe, were deſtroyed, and that the entire ſtock upon the grounds belonging to the deponent's father, except four cows and two calves, were taken away by ſaid rebels; that this deponent, about three o'clock in the afternoon of ſaid day, after the ſaid mob had departed, was found languiſhing in the lawn before ſaid houſe, and conveyed upon a door to the village of Oulart, where deponent's mother and brothers and ſiſters had been received; and that on Tueſday, the twenty-ninth of ſaid month, this deponent, his mother, and brothers and ſiſters were eſcorted by a party of ſaid rebels to Caſtle Anneſley, about five miles diſtant, and kept in cuſtody of a party of ſaid rebels until Wexford was re-taken; and general Needham having diſcovered where they were, ſent a party of the Durham fencibles, who eſcorted this deponent and the reſt of the family of this deponent's father to Wexford, where deponent's mother, his brothers and ſiſters are now living; and deponent ſaith, that deponent's mother and her family have been deprived of means of ſubſiſtence, by the loſſes ſuſtained by ſaid rebels, and are now reduced to a ſtate of great indigence.

Sworn before me this twelfth day of July, 1798, T. C. BURROWES.*
W. DOWNES.

* This amiable young man died in the ſummer of 1800 of the wound which he received.

5.

County of the City of Dublin, to wit. THE information of George Williams, farmer, and Elizabeth Williams, wife of the ſaid George, both of Ballyadams, in the pariſh of Kilmuckridge and county of Wexford; who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts make oath and ſay, That the ſaid George is tenant to William Bolton of Iſland, in ſaid county, eſquire, and that ſaid George Williams

Williams, who with his wife commonly refides at Ballyadams, frequently flept at the houfe of the faid William Bolton his landlord, for fome time previous to the twenty-feventh of May laft. Informant, George Williams, faith he was alarmed on the morning of the faid twenty-feventh of May, about the hour of four o'clock, in the faid houfe of Ifland, where he had flept the preceding night, by the barking of dogs, and the noife of a concourfe of people, tumultuoufly aflembled in different parts of the country, and alfo by the firing of fhots. This informant George faith, that on mounting to the upper ftory of faid houfe of Ifland, he faw the houfes of many proteftants on fire in different parts of the adjacent country, and great numbers of the lower clafs of people aflembled together in a tumultuous manner, and moving from one part of the country to the other; this informant George faith, that he faw, among other houfes, thofe of the following perfons in a ftate of conflagration: Edward Webfter's, John Davis's, Edward Fox's, the reverend Mr. Burrowes at Kyle, in the parifh of Kilmuckridge, James Johnfon's, Jofeph Aflon and James Aflon's, John Rath's and James Rath's, William Walfh's, Richard Burke's, Edward Jackaberry's, Francis Colbyrne's, Robert Johnfon's, Charles Francis, Blakeney Ormfby's, and the houfes of many other perfons whofe names this informant cannot at this time recollect; all of whom were of the proteftant religion. This informant Elizabeth, who had paffed the preceding night at her own houfe at Ballyadams aforefaid, faith, that fhe was alarmed during the whole of the night by the barking of dogs, and that on rifing about four o'clock, on the morning of Whitfunday laft, fhe faw great numbers of people moving about in a tumultuous and riotous manner, and fome perfons on the tops of houfes looking out as this informant verily believes for fignals; and that two boys, the fervants of the faid George, were on the top of the houfe of the faid George Williams, at Ballyadams aforefaid, looking out in the fame manner. This informant Elizabeth faith, that being much terrified at fuch alarming appearances, fhe repaired to her hufband at Ifland aforefaid, for protection. Thefe informants fay, that about the hour of ten o'clock on the fame day, Hawtry White, efquire, captain of the Ballaghkeene yeomen cavalry, arrived at the houfe of Ifland aforefaid, and informed the faid William Bolton that the rebels had aflembled in fo large a body, that his corps joined to the yeomen of Gorey and Camolin were not fufficiently ftrong to face them, and the faid Hawtry White recommended to the faid William Bolton to make his efcape to the town of Gorey in faid county, as faft as poffible. Thefe informants jointly fay, that the faid William Bolton and his family fet out foon after, for Gorey aforefaid, confifting of himfelf, Mrs. Bolton and ten children, he and his eldeft fon on horfeback, the remainder of his family in his chaife and on cars. Thefe informants jointly fay, that they attended the faid William Bolton and his family in their retreat, and that when they had advanced about one mile from Ifland aforefaid, the faid William Bolton, who preceded the party, was furrounded by a large party of rebels, who robbed him of his arms. Informants fay, that the faid William Bolton and his eldeft fon on horfeback, and the chaife containing Mrs. Bolton, and fome of the children, were fuffered to proceed, but that three cars containing fome more of her children, and fome maid fervants, were obliged to retreat to fome farm houfes in the neighbourhood, and that one of the faid children, a fon, of about the age of twelve years, alarmed at the fcuffle which took place, jumped off of the carr, and made his efcape in a circuitous manner, over hedge and ditch, to Gorey aforefaid. Informants fay, that the faid rebels difmounted and difarmed the fteward of the faid William Bolton, and that fome of them cried out, "Cut at him!" And thefe informants

fay,

ſay, they are convinced in their minds that they would have murdered the ſaid ſteward, whoſe name is Richard Bolton, but that ſome of them, who happened to have a regard for him, ſaved his life by their interference. Theſe informants ſay, they were ſo much alarmed at the blood-thirſty diſpoſition of the ſaid rebels, that they retreated precipitately, and that theſe informants were cloſely purſued by the ſaid rebels a conſiderable way; but theſe informants eſcaped, and arrived at their own houſe, at Ballyadams aforeſaid, where he the ſaid George was diſarmed of his gun by ſome rebels. Theſe informants ſay, that on their arrival at their houſe they found two boys, who were in their ſervice, plundering it of different articles. Theſe informants ſay, that this informant George Williams aſked one of the ſaid ſervants (both of whom were of the popiſh religion) what he the ſaid George ſhould do to ſave his life? and that the ſaid ſervant replied, pointing at the ſame time, "You had better go to that country, which is inhabited by Romans, (meaning Roman catholicks,) as the men who reſide there are gone to the proteſtant country to burn the proteſtants' houſes; and lie down there till night, and then you can make your eſcape." Theſe informants ſay, that when they had gone about a mile and a half from their houſe, they ſaw many houſes in Ballyadams aforeſaid in flames, and that the houſe of theſe informants was alſo in flames. Theſe informants ſay, that ſoon after they were purſued by a body of rebels from Ballyadams aforeſaid, and they verily believe that the ſaid rebels were ſent in purſuit of theſe informants by their two ſervants whom they left behind them. Theſe informants ſay, they eluded the purſuit of the ſaid rebels by altering their courſe at different times, and by creeping under the cover of hedges, till they arrived at the ſea ſhore; that having aſcended on a high bank near the ſea, they ſaw a great number of proteſtants' houſes on fire; that they ſaw, at ſome diſtance on the ſea ſhore, a woman who they feared would betray them to the rebels, but, on approaching her, they found her crying bitterly, and lamenting the ſtate of the country, and, as ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſervant to a Mr. Burkett, a gentleman farmer whoſe houſe was contiguous, they aſked her, whether ſhe thought her maſter would give them ſome nouriſhment, as they had fled from their own houſe, and narrowly eſcaped with their lives from the rebels, who had plundered them of all their ſubſtance, and that they were almoſt famiſhed? Theſe informants ſay, they were well treated by ſaid Burkett, who gave them a plentiful meal; and that the ſaid Burkett, who is of the proteſtant religion, fearing that his houſe would be burned, had taken out a great part of his furniture, which lay near the ſhore, and that a new-born child lay crying in a cradle near the ſea ſhore. Theſe informants ſay, that ſaid Burkett lamented his ſituation to theſe informants, and expreſſed his fears that the rebels would deſtroy him and his family, as he was a yeoman in captain White's corps of cavalry; and the ſaid Burkett implored theſe informants, on their arrival at Gorey in ſaid county, to excuſe his non-attendance there, as he could not abandon his family, who he feared would be murdered, and that all his ſubſtance would be deſtroyed, if he left them unprotected. Theſe informants ſay, they were informed by ſaid Burkett, that he was under the neceſſity of ſoliciting the protection of a mean popiſh ſervant, who lived with him, to ſave his life, the lives of his family, and his ſubſtance, from being deſtroyed, and that his reliance on him aroſe ſolely from his being of the popiſh religion; and that the ſaid ſervant ſeverely rebuked him the ſaid Burkett, for making free with this informant George, becauſe he was a loyal ſubject and a yeoman. Theſe informants ſay, that they arrived at Gorey in the evening, much haraſſed and fatigued, without any clothes but what they had on their backs, and that their houſe and out-offices have been burnt, and that all their ſubſtance has

been deſtroyed or carried off, except four cows and two yearlings, and a few metal pots. Theſe informants ſay, that ſoon after their departure from their houſe at Ballyadams aforeſaid, Mary Shakaberry, the mother of this informant Elizabeth, was attacked near Ballyadams aforeſaid by Michael Redmond, ſervant to theſe informants, about the age of twelve years, who threatened to put her to death with a pike, which he then had in his hand; and threatened at the ſame time to burn her other daughter's houſe, unleſs ſhe would deliver to him ſome wearing apparel of the ſaid George, which the ſaid Mary had in her cuſtody, and that the ſaid Mary, who is very old and infirm, was obliged from motives of fear to give the ſaid wearing apparel to the ſaid Michael Redmond.

GEORGE WILLIAMS,
ELIZABETH WILLIAMS.

Sworn before me the 27th day of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING,
lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

6.

County of Wexford, to wit. THE examination of John Horton of Ballingale, of the pariſh of Ferns in ſaid county, who being duly ſworn and examined upon oath, ſaith, That on the 27th day of May laſt, examinant was in the houſe of the reverend Francis Turner, of Ballingale aforeſaid, and that then and there examinant ſaw James Maher and William Beahan, both of Ballycarney in ſaid county, with a large number of rebels armed with pikes and guns, who violently attacked ſaid Francis Turner's houſe, and did then and there murder the ſaid Francis Turner, William Chriſtian, Thomas Dowſe, and three men of the name of Ganford; and that examinant ſaw the aforeſaid William Beahan come into the room where ſaid Francis Turner lay dead and flouriſh a ſcythe blade, and ſaid, 'You lye there, my lad, in lavender, like Larry Ward's pig.' Examinant further ſaith, that in a few hours after he ſaw the aforeſaid James Maher fire at the Newtownbarry cavalry at Tombrack in ſaid county.

his
JOHN ⋈ HORTON,
mark.

Taken, ſworn and acknowledged before me, being firſt truly read to examinant this 16th March, 1799, *at Newtownbarry in ſaid County*,
JOHN JAMES.

Examinant bound in the ſum of 50l. to proſecute.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. THE examination of James Doyle, aged ſeventeen years, ſervant to William Turner, eſquire, who being duly ſworn and examined on oath, ſaith, That on Whitſunday laſt, examinant being at his maſter's brother's houſe, the reverend Mr. Francis Turner of Ballingale, in the county of Wexford, about the hour of two o'clock in the afternoon, a large party of armed rebels, amounting to three hundred and upwards, came to ſaid Francis Turner's houſe aforeſaid, who called to them from one of the windows not to attempt his houſe, or he would tranſport them; whereupon they fired at him and wounded him in the jaw; ſaith, they afterwards broke into his houſe and demanded of him to deliver up his arms; upon his refuſal, they murdered him and ſeveral other proteſtant neighbours who came to his houſe for protection, and then burned and deſtroyed his houſe and concerns; ſaith, ſaid party of rebels was headed by Denis Carty of Ballycarney, who was armed with piſtols, and fired ſeveral ſhots into the window of ſaid houſe in ſaid county of Wexford, likewiſe

Luke

Luke Kehoe, Matthew Bulger, Murtha Nowlan, James Ryan, John Hendrick, John Meade, —— Furlong, Peter Bryan, Mogue Redmond, Mogue Bryan, Martin and Michael Rorke, and William Beahan.

JAMES DOYLE.

Sworn before me the 17th day of March, 1798,
WILLIAM JAMES.

County of Wexford, to wit. } THE examination of Cambia Carty, wife of Mr. William Carty, of Ballycarney in this county, who being duly ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, That on the morning of the twenty-ſeventh of May laſt, Denis Carty of the city of Dublin, Moſes Redmond of Ballycarney, farmer, with many other perſons unknown to informant, left the houſe of ſaid William Carty of Ballycarney, with the profeſſed intention of going to the houſe of the reverend Francis Turner, of Ballingale in this county, to deſtroy the ſame; that in about three hours after, he the ſaid Denis Carty returned to the ſaid houſe of William Carty, accompanied by James Maher of Ballycarney, publican, and both the ſaid Denis Carty and James Maher did there and then declare that they, with a number of other perſons unknown to informant, had broke open and afterwards burned the houſe of the ſaid Francis Turner of Ballingale, and that they had ſhot the ſaid Francis Turner and afterwards burned him in his houſe; and that the ſaid James Maher did declare to informant, that a quantity of blood, which appeared on his breeches, was the blood of the ſaid Francis Turner; and the ſaid Denis Carty and James Maher did declare they had alſo killed, at the houſe of ſaid Francis Turner, five other men, one of whom fell by the hands of the ſaid Denis Carty, as he the ſaid Denis Carty did declare.

CAMBIA CARTY.

Sworn, taken and acknowledged before me, this 24th July, 1798,
SOLOMON RICHARDS.

Informant bound in 20l. to proſecute when called on.

No. XIX. 1.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE information of Benjamin Warren of Kilcormuck in the county of Wexford, yeoman, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, informeth and ſaith, That he was taken priſoner by the rebels at Kilcormuck aforeſaid, on the twenty-ninth day of May, 1798, and was conveyed to the rebel camp on Vinegar hill in ſaid county, together with another proteſtant priſoner of the name of Samuel Weſt, of Kilcormuck aforeſaid; that on the arrival of this informant at ſaid rebel camp, they put him into the walls of an old mill, where there were many other proteſtant priſoners; informant ſaith, that half an hour after the ſaid rebels led out informant to put him to death, for no other reaſon than becauſe he was a proteſtant; informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels aſked him, what religion he would die? on which informant anſwered he would die a proteſtant as he had been bred ſuch: informant ſaith that the ſaid rebels then ſaid to informant, "You bloody orange thief, you are damned, and will go to hell the inſtant we put the breath out of you." Informant ſaith, the rebels thereon gave him ſeveral ſtabs of pikes in the body and neck, and that while ſome of the ſaid rebels were wounding informant, others were engaged in tearing off with great vehemence the clothes of informant. Informant

ſaith, that he ſuffered the moſt excruciating pain from his wounds, and was ſo exhauſted by the loſs of blood, that he lay motionleſs and ſpeechleſs for ſome hours. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebels led out ſoon after thirteen proteſtants whom they put to death with pikes one after the other, in the ſaid rebel camp, and that the body of one of the ſaid proteſtants fell on this informant, which put him to very great pain, and almoſt extinguiſhed what little remains of life there were in him. Informant ſaith, that next morning, finding he had ſtrength enough to creep all-fours, he crept to the gripe of a ditch near the road, where he remained till it was dark, and then informant contrived to make his eſcape. Informant ſaith, he heard, and which he verily believes to be true, that the rebels ſhot, or butchered with pikes, twenty-four proteſtants on the ſaid day on Vinegar hill aforeſaid. Informant ſaith, that father Murphy, pariſh prieſt of Kilcormuck aforeſaid, was commander in chief in ſaid rebel camp, and that this informant applied to the ſaid Murphy to ſave his life, but that ſaid Murphy replied, he would not interfere about him, as he was going to take Wexford, and that he would leave them (meaning the rebels) to do as they pleaſed with them. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid father Murphy was the firſt perſon who promoted an inſurrection in the county where he lived, and that on Saturday the twenty-ſixth, and Sunday the twenty-ſeventh of May laſt, he, at the head of a rebel mob, cauſed all the proteſtant houſes in the ſaid pariſh of Kilcormuck to be burned, except three or four which were ſaved. Informant further ſaith, that among the priſoners ſo killed on ſaid day were Henry Hatton, eſquire, portrieve of Enniſcorthy, in ſaid county, and a yeoman in captain Richards's corps of cavalry, Thomas Colbourne of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, victualler, George Stacey of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, two men of the name of Gill, of a place called the Oiled-gate, between Enniſcorthy and Wexford, Benjamin Stacey, of Enniſcorthy, aforeſaid, farmer, Jacob Minchin, of Enniſcorthy, aforeſaid, cabinetmaker, Edward Briſket, of Enniſcorthy, aforeſaid, merchant, George Sparrow, of ſaid town, farmer, Joſeph Maud, of ſaid town, farmer and a yeoman in captain Cormick's corps, William Tugman, of the pariſh of Enniſcorthy, weaver, and ſeveral others whoſe names informant cannot at this time recollect. Informant ſaith, he heard, and which he verily believes, that a man of the name of Murtagh Bryan, a common executioner, ſhot twenty-four proteſtants in one day on Vinegar hill, aforeſaid; that he obtained a glaſs of whiſkey for every perſon ſo ſhot. Informant ſaith, he was informed, and verily believes that one Luke Byrne, an opulent farmer, aſſaſſinated many proteſtants, and among others, one Samuel Goodiſon, an opulent farmer of Glendow, in ſaid county.

Sworn before me, this 23d day of Auguſt, 1798, his
THOMAS FLEMING, BENJAMIN ⋈ WARREN,
lord mayor of the city of Dublin. mark.

2.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE information of Richard Sterne of Enniſcorthy, in the county of Wexford, ſtaymaker, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, that on Whitſun Monday laſt, when the king's troops and the yeomanry were obliged to evacuate the town of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, which they had defended for ſome hours againſt the rebels, captain Richards of the Enniſcorthy cavalry, recommended to this informant, and to many other proteſtant inhabitants of ſaid town, to accompany them in their retreat, which they were about to make to Wexford from Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, to eſcape the furious rage of the popiſh rebels, who in great numbers had attacked ſaid town, commanded by the reverend father John Murphy, of Boulavogue in ſaid county. Informant ſaith, that he being an infirm old

old man, and having carried on his back a grandchild of the age of five years, he was unable to keep up with the ſaid troops in their march for Wexford; and therefore that he, this informant, accompanied by his wife and a ſon, who was far gone in a conſumption, conccaled themſelves in a wood, called Ringwood, within half a mile of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, where this informant, and his ſaid family remained four days and four nights, without receiving any nouriſhment whatever, except ſome potatoes and about a pint of milk from a fiſherman who lived on the banks of the river Slaney. Informant ſaith, that he, this informant, ſooner than periſh with hunger, went out of the ſaid wood on or about the fifth day, in the morning, after he had made his eſcape from Enniſcorthy aforeſaid; and that he, this informant, was taken priſoner on the high road near Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, by a numerous body of the ſaid rebels, who were headed by the ſaid father John Murphy, to whom the ſaid rebels conducted this informant; and that they aſked the ſaid father Murphy what the ſaid rebels ſhould do with this informant, and that the ſaid Murphy deſired the ſaid rebels to diſcharge informant, as they were on their march to Wexford. Informant ſaith, that nevertheleſs the ſaid rebels kept this informant in their cuſtody. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels led this informant a ſecond time before the ſaid father Murphy, who preceded the ſaid rebels on horſeback with a large crucifix in his arms; and that they aſked the ſaid Murphy a ſecond time, what they ſhould do with this informant? and that the ſaid Murphy replied, they, the rebels, may do as they choſe with this informant. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels rebuked and abuſed informant for not having proſtrated himſelf before the ſaid crucifix, and frequently pricked him with their pikes for not having done ſo. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels frequently told him, this informant, that he was a heretick, that he was damned, and would go to hell; that ſaid rebels ſtrongly urged informant to be chriſtened, to receive the ſacrament from their prieſt, and to go to maſs; and that by doing ſo, he would be ſure of going to heaven, or to purgatory, either one or the other. Informant ſaith, he aſked the ſaid rebels, whether he would ſave his life by conforming to their religion? and that the ſaid rebels replied, he would not, but that by ſo conforming, he ſhould die an eaſy death by being hanged, inſtead of being tortured by pikes; and that the ſaid rebels declared to informant that they would hang him to ſave his ſoul, leſt he ſhould afterwards relapſe and become a heretick. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels then conducted him to the croſs roads near the church of Killuran in ſaid county, where the ſaid rebels again urged this informant to change his religion, having threatened to put him to death with their pikes, unleſs he would do ſo; but informant replied, he would not, that he would die any death, and that inſtant, ſooner than change his religion. Informant ſaith, that a rebel ſerjeant thereon gave this informant a violent blow of a ſpade handle in the head, which ſpade handle was ſhod or pointed with iron; and that when the ſaid ſerjeant was on the point of giving him the ſaid blow, he called out to the other rebels to pike him. Informant ſaith, that he was knocked down and made ſenſeleſs and ſpeechleſs by the blow ſo inflicted by the ſaid ſerjeant; and that when he lay quite inſenſible on the ground, the other rebels gave him many ſtabs of their pikes in the body; and that one of the ſaid pike wounds paſſed through the body of this informant from one ſide to the other. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid ſerjeant gave him, this informant, a deſperate wound in the head, from whence there iſſued a great quantity of blood. Informant ſaith, he lay ſpeechleſs and ſenſeleſs on the road where he was wounded for about an hour, when having recovered his ſenſes, he crept to the houſe of George Ogle, eſquire, about two miles diſtant, where

where he received ſome nouriſhment from the ſteward of the ſaid Georgle Ogle; and that the ſaid ſteward told informant he muſt depart, for that as he was an orangeman, (meaning a proteſtant) that his maſter's houſe would be burned; and that he, this informant, would be killed by the rebels if he kept him in it. Informant ſaith, that he, thereon repaired to an adjoining wood where this informant remained two days and two nights, during which time he received ſome nouriſhment from the ſame ſteward. Informant ſaith, he was at laſt diſcovered in ſaid wood by a rebel woman, who was conſtantly plundering the houſe of ſaid George Ogle; and who informed the rebels who were ſtationed therein, that the ſaid wood was full of orangemen; but that ſaid ſteward informed the ſaid rebels, that this informant was not an orangeman, and had nothing to do with them; and that he was a poor old man who was wounded, and that he would bring this informant to them, the ſaid rebels. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid ſteward, and the ſaid rebels repaired to the place where informant lay concealed in ſaid wood; and that ſaid rebels declared, on ſeeing the deplorable ſtate of informant, that they would not hang or pike this informant. Informant ſaith, he was then taken to the ſtable of the ſaid George Ogle, where he remained two days and two nights; and then, that he, this informant was ſuffered to make his eſcape. Informant ſaith, he was ſoon after taken priſoner by another body of rebels, who conducted him to a rebel guard houſe at Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, where he remained four days, with thirty-two other proteſtant priſoners, where informant would have ſtarved, but for ſome nouriſhment which informant received once a day from his wife. Informant ſaith, that he, and his fellow-priſoners were conveyed on the fifth day (to the beſt of informant's recollection) to Vinegar-hill, to be tried by a committee of rebel officers, on which hill, contiguous to Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, he remained two days and two nights. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebels ſhot twenty-three of the fellow-priſoners of this informant, and in the preſence of this informant, on Vinegar-hill aforeſaid; and this informant is convinced in his mind, that the ſaid rebels had no other charge or accuſation againſt the ſaid priſoners, but that they were of the proteſtant religion. Informant ſaith, that before the execution of the ſaid priſoners, another prieſt, of the name of Murphy, harangued the ſaid priſoners, in words of the following purport: "You ſons of Belial, that withſtood our holy religion which exiſted eight hundred years before yours began; (cracking the fingers of his right hand, and then of his left,) you will ſee how theſe pikemen will treat you to-morrow, unleſs there is a great reformation in you." Informant ſaith, that the ſaid prieſt expreſſed the ſaid words with a loud voice, and in a very angry tone. Informant ſaith, that his life was ſaved by the interference of one William Lacy, brother to a prieſt of that name, who ſeemed to have great power in ſaid rebel camp on Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, and with whom informant had been long acquainted, and from whom informant obtained a protection. Informant ſaith, that the rebels before they wounded him at Killuran aforeſaid, ſtripped informant of his hat and wig, coat and waiſtcoat.

RICHARD STERNE.

Sworn before me, 29th of Auguſt, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

County

3.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit.

CATHARINE HEYDON, widow of the reverend Samuel Heydon, late of Ferns in the county of Wexford, deceaſed, and late vicar of the ſaid pariſh of Ferns, and alſo late rector of Carne in ſaid county, having been duly examined on the Holy Evangeliſt, depoſeth, and ſaith, That examinant, her huſband, and all the proteſtant inhabitants of Ferns aforeſaid, on hearing the rebels were advancing in great force, commanded by the reverend John Murphy, a prieſt, on the morning of Whitſunday, the twenty-ſeventh day of May, laſt; and that this examinant, with her ſaid huſband, was obliged to fly precipitately to Enniſcorthy, in ſaid county, along with a ſmall detachment of the North Cork militia; and depoſeth, that ſaid town of Enniſcorthy was taken by the rebels, on Monday the twenty-eighth day of May laſt; and that on the ſaid day the king's troops and yeomanry, with moſt of the proteſtants there, were obliged to retreat to the town of Wexford, to avoid the mercileſs rage of ſaid rebels; by which examinant and her ſaid huſband were left unprotected, and were obliged to fly from one houſe to another for protection, as moſt of the houſes there were on the ſame day pulled down, or burned by the rebels. This examinant ſaith, that ſhe, and her ſaid huſband retreated at laſt to the houſe of one Stephen Lett, a cabinetmaker, and that two parties of the rebels came into ſaid houſe, and aſſured the ſaid Samuel Heydon, that they would not injure him, he being a good-natured man, as ſome of them declared; and that ſoon after one other rebel came into ſaid houſe, and ſaid, that his information was right, for that ſaid Mr. Heydon was there; on which ſaid Heydon replied, that two parties were there before, and ſaid he ſhould not be moleſted, at which time ſtones were thrown up at the windows; on which ſaid Lett declared, that his houſe would be deſtroyed, if he gave examinant and ſaid Heydon protection any longer, and adviſed examinant and ſaid Heydon to apply for a protection to a prieſt. Examinant ſaith, that this examinant and ſaid Heydon immediately after left ſaid houſe, and did accordingly apply to the reverend John Sutton, a popiſh prieſt, for protection, in the ſtreet of ſaid town, as they were ſurrounded by a large party of the rebels who became riotous, and joſtled examinant, and her huſband; on which ſaid Sutton cried out to ſaid rebels, "Fie! fie!" but afforded them no other protection, at which time this examinant perceived blood running from the noſe of her ſaid huſband; and that his cheek was laid open by a pike, as examinant believes. Examinant ſaith, that ſoon after he ſtaggered and fell to the ground, with this examinant, who kept her arms about him; that thereupon the ſaid rebels daſhed his head ſeveral times againſt the ſtones, for the purpoſe of extinguiſhing what life remained in him; that he ſoon after groaned and expired in this examinant's arms, during which time this examinant, and after, received from them ſeveral blows on the back; that ſaid rebels thereupon took from ſaid Heydon his watch, money, and pocket-book, containing ſeveral bank notes, the amount of which this examinant knows not, but believes ſaid pocket book contained the amount of his whole property, both in money and bank notes. This examinant further depoſeth, that ſoon after, a ferocious rebel dragged this examinant by her arm down a ſteep hill with great violence, and over the bridge, and to the water ſide, uſing at the ſame time, very inſulting and opprobrious language, and aſked examinant if ſhe would go to maſs, and damned examinant for a bitch; ſaid ſhe was always an enemy to the Roman catholicks; and aſked examinant why ſhe had left her houſe; ſaid, they (meaning the ſaid rebels) had ſettled it this morning, and ſaid rebel declared, he would take examinant to the camp at Vinegar-hill, though ſaid rebel was dragging examinant

a contrary

a contrary way. Examinant further depoſeth, that ſhe called out for help, when a rebel unknown to examinant, reſcued examinant, and convcyed examinant to the houſe of one Walſh a rebel captain, who had been that morning liberated out of priſon. Examinant ſaith, that ſoon after ſhe arrived at ſaid houſe, her aunt, a lady aged eighty-one years, or thereabouts, was brought there by her ſervant maid, after having been robbed of her ready money, and all her worldly ſubſtance, which ſhe by her will bequeathed to this examinant to a conſiderable amount. Examinant depoſeth, that during ten days ſhe reſided at ſaid Walſh's houſe, ſhe ſuffered very much from poverty, filth, and the ſociety of the moſt profligate wretches, who conſtantly uttered treaſon and blaſphemy, and often hinted that examinant had better go to maſs; and ſaid Walſh, and his wife, informed examinant that it would be at the riſque of their lives, to harbour a proteſtant, as an order came from the camp, not to protect any ſuch; that during examinant's reſidence at ſaid houſe, and for ſome time after, ſhe had no other clothes to wear, but what ſhe had on her back, and no bed to ſleep on for five weeks and five days. Examinant ſaith, that on leaving ſaid Walſh's, ſhe repaired to the ruinous houſe of Henry Gill, poſtmaſter of ſaid town, which had been plundered and made a wreck of by the rebels. Examinant ſaith, that ſoon after ſhe went to the ſaid Gill's houſe, a meſſage was ſent to her by ſaid Walſh, that her life was not ſafe, unleſs ſhe went to maſs; and in a few days after, about five o'clock in the morning, two rebels armed with muſkets, broke into examinant's room, and called out to Mrs. Gill to throw this examinant down ſtairs, and if ſhe did not, they would, and her houſe ſhould be burned; on which examinant aſked them what charge they had againſt her? to which they replied, her obſtinacy had been reported yeſterday; and that ſhe muſt go to Wexford, meaning by the word obſtinacy, as ſhe verily believes, was for not going to maſs; that examinant, dreading ſhe might be abuſed by the rebels, aſked the ſaid two ruffians to ſhoot her, on which they replied, they would have nothing to do with one of her ſort, meaning, as ſhe verily believes, a proteſtant; and then ſaid examinant might ſtay there until further orders. Examinant ſaith, that Mrs. Gill told examinant, that ſhe could not any longer protect her with ſafety to herſelf, and eleven children; on which examinant went to ſeveral houſes, whoſe inhabitants refuſed to receive her, though proteſtants, from motives of fear, and the papiſts from motives of hatred; that thereupon one father Clinch, a prieſt, brother to a tenant of examinant's, informed her, that ſhe need not leave ſaid houſe, where ſhe remained in great poverty and diſtreſs, until the king's troops arrived, after which time ſome of the officers, from motives of compaſſion, ſupplied this examinant with proviſions. This examinant ſaith, that the loſs ſhe ſuſtained by having her houſe plundered of houſehold furniture, and other valuable articles, amounts to between five and ſix hundred pounds, excluſive of the money and notes her ſaid huſband was plundered of at Enniſcorthy aforeſaid. This examinant ſaith, that her late huſband, by his livings and his agency from the right honourable lord Monck, including the glebe-houſe and lands at Ferns aforeſaid, enjoyed a yearly income of ſix hundred pounds and upwards.

CATHARINE HEYDON.

Sworn before me, this 31ſt day of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

Part

Part of a converſation which Lewis Bulger had with Mrs. Heydon, after the death her huſband in Enniſcorthy; he had lived fourteen years with her as butler, and was very active in plundering her houſe at Ferns as ſoon as the rebellion broke out.

A few days after the death of Mr. Heydon, and while Mrs. Heydon was in the utmoſt diſtreſs in Enniſcorthy, Lewis Bulger viſited her, told her he would ſave her jaunting car, and convey her in it to her own houſe; ſhe ſaid ſhe had no houſe, as it belonged to the biſhop, until he appointed another incumbent. "The biſhop!" ſaid Bulger with much contempt; "the biſhop has no houſe now! it may be mine, or that man's," pointing to a pikeman who ſat in the room; "but the biſhop has nothing to do with it; there will be no laws now, for in about three months, every thing will be ſettled in a much better way than they were." He told her, that ſhe might live happily again in her own houſe, provided ſhe would become a Roman catholick, and be ſurrounded by none but by perſons of that religion; ſhe anſwered, that ſhe had charity for perſons of every religion, but that ſhe would live and die in the faith in which ſhe was brought up. Bulger then ſaid, you are liable to be ſhot if you appear in the ſtreet; there will be but one religion on the face of the earth, this is all the handywork of God; and as a proof of the divine interpoſition in favour of the rebellion, he ſaid, "Father John Murphy catches red hot bullets in his hand."* If a prieſt were to bleſs a piece of meat, the moſt hungry dog would not touch it; this is a common opinion among the lower claſs of papiſts. A prieſt can bring a lighted candle out of a tub of water; he ſaid to her, ſure you won't remain there; ſhe anſwered that ſhe had no houſe to go to, but that ſhe hoped ſoon to meet his maſter in heaven; on which he obſerved, "I will promiſe you, that you will never meet him there?" What can be expected from a populace drenched with ſuch ſuperſtitious and deleterious doctrines; and who believe that their prieſts can ſuſpend and counteract the operations of nature! What a fruitful ſource of treaſon muſt that opinion be, that the divine will was viſible in favour of a rebellion, formed for the proſtration of the proteſtant ſtate, and the excluſive eſtabliſhment of the popiſh religion, by which alone the maſs of the papiſts believe they can be ſaved!

4.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit.

THE information of Edward Stacey, of Tomgara, in the county of Wexford, farmer, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he, this informant, was taken priſoner at his own houſe at Tomgara aforeſaid, by four rebels armed with muſkets and ſpears, on the ſixteenth day of June, 1798; and that having led informant to a ſolitary place, about a mile and a quarter from his houſe, one of the ſaid rebels aſked informant of what religion he was, to which informant replied, he was born and bred a proteſtant; on which one of the ſaid rebels aſked informant, whether he did not know that while his body was creeping on earth, that the ſouls of him and all his ſort were burning in hell? Informant ſaith, he anſwered ſaid rebel by telling him he believed no ſuch thing. Informant ſaith, he was then led by ſaid rebels to a deep marl pit which was full of water, and then that one of ſaid rebels aſked informant whether he could ſwim, and that he ſhould have his choice of leaping into ſaid pit, or of being ſhot; to

* All the prieſts actively concerned in the rebellion endeavoured to perſuade their flock that they could do ſo.

which informant replied, that he would not be acceſſary to his own death. Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid rebels aſked him in what he believed; to which informant replied, that he believed in the great God that made the heavens and earth; on which the ſaid rebel aſked informant, whether he believed that the virgin Mary was bleſſed above all women; to which informant replied, that he believed ſhe was. Informant having anſwered, becauſe it was left on record, that all generations ſhould call her bleſſed; and that the ſaid rebel ſaid thereon, "You vagabond, how ſhould you know what was left on record?" Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels then compelled him to go on his knees with his back turned towards them; and that one of the ſaid rebels then fired a muſket at informant, charged with a ball, which ball entered at informant's rump, and paſſed through his private parts. Informant ſaith, he fell to the ground as if dead; that his wife, having heard the ſhot, came up to him, and had informant carried to his own houſe, where he continued confined to his bed for ſix weeks, and at length recovered, though informant had not the aſſiſtance of a doctor or a ſurgeon. Informant ſaith, that the rebels deprived him of his arms on the twenty-eighth day of May preceeding. Informant ſaith, that his nephew Benjamin Stacey was ſhot in the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill for being a proteſtant; and that George Stacey, the ſon of informant, was killed at Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, for the ſame reaſon. Informant ſaith, that of the four rebels who took informant priſoner as aforeſaid on the ſixteenth day of June, Edward Sinnot was the only perſon he knew; that informant was the near neighbour of ſaid Sinnot, and had been in a ſtate of friendſhip with him; and yet the ſaid Edward Sinnot was the perſon who ſhot informant as before mentioned. Informant ſaith, he verily believes that twenty-three proteſtants were maſſacred on account of their religion, and for no other reaſon, within one mile and a half of the houſe of informant; and that the following perſons were among thoſe who were ſo maſſacred: John Clifford of Caſtle Anneſley, eſquire, John Lord, his ſervant, James Johnſon, Robert Johnſon, Robert Aſton, William Abraham, John Colburne, William Johnſon, James Shaw, Charles Ormſby, Eyre Ormſby, John Johnſon, Elizabeth Stacey, ſiſter-in-law of informant, George Greenlee, Margaret Greenlee his ſiſter, Henry Rouſom, Robert Aire, Edward Earle, Joſeph Aſton.

EDWARD STACEY.

Sworn before me, 24th of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

5.

A copy of Mrs. Margaret Hunt's petition, whoſe huſband, a lieutenant in the Enniſcorthy yeomanry, was murdered at Vinegar-hill.

THAT her huſband, fighting againſt the rebels at Enniſcorthy on the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, was wounded in the morning of ſaid day by a gun-ſhot in the belly; and on the ſaid day received ſeven wounds in his head, three in his body, and one in his arm.

That having in part recovered the ſeveral wounds of ſaid twenty-eighth inſtant, he was on the day following ſeized and taken out of his bed by ſaid rebels, one of whom ran up and fired a loaded piſtol at him, by which he fell; another, ſuppoſing him not killed, fired a ſecond piſtol, and a third fired at him, while down, with a muſket.

That,

That, having ſurvived all this barbarous and cruel treatment, he was dragged from his bed by ſaid rebels, and was afterwards confined with petitioner in a cold guard-houſe for nine days, where they had no bed, and but little food.

That from thence he was dragged to the rebel camp at Vinegar-hill; from thence to a priſon near ſaid hill, where he was ſhot; that after his body lay expoſed on the publick high road for many days, not being ſuffered by ſaid rebels to be buried or given up to petitioner.

MARGARET HUNT.

Sworn before me 24th July, 1798,
RICHARD NEWTON KING.

And verified on oath by her and the reverend Joſhua Nunn, vicar of Enniſcorthy, who ſwears he was an eye witneſs of a great part of the ſaid ſavage treatment.

[*No.* 200, *archives of the houſe of commons.*]

6.

County of Wexford, to wit. EDWARD ST. LEGER of Bormont, in the county of Wexford, having been duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That on the firſt day of June laſt, he was made a priſoner by a party of rebels, and brought to the old wind-mill on Vinegar-hill, in ſaid county, and which the rebels uſed as a priſon. That he remained in ſaid priſon about half an hour, when he was releaſed at the interceſſion of one Fenlon. Deponent ſaith, as he was leaving the priſon, he ſaw a man ſitting on the ground without clothes, with a bit of a ragged blanket thrown over him, that he never ſaw ſo horrible a figure, that his eyes were out, his head and body ſwelled, his cheeks covered with ulcers; that on deponent's exclaiming, "My God! what miſerable object is that?" the man attempted to ſpeak, but was unable to articulate, and from the ſounds he uttered, deponent believes his tongue had been cut out. Deponent ſaith, that a rebel with arms in his hands, who deponent believes was one of the guard, told deponent that the man was under puniſhment, and mentioned ſomething of a ſlow death; meaning, as deponent believes, that the wretched object was condemned to ſuffer a ſlow death.

EDWARD ST. LEGER.

Sworn before me this 10th day of January, 1799,
JOHN W. LYSTER.

7.

County of Wexford, to wit. THE information of John Pickering, of the Shelmalier yeoman cavalry, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That on or about the ſecond of June laſt, about midday, a large body of rebels appeared near the town of Enniſcorthy, and in a field of Mr. Beal's immediately joining the road, that amongſt others he ſaw a man, commonly called Gray Thomas, a proteſtant, who lived at Newcaſtle, near the houſe of Mr. John Hay, and that he ſaw the ſaid Mr. Hay make a deſperate ſtroke of a ſword at the ſaid Gray Thomas, without any provocation that informant could hear, which ſtroke divided a conſiderable portion of his ſkull, and that immediately afterwards a ſhot was fired by a perſon unknown at the ſaid Gray Thomas, of which he immediately died; but informant is of opinion, that the firſt wound he received from the ſword of ſaid John Hay would have proved mortal; and informant further ſaith, that, upon the murder being committed, the rebels ſhouted and

he exclaimed that they had put one devil out of the world; after which Mr. Hay addreſſed the rebels, in words to the following effect: "Boys, if there is any among you of the ſame profeſſion (meaning, as informant declares, a proteſtant) put him to death immediately; and if you know any of you to harbour or protect one, I will myſelf put ſuch perſon to death, for they will betray you hereafter." And informant further ſaith, that during the whole of this tranſaction he was not above ſix or ſeven yards from the ſaid John Hay, being detained a priſoner by the rebels.

Sworn before me this 28th of December, 1798,
being firſt duly read to him,
NATHANIEL CAVENAGH, *a magiſtrate.* JOHN PICKERING.

Witneſs preſent,
ARM^s. BROWNE,
Firſt lieutenant Shelmalier cavalry.

8.

An authentic account of the behaviour, conduct and confeſſion, of James Beaghan, who was executed on Vinegar-hill, on Saturday the twenty-fourth day of Auguſt, 1799: *taken before Chriſtian Wilſon, eſquire, high-ſheriff of the county of Wexford, and J. H. Lyſter, eſquire, one of the juſtices of the peace for the ſaid county.*

THE day but one before his execution, two popiſh prieſts went to viſit him, and upon their entering his cell, he exclaimed againſt them in theſe words: "Begone from me, you accurſed, who have been the cauſe of my eternal damnation; for were it not for you, I never would have been guilty of murder."—Having ſo ſaid, he turned from them, and requeſted that they might be put out; and in ſome ſhort time after, he requeſted that captain Boyd might be ſent for, to whom he made the following confeſſion:

I, James Beaghan, acknowledge and confeſs that I am guilty of the crime for which I am to ſuffer; but that I did not commit it from ill-will to the people that were murdered, but from the order of * Luke Byrne; I could not diſobey him—no perſon dare refuſe to obey the orders of the commanders. I am ſure that any man in command could ſave the lives of the poor; every man that was a proteſtant was called an orangemen, and every one was to be killed, from the pooreſt man in the country. Before the rebellion, I never heard there was any hatred between Roman catholicks and proteſtants, they always lived peaceably together. I always found the proteſtants better maſters and more indulgent landlords than my own religion; during the rebellion, I never ſaw any one interfere to prevent murder, but one Byrne, who ſaved a man. I think all that were preſent were as guilty as thoſe that perpetrated the murders. It was thinking that we were all equally guilty, that prevented me from flying the country. The women were numerous, and were as bad as the men. The rebels treated the priſoners with great ſeverity, very different from the way that I have been uſed in gaol. They thought it no more a ſin to kill a proteſtant than a dog; had it not been that they were ſo ſoon quaſhed, they would have fought with each other for the property of the proteſtants. They were beginning before the battle of Vinegar-hill. Ever ſince the rebellion I never heard

* Luke Byrne, a prieſt and a commander in the rebel army.

heard one of the rebels expreſs the leaſt ſorrow for what was done; on the contrary, I have heard them ſay, they were ſorry that whilſt they had the power they did not kill more, and that there were not half enough killed. I know that the rebels were determined to riſe if the French ſhould come; and I believe they did not give up half their arms. There are guns, bayonets and pikes hid in the country.

* Now, gentlemen, remember what I tell you: If you and the proteſtants are ever in the power of the catholicks again, as they are now in yours, they will not leave one of you alive; you will all go ſmack ſmooth; even thoſe who campaigned with them, if things had gone well with them, would in the end have been killed. I have heard them ſay ſo many times.

Taken before us, Auguſt 23, 1799,

CHRISTIAN WILSON, *ſheriff.*
J. H. LYSTER, *juſtice of the peace.*

his
JAMES ⋈ BEAGHAN,
mark.

(A copy.)

Having arrived at the place of execution, captain Boyd brought him aſide, and read his confeſſion, and aſked him if it was correctly taken down, to which he anſwered in the affirmative. Juſt as the executioner was about to turn him off, he called out ſaying, "Stop!" and lifting up his cap, ſaid with a very loud voice, "Captain Boyd, you have taken down my confeſſion perfectly correct; if it was not for the prieſts I never would have been guilty of murder, nor have dragged five unfortunate perſons out of the windmill to be murdered." Amongſt theſe five, were the ſon of old Minchin the carpenter.

9.

A liſt of ſome of the proteſtants maſſacred in the dioceſe of Ferns and county of Wexford, ſpecifying the pariſh or townland where they reſided and were killed, with an account of many atrocities. The ſurviving ſufferers made application to the commiſſioners appointed by parliament for part of the fund appropriated for their relief, and their loſs was ſubſtantiated by their own affidavit and that of the pariſh miniſter, and was certified by their landlord and by a neighbouring magiſtrate. Such affidavits were numerically regiſtered in the archives of the houſe of commons. The number in the left column refers to the number of the affidavit.

No. 69 Samuel Atkin, tide-waiter at Wexford, maſſacred at the bridge of Wexford.

James Auſtin of Ballyadams murdered; left a wife and ſix children.

James Aſton of Kilmukridge, murdered there.

47 Reverend Thomas Troke, curate, murdered on Vinegar-hill firſt of June, his widow in a ſtate of derangement from her misfortunes; one of her children was ſtarved to death, and another died from the ſame cauſe.

2 William Daniel, ſurveyor, murdered on the bridge of Wexford twentieth of June, 1798, left a widow and ſeven children in the utmoſt diſtreſs.

3 Middleton Robſon, exciſe officer, murdered ſame time and place.

5 Revcrend Arthur Conolly, his houſe and all his property deſtroyed.

7 Reverend

* From this mark Beaghan ſpoke without having been aſked any queſtions, and ſpoke with an earneſtneſs and in a manner that ſhewed his ſincerity.

7 Reverend Simon Little, reduced to the utmoſt want and indigence with his wife and four children, by the deſtruction of all his property at Killan.

44 Lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalſh yeomen infantry, killed the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, in defence of Enniſcorthy.

56 John Clarke, weaver, maſſacred on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June.

58 John Smyth, hatter, do. do.

58 Thomas Crane, hoſier, do. do.

58 Abraham Heneſy, do. do.

69 Kenneth Mathewſon, do. do.

58 Thomas Ganford, do. do.

69 George Tully, clothier, do. do.

69 Richard Whitney, farmer, do. do.

60 Reverend Ulyſſes Jacob, curate, obliged to fly on Whitſunday from the pariſh of Donamore.

69 Edward Turner, eſquire, a magiſtrate, murdered at the bridge of Wexford twentieth June, 1798.

78 Robert Earl, murdered near Arklow, and all his property deſtroyed.

101 Jane Reſtwicke ſwore, that her huſband was burned at Scullabogue.

102 Elizabeth Powel ſwore, her huſband was burned at do.

113 Mary Reel ſwore, her huſband was burned at do.

114 Frances Tweedy ſwore, her huſband was burned at do.

121 Ann Barrett ſwore, her huſband was ſhot through miſtake by a Heſſian, while ſtanding at his door.

123 Ann M'Coy ſwore, her huſband was ſhot on the bridge of Wexford.

124 John Giffard ſwore, that his father, Milward Giffard, ſurveyor of exciſe, was ſhot at Scullabogue.

122 Suſannah Turner ſwore, her huſband, Samuel Turner, a ſchool-maſter at Taghmon, was ſhot at Scullabogue.

134 Eliza Box ſwore, her huſband was murdered by the rebels near the Carrig ferry-bridge, the thirty-firſt May, 1798.

131 Henry Roe, M. D. was obliged to fly from Gorey when colonel Walpole was defeated, and had all his property deſtroyed.

145 John Hatchel, hatter, maſſacred at the bridge of Wexford.

158 David Dalton, gauger, of the Enniſcorthy yeomanry, was murdered at Wexford.

159 ——— Tomkin, of Ballygullen, was murdered by the rebels.

169 Robert Miller, of Tintern, burned at Scullabogue.

170 David Cruin do. do.

171 Thomas Power, and his ſon aged fifteen years, do. do.

172 John Pierſon, ſhoe-maker, burned or ſhot at do.

173 Patrick Power, maſon, do. do.

174 George Smith, ſlater, do. do.

175 Joſhua Box, weaver, and ſon aged twelve years, do. do.

176 Samuel Boyce, ſhoe-maker, do. do.

177 George Boyce, Butcher, do. do.

178 George Canney, weaver, do. do.

179 James Duffield, do. do.

180 Thomas Eakins, do. do.

181 James Carliſle, labourer, do. do.

Reverend

184 Reverend James Morgan, rector of Horetown was driven out of the county, with a large family, and deprived of subsistence.

190 Robert Wheatley's son was murdered at the church of Gorey.

270 The Reverend George Howse, rector of the union of Inch in the diocese of Dublin and county Wexford, was obliged to fly from his house to save his life, which the rebels plundered to the amount of four hundred pounds. His wife, three sons and three daughters, fled without any clothes but what they had on their backs.

274 Mary Rigly swore, her husband was murdered by the rebels the 29th of May, at Ennisscorthy, and her house, offices, and all her property destroyed.

275 Lucy Hunter swore, her husband, William Hunter, was murdered same time, and her house and property destroyed at Ennisscorthy.

276 Peter Bates, of Monart, farmer, swore, his house, offices, and all his property, were consumed by the rebels, who murdered his two brothers, two brothers-in-law and one uncle, the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, all of Templeshambo.

277 Frances Gill of Monglass swore, her husband John Gill, farmer, was murdered on Vinegar-hill the twenty-ninth of May, her house and property destroyed, and she, with six children, reduced to great want.

278 Alice Butler of Marley swore, her husband, Richard Butler, was murdered at Ennisscorthy the twenty-eighth of May, for his loyalty; his house, offices, &c. burned, and she and three children reduced to want.

280 Joseph Hawkins of Fairfield, murdered on Vinegar-hill for his loyalty, his house, offices, &c. burned, and his wife and three children reduced to want, do.

283 William Simmons, of Shannaul, burnt at Scullabogue, fifth of June, his widow and three children reduced to want.

284 Thomas Whitty, of Rattsilla, shot at do. do.

285 Samuel Simmons, burnt at do. do.

291 John Hogan, an opulent shop-keeper, imprisoned by the rebels at Wexford, and his house plundered to the amount of 1000l.

294 Reverend Roger Owen, lost to the amount of 700l. and he, his wife and seven children reduced to the utmost want, at Camolin.

297 Robert Burkett, of Ennisscorthy, plundered to the amount of 1263l.

295 John Harries, of Gorey-hill land, murdered by the rebels.

298 Reverend William Hinson, curate of Ennisscorthy, deprived of means of subsistence.

304 Jane Hatton, of Hollywood, swore, her father, Henry Hatton, deputy portrieve of Ennisscorthy, was murdered on Vinegar-hill, sooner than change his religion.

328 John Whitney, of Oldcourt, was shot at Scullabogue, of the parish of Adamstown.

329 William Neile, had one brother shot, and another burnt at Scullabogue, and Robert Parslow's father was shot, and his brother burnt at do. do.

300 William Dobbyn, of Myster, with his father and two brothers, were burnt at Scullabogue.

331 Elizabeth Dobbyn, widow of James Dobbyn, of Old-court, burnt at do.

322 Patrick Dobbyn, of do. do.

360 Mary Store, swore, her husband, James Store, of Windmill, near Wexford, was dragged from his house to Three Rock camp, and shot there.

366 Jane

366 Jane Rath, of Jameſtown, ſwore, her huſband, Joſeph Rath, was murdered at Enniſcorthy for his loyalty, pariſh of Roſsdroit.

371 Margaret Shaw, of Clough, ſwore, her huſband, Abraham Shaw, was killed by the rebels.

390 Rebecca Colebyrne, of Ballnaſtra, ſwore, her huſband was murdered the thirtieth of May, of Monomolin pariſh.

382 George Abraham, of Ballyedmord, murdered by the rebels, the ſecond of June.

392 Henry Johnſton, of Balmurtra, murdered on Whitſun Sunday, of the pariſh of Monomolin.

395 Mary Rowſom, of Cullentragh, ſwore, her huſband, a weaver, was murdered by the rebels, of the pariſh of Monomolin.

429 John Oaks, gardener, of Hawtry White, eſquire, of Peppard's caſtle, murdered on Whitſun Sunday.

434 Thomas Thornton, coachmaker, of Taghmon, murdered the beginning of the rebellion.

435 John Boyd, eſquire, murdered at Wexford.

442 Reverend Richard Radcliffe, rector of White-church, plundered by the rebels, and deprived of ſubſiſtence.

445 Robert Johnſton, of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, killed in a battle near Carnew, the thirtieth of June.

450 Edward Slye, ſhop-keeper, murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's pariſh.

452 John Plumer, white ſmith and yeoman, wounded, and afterwards murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's pariſh.

454 Thomas Oaks, of Enniſcorthy, publican, murdered on Vinegar-hill, the thirtieth of May.

455 Francis Monk, and his ſon Edward, maſſacred at Scullabogue, of Roſſgarland.

456 William Jordan, of Foulkes-mill, ſhot at Scullabogue, of do.

457 John Eakins and his ſon, Thomas, burnt at do.; left a widow and five children, of do

458 Thomas M'Donnell, ſteward of Mr. Leigh, M. P. maſſacred at Scullabogue, left a widow and ſix children, of Roſſgarland.

459 William Gray, weaver, and ſon, ſeventeen years old, both murdered at Scullabogue; left a widow and four children deſtitute.

460 John Magrath's daughter, of Ballybrack, aged eighteen years, was ſhot by the rebels; he, his wife and ſix children reduced to want.

461 Richard Davis, of St. John's, burnt at Scullabogue; left a widow and ſix children.

462 Joſeph Stannard, and Mary, his wife, both burned at do.; left ſix children, of do.

463 Owen Field, weaver, maſſacred at do.; left a widow and ſix children, of do.

464 John Lindſay, aged twenty-one, and William, his brother, aged nineteen, burnt at do. of Clongeen.

466 John Moran, aged twenty years, maſſacred at do.; left a mother and her five children, younger than him, in want and miſery, of do.

543 Mary Edmonds, of Rathaſpeck, union of Wexford, ſwore, her huſband, John Edmonds, was murdered by the rebels, and left four children.

548 John Chamley, burnt at Scullabogue, of Horetown.

549 Samuel

549 Samuel Hall, yeoman, of Templeſhannon, killed at Enniſcorthy the twenty-ninth of May; left a widow and four ſmall children, of St. Mary's.

550 Henry Reafon, a quaker, ſhot at Scullabogue, left a widow and two children.

551 William Fanner, burnt at do. left a widow and three children, of do.

552 John Crumpin, yeoman, in the Scarrawalſh corps, murdered the twenty-fifth of July; left a widow and three children, of Drumgold.

556 Edward Byron, burnt at Scullabogue; left a widow and two children, of Horetown.

557 Joſeph Power, do. at do. left a widow and children, of do.

561 Joſeph Turpin, murdered by the rebels in cold blood, at Foulks-mill, on the fifth of June; left four orphan children, of do

567 George Fiſher, murdered the twenty-fourth of June; left a widow and four children, of Mothel and Dyfart.

568 Anne Tracy, ſwore her ſon was killed by the rebels, who was her only ſupport; ſhe is a widow with ſeven children, of do.

588 Margaret Tugman, ſwore, her huſband, William Tugman, a weaver, of Enniſcorthy, was killed by the rebels, and left eight children.

589 Francis Plumer, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, the twentieth of June; left a widow and four children.

594 Benjamin Staccy, murdered the firſt of June, on Vinegar-hill; left a widow and four children, of Templeſhannon.

595 William Power, of Enniſcorthy, murdered the firſt of June, on do.; left a widow and four children, of St. Mary's.

Samuel Radwell, killed at Enniſcorthy, the twenty-eighth of May, in battle, of Roſſdroit.

Andrew Radwell, murdered the thirtieth of May, at David's-town.

1824 Anne Caulfield, her huſband murdered at Oulart.

William Hawkins, killed at Enniſcorthy.

Six of that name and family were murdered, a father, five legitimate, and one natural ſon.

597 George Steacy of Enniſcorthy, wheelwright, murdered at Vinegar-hill; widow and ſix children left.

597 Joſeph Mackins, ſchoolmaſter of Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill; widow and three children left.

599 Thomas Walkins, farmer, of Clonjordan, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-firſt of May; widow and one child left.

600 James Campbell, and ſon, murdered on Vinegar-hill; a widow and four children left.

602 Thomas Simpſon, linen-weaver, murdered on do.; a widow and two children left.

606 William Caſlin murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-firſt of May; a widow and ſix children, and an infirm mother-in-law left.

609 John Croſhew, murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; a widow left.

612 William Carrol, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-firſt of May; a widow and ſeven children left.

Mary Maud, widow, her ſon killed on do. twenty-ninth of May, of Craken, Enniſcorthy.

616 Samuel Crumpton, killed at Enniſcorthy, thirtieth of May; of do. a widow and eight children left.

620 Samuel Barber, of Clevals, murdered, twenty-eighth of May; a widow and five children left, pariſh of Enniſcorthy.

622 Charles Cooper, brazier, murdered near Wexford, firſt June; widow and two ſmall children, and ſhe pregnant.

623 Benjamin Sunderland, hatter, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June; widow and five children left.

627 Eliza Pepper, of Tincurry, a ſon killed by the rebels, ſhe a widow, and ſeven children left, pariſh of Ferns.

628 Patrick Connor, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May; widow and one child left, of Enniſcorthy.

630 John Baubier, of Finchoge, near Enniſcorthy, killed the twenty-eighth of May; three ſmall motherleſs children left.

631 James Rigley, murdered, thirtieth of May, on Vinegar-hill, a wigmaker and a Chelſea penſioner; widow and three ſmall children left, of Enniſcorthy.

632 Thomas Hall, murdered on Vinegar-hill, fourteenth of June; a widow and nine children left, of Enniſcorthy.

633 William Baubier, of Enniſcorthy, murdered, twentieth of June, on the bridge of Wexford; widow and two children left.

634 John Hawkins, murdered, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy, of Tomakippeen; widow, three daughters, and one grand-child left.

635 James Sutton, of Clonmore, murdered, fourteenth of June, on Vinegar-hill; a widow, one child, father and mother left, of Enniſcorthy.

637 John Smith, murdered in Enniſcorthy, twenty-ninth of May, a hatter; a widow helpleſs, aged ſeventy-nine, left, of Enniſcorthy.

639 Samuel Oakes, killed at Finſhoge, of Enniſcorthy.

640 Michael Sutton, murdered, thirtieth of May, at Enniſcorthy, of Finſhoge; a widow and ſix children left.

643 John Copeland, killed twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy, of Enniſcorthy.

645 John Larkin, of Enniſcorthy, killed by the rebels.

648 Walter Green, ſhoemaker, murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; a widow and four children left, of Enniſcorthy.

656 Margaret Dixy, of Enniſcorthy, two ſons killed for their loyalty.

657 Joſeph Copeland, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-firſt of June, pariſh of Kilcormuck.

659 William Willis, corn-merchant, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June.

660 Edward Sly, of Blackſtoop, farmer, murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, pariſh of Enniſcorthy.

662 William Mooney, innkeeper, murdered, firſt of June, near Wexford; widow pregnant, and four ſmall children left, of Enniſcorthy.

676 Thomas Crowley, ſhoemaker, killed at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; widow and five children left, of Ferns.

678 William Richardſon, pariſh clerk and ſchoolmaſter of Ferns, killed at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; widow and five children left.

683 James White, nailer, killed at Roſs, fifth of June; widow and ſeven children left.

710 William Sherlock, of Monart, farmer, murdered the twenty-eighth of May; four motherleſs children left.

722 John Whiteacre, of Gorey, murdered.

729 Hannah

729 Hannah Walker, of Killinahue, near Gorey, her huſband murdered on Whitſunday, and ſhe fled and left her property; two children left.

730 Robert Webſter, of Garrybrit, murdered in cold blood on the bridge of Enniſcorthy; left a widow and eleven children, property burned, his eldeſt ſon in Ballakeen cavalry, pariſh of Killcormuck.

731 Eliza Crane, her huſband killed on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June.

738 Cornelius Hogan, of Gorey, killed by the rebels.

749 George Hornic, of Girrane, two ſons killed, one between Enniſcorthy and Wexford, the other ſhot at Enniſcorthy, thirtieth of May. His ſon-in-law, George Cooper, was alſo murdered, his houſe burned and property deſtroyed, pariſh of Killane.

748 William Neal, two ſons killed, one on Vinegar-hill, and one at Scullabogue, of Ballybrennan.

778 Eliza Bates, her huſband killed the fourth of June, 1798, pariſh of Camolin.

857 Jane Maud, her huſband and two ſons killed; nine children left, pariſh of Clough.

866 Anne Maule, her uncle murdered, pariſh of Clough.

933 Mary Murphy, of Tomgara, her huſband killed; two children left, pariſh of Killincooly.

936 Anne Johnſon, her huſband, ſon, and apprentice, murdered, of Gorey.

958 Alice Kennedy, her huſband killed, pariſh of Clough.

986 Anne Piper, her huſband killed, pariſh of Clone.

996 Anne Hendrick, her huſband and ſon killed; three children left, pariſh of Clone.

1002 Catharine Crofts, her huſband murdered, at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; four children left, of Clone.

1009 Jane Cooke, her huſband killed at Ballatigan.

Reverend Mr. Pentland, killed on Vinegar-hill, he was a reſident at Killan Pariſh.

1001 Alice Butler, her huſband killed, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy, pariſh of Templeſhambo.

1015 Margaret Stanford, of Tubberneering, her huſband killed; five children left.

1072 Jane Gibſon, her huſband murdered on the bridge of Wexford, twenty-firſt of June; two children left, of Wexford.

1094 Eliza Elliſon, huſband killed; ſix children left, pariſh of Killan.

1098 Mary Byron, her god-father, mother, uncle, and huſband, murdered at New Roſs.

1010 Jane Warren, her huſband murdered at New Roſs, her eldeſt ſon gone mad.

1126 Suſannah Whitney, her ſon murdered on the bridge of Wexford, pariſh of New Roſs.

1130 Anne Vero, of Verona, her huſband, Charles Vero, eſquire, a magiſtrate murdered at Enniſcorthy, of Roſsdroit.

1134 Alice Foxton, of Kyle, her huſband murdered, twenty-ſecond of June, near Gorey; three children left.

1136 Sarah Hinch, her huſband murdered near Gorey, pariſh of Killnehew.

1137 Mary Lord, of C. Anneſly, her huſband murdered at Kilmuckridge; ſix children left.

1143 Sarah Hubſter, her huſband murdered; five children left, pariſh of Killnehew.

1144 Eliza Bafs, her huſband, Joſeph, murdered fourth of June; two children left, pariſh of Gorey.
1146 Mary Whitty, her father murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's pariſh.
1152 Elizabeth Dormer, her huſband murdered; four children left, of St. Mary's pariſh.
1156 Margaret Goodefon, her huſband killed at Enniſcorthy; nine children and mother left, of Kilcormuck.
1158 Mary Johnſton, of Garane, her huſband killed, fourth June; one child and mother left, pariſh of Kilmuckridge.
1160 Elizabeth Comerford, of Kyle, her huſband killed; five children left, of Kilmuckridge.
1194 Mary Edwards, her huſband burnt at Scullabogue; one child left, of Kilavin.
1202 Mary Ralph, her huſband killed, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy; ſeven children left, of Ferns.
1203 Alice Brownrigg, father murdered; five children left, of New Roſs.
1211 Catharine Warren, her huſband murdered; two children left, of Ballycanew.
1215 Anne Saunders, her father and mother murdered, of Ballycanew.
1217 Eſther Croſhaw, her huſband and three ſons murdered, verified by the reverend Joſhua Nunn, of Roſſdroit.
1255 Elizabeth Walſh, of Carrigeen, her huſband killed twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy; one child left.
1269 Anne Love, huſband murdered, pariſh of Ballycanew.
1272 Eſther Hawkins, huſband murdered, fifth of June, near Enniſcorthy; three children left, of Templeſhannon.
1274 Suſannah M'Daniel, of Daphne, huſband, William, murdered, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy; four children left, of Roſsdroit.
1280 Elizabeth Sparrow's huſband, of Templeſhannon, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June; two children left.
1284 Mary Hatton's huſband, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, was portrieve of Enniſcorthy, of St. Mary's.
1288 Mary Sparrow's huſband, Henry, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May, of St. Mary's.
1289 Agnala M'Daniel, of Ballygeſton, huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May; five children left.
1291 Sarah Ganford, of Monglaſs, huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-firſt of June.
1292 Mary Prefcott, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June; five children left.
1300 Hannah Birt, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered there, twenty-eighth of May; two children left.
1315 Elizabeth Jones, of Tincurry, huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, ſeventh of June; ſix children left, pariſh of Ferns.
1319 Sarah Brickley, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered; three children left.
1321 Martha Rath, of Enniſcorthy, huſband killed there; one child left.
1322 Anne Warren, of Ballinbeg, huſband killed, pariſh of Killan.
1336 Reverend Mr. Haydon, murdered in Enniſcorthy, rector of Ferns.
1354 Elizabeth Beates, of Ballynamona, ſon killed; three children left, pariſh of Tomb.

1358 Elizabeth

1358 Elizabeth Butler, of Ballycomeclone, huſband killed; two children left.
1375 Mary Langriſh, of Sandyford, huſband killed at Gorey, in June; three children left young.
1392 Jane Gordon, of Ballyduff, huſband murdered on Wexford bridge, twentieth of June; four children left, pariſh of Tomb.
1445 Catharine Taylor, huſband killed; five children left, pariſh of Camolin.
1463 Elinor M'Bryan, huſband killed at Enniſcorthy, twenty-fifth of June; one child left, of Enniſcorthy.
1464 Mary Saunders, of Enniſcorthy, murdered the thirtieth of May.
1467 John Stringer, killed at Enniſcorthy by the king's troops, through a miſtake.
1489 Suſannah Leech, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered firſt of June; three children left.
1491 Anne Bint, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered, twenty-eighth of May.
1496 Anne Baſſet, of Enniſcorthy, wounded at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, and murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May.
1497 Margaret Hawkins's huſband, of Greenville, Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, ſeventh of June; ſix children left.
1500 Thomas Daly, of Enniſcorthy, miller and yeoman, two ſons burned at Scullabogue, one twelve years old, the other fourteen.
1502 Mary Coplin's huſband, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May; ſeven children left, of Edermine.
1504 Rebecca Darmond, of Corrygrege, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-ninth of May, pariſh of Templeſhambo.
1506 Elizabeth James, of Mangan, huſband murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-ninth of May; ſeven children left, of Templeſhambo.
1509 Mary Martin, of Oulart, huſband murdered near Enniſcorthy, firſt of June, pariſh of Kilcormuck.
1512 Jane Whitney, of Tinnick, huſband, Thomas, murdered near Enniſcorthy, firſt of June, pariſh of Kilcormuck.
1517 Rebecca Mowles, of Craneſul, huſband murdered, twenty-ninth of May, in flying from Enniſcorthy to Roſs; two children left, pariſh of Clone.
1521 Anne Hawkins, huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-ninth of May; three children left, of Clone.
1526 Margaret Thomas's huſband murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, ſexton to Ferns church; four children left.
1566 Henrietta Parſons, of Gorey, huſband killed near Carnew, thirtieth of June, of Gorey.
1577 Mary Lett, of Newtown, huſband murdered; eight children left, pariſh of Kilmuckridge.
1579 Winifred Slator, of Smithfield, county of Dublin, huſband murdered at Scullabogue.
1652 Hannah Pender, of Clough, huſband murdered; four children left.
1667 Eliza Sutton, Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered at do. twenty-ninth May, three children left.
1672 Mary Brophy, of Curraghmore, huſband murdered at Scullabogue, of Tintern.
1681 Eliza Auſtin, of Ballyadams, huſband murdered, ſix children left.
1682 Eliza Frances, of Ballyadams, huſband killed, ſix children left.
1698 Eliza Butler, huſband killed, of Gorey cavalry, two children left, of Proſpect.

1755 Elinor

1755 Elinor Johnſon, huſband murdered, four children left, pariſh of Kilruſh.
1759 Ann Stephens, of Ballinree, huſband taken priſoner 11th June, ſtripped almoſt naked, marched, after five days imprifonment, to Vinegar-hill, without hat or ſhoes, and ſhot there, carried firſt to Gorey, her father alſo killed, three children left, of Tomb.
1761 Mary Hawkins, of Monart, huſband murdered, three children left, of Monomolin.
1769 Mary Lord, of Monomolin, huſband murdered, nine children left.
1771 Hannah Hawkins, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered near do. firſt June, four children left, of St. Mary's.
1807 Ann Griffin, huſband murdered at Vinegar-hill, ſix children left, pariſh of Killan.
1808 Jane Donovan of Tubbergall, huſband John killed, three children left, pariſh of Kilcormuck.
1809 Mary Lawler of Wexford, killed at do. in a gun boat, three children left.
1812 Mary Johnſon, huſband murdered, pariſh of Kilmuckridge.
1817 Mary Whitney of Adamſtown, ſon John burned at Scullabogue, pariſh of Adamſtown.
1829 Catherine Reynolds of Monart, huſband murdered at Enniſcorthy.
1830 Catherine Murphy of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered at Vinegar-hill, thirtieth May, of St. Mary's.
1831 Mary Farrel of Enniſcorthy, her ſon, one of the five murdered in Killoughrain wood.
1833 Juliana Pepper, ſon murdered eleventh June, on Vinegar-hill, pariſh of Killan.
1837 Mary Edwards, huſband murdered at Vinegar-hill, pariſh of Wexford.
1841 Ann Ormſby of Gorey, huſband, father, brother, and three couſins, murdered.
542 William Butler of Clough, three miles from Gorey, murdered, widow and three children left.
1630 Ann Chriſtian of Clobemon, huſband murdered at Ballingale, at Mr. Turner's, with torture, left four children.
949 Mary Cane of Clone, murdered.
1277 Margaret Calliſter, purſued and wounded at Enniſcorthy by rebels, twenty-ninth May, and killed unknowingly by the king's troops, twenty-firſt June.
Thomas M'Daniel, Joſeph M'Daniel murdered 20th May, of Roſsdroit.
Henry Biſtot murdered 28th May, at Enniſcorthy.
Jacob Minchin, wounded on 28th May, at Enniſcorthy, afterwards murdered on Vinegar-hill.
Richard Whealy, an old man of eighty-five years, murdered at his own door, of St. Mary, Enniſcorthy.
Thomas Hall murdered, in preſence of his wife, on Vinegar hill, being firſt cruelly whipped with a ſcourge, compoſed of whipcord and twiſted braſs wire, of do.
Thomas Cavenagh endured the ſame treatment, and ſuffered in preſence of his wife, of do.
628 Pat. Connors, killed on Vinegar-hill.
631 James Rigly murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.
William Baſſet, do. do. of do.
Michael Furlong, do. do. being firſt cruelly ſcourged, of do.
Edward Preſcot, do. do. of St. Mary, Enniſcorthy.

Thomas

Thomas Robſon, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of St. Mary, Enniſcorthy.
William Sly, do. do. of do.
Thomas M'Brair, an officer on half pay, murdered on the hill, of do.
Richard Bennet, murdered near St. John's, of do.
Garret Murphy, murdered on the hill, of do.
Richard Murphy, murdered in Barony of Forth, of do.
Henry Drury, murdered in Templeſhannon, of do.
Thomas Rigley, murdered and burned in the market-houſe of Enniſcorthy.
Sarah Daly, wife of a yeoman, forced to Scullabogue and burned in the barn, of do.
William Daly, James Daly, only children of the above, burned with their mother in the barn, the eldeſt ſeventeen years, the other fourteen, of do.
John Plunket, ſenior, murdered at home, of do.
John Plunket, junior, yeoman, wounded in the attack on the town, afterwards thrown by the rebels from an upper window and killed, of do.
Jeremiah Smith, murdered on the hill, of do.
John Smith, do. do. of do.
Charles Taylor, revenue officer, murdered at Edermine, of do.
Joſeph Smith, murdered on the hill, of do.
Benjamin Sunderland, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, of do.
William Moony, murdered on the road from Wexford to Enniſcorthy, of do.
James Lett, do. do. do. of do.
Thomas Wilkinſon, do. do. do. of do.
622 Charles Cooper, murdered near Caſtle-bridge, of do.
Thomas Knight, killed in the engagement at Enniſcorthy, of do.
Robert Hornick, piked on the hill the twenty-ninth of May, and thrown naked among other victims. He revived in the night and crawled off to his father's houſe, pariſh of Killan, where he did not arrive till Friday. Finding it deſtroyed and deſerted, he returned into the pariſh of Killegney, where he got ſome bread at a farmer's, but they would not permit him to ſtay. He then went towards Roſs, but a party of rebels met and murdered him.
John Brahee, murdered on the hill, of do.
Henry Baſs, murdered fourth June, at Gorey.
James Wheatly, do. at do.
William Spencer, and William Walker, do. ſixth June, at do
Thomas Jolly, George Reed, Michael Patchell, John Needham, Joſhua Cheaſe, William Hill, Henry Rogers, Joſeph Reed, George Nicholſon, George Cockell, William Bates, John Cooke, William Spencer, Humphrey Spencer, all murdered twenty-ſecond June, at Gorey, called bloody Friday, with twelve more.
John Godkin, George and William Butler, Clough Peter, Stranford Clough, John Buttle, all killed at the battle of Bally-ellis thirtieth June, Kilbride.
Ralph Williams, murdered ſecond July, at Gorey.
Robert Webſter, Henry Kinch, do twentieth June, at do.
William Buttle, do. twenty-third June, John Burke, John Ellis, John Fowler, murdered ſixth June, at do.
Robert Maude, Jonathan Sadler, George Carley, George Thomas, John Bennett, proteſtants, killed in the union of Ardcolm, the church in Caſtle-bridge.

Two

Two brothers of the name of Bateman, compelled by their landlord John Hay, to join the rebels, were killed by the king's troops on their return from Vinegar-hill.

——— Stephens, of Caſtle-bridge, was killed there by the rebels on their firſt riſing.

Philip Hornick, ſteward to Mr. John Glaſcott, of Aldertown, ſhot at Scullabogue, of Whitechurch.

John Shee, burned at Scullabogue, of Ballybrazil.

William Jeffares, killed at the battle of Roſs.

Richard Burrell, killed by the rebels in their retreat from Roſs, of Mulrankin.

Hyacinth White, burned at Scullabogue, of do. do.

Iſaac Jeffords, killed by the army, of do. do.

Peter Burb, Robert Burb, murdered on Wexford-bridge of do.

Samuel Murphy, James Fannin, John Warren, George Piper, Joſeph Henry, Thomas James, Samuel James, Robert Hughes, Michael Deacon, proteſtants, murdered in the pariſh of Killan.

Edward Dorman, ſhot fourth June, at Gorey.

William Prender, piked on Gorey-hill, at do.

William and Robert Bale, killed at do. twenty-ſecond June, of Roſsmenouge.

James Dorman, do. of do.

Robert Mercy, killed tenth June, of Killtennell.

Robert Earl, do. twenty-ſecond June, of Monomolin.

William Griffin, do. twenty-ſecond do. of Ardemine.

Iſaac Earl, piked on Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Feltis, piked do. on Gorey-hill, of Kilnahue pariſh.

John Tomkin, do. tenth June, on Limerick-hill, of do.

James Moore, do. ninth June, at Arklow-hill, of do.

William Inman, do. thirtieth June, at Ballyellis, of do.

—— Dowger, ſecond July, piked on Gorey-hill, of do.

Roger Pierce, do. at Limerick-hill, of do.

John Maud and ſon, piked on Gorey-hill, of Clough.

John Shaw, do. of do.

William Dobbin, do. of do.

Peter Stanford, do. thirtieth June, at Ballyellis, of do.

William Butler, do. thirtieth do. at do. of do.

William and Joſeph Spencer, twenty-ſecond June, of Killcaben.

John and George Hall, killed by Hacket's party, fifteenth October, of do.

John Lancaſter, twenty-ſeventh May, of Kiltriſh.

John Langrell, do. of do.

Two Shaws, ſhot do. of do.

—— Grindly, and ſiſter, ſhot do. of do.

Harry Johnſon, of Killena, twenty-ſeventh May, of Donoughmore.

James Wrath, do. twenty-ſeventh May, of do.

Joſeph Kennedy, twenty-ſecond June, of Tomb.

Richard Errett, John Lee, John Sharp, of Clough, killed at Gorey, twenty-ſecond June.

Timothy Toxton, killed at Gorey, twenty-ſecond June, of Kilcormuck.

—— James, father and ſon, murdered, ſtriving to eſcape from Roſs, before the battle of Roſs.

Clement

Clement Gifford, piked to death, of Roſs.

Three gentlemen, meſſrs. Bartholomew Cliffe, Richard Elliot, and Richard Anneſley, murdered at the Roar, Roſs.

Two others, a father and a ſon, named Meany, were alſo murdered at a little diſtance in the county Kilkenny, of Roſs.

William Hoare, eſquire, of Harperſtown, captain Allen Cox, of Coolcliffe, piked on Wexford-bridge, twentieth June.

William Eakins, of Slevoy, burned or ſhot at Scullabogue.

Robert Cook, butler to reverend Robert Hawkſhaw, do.

Do. his wife murdered.

James White, of Taghmon, killed in Roſs.

Benjamin Green, of Coolſtuff, murdered in Wexford.

Two men of the name of Eſmond, William and Thomas, burned or ſhot at Scullabogue.

James Wade, maſon of Coolſtuff, burned at do.

Peter Standford, and William Butler, killed at Ballyellis, of Clough.

William Butler, at Gorey, twenty-ſecond June, of do.

William Dobbin, and Joſeph Kennedy, twenty-ſecond June, of do.

William Jones, fourth June, Thomas Fennel, twenty-ſecond June, of do.

Richard Dugan, do. William Pendor, fourth do. Henry Rynehart, on Wexford-bridge, of do.

Reverend Mr. Burrowes, Joſeph Aſton, of Kilmuckridge.

Thomas Earl, and Edward Howlan Darcy, eſquire, twenty-ſeventh May, of do.

James Aſton, Henry Rath, Robert Johnſton, of do.

Clement Goff, killed in cold blood on his own ground of Tomnaboly, pariſh of Kilcornick.

Anne Eſcott, a poor old ſchool-miſtreſs, wife of a Chelſea penſioner, wantonly ſmothered with others in a pump hole, of do.

Holland Pinlay, burned in Scullabogue, of do.

George Warren, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of Killan.

James Fannin, do. do. of do.

Allen Elliſon, do. do. of do.

Thomas James, do. on the road to Roſs, of do.

Reverend John Pentland, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

James Wade, burned in the barn at Scullabogue, of do.

Samuel Cottom, ſhot at Scullabogue, of Adamſtown.

John Cottom, do. do. of do.

John Whitney, do. do. of do.

John Parſlow, murdered near his own houſe, of do.

Thomas Parſlow, almoſt an idiot, murdered near his father's houſe, of do.

Shepherd Parſlow, eſcaped from the firſt perſecution to Roſs, returned to make up his harveſt, when he was horridly murdered by ſome of the rebellious banditti that infeſted the country, of do.

Thomas Bell, ſhot at Scullabogue, of Tintern.

David Beſley, do. do. of do.

Miles Vaughan, do. do. of do.

William Reel, burned at do. in the barn, of do.

Walter Baſſet, do. do. of do.

Thomas Kelly, burned at Scullabogue, of Tintern.
John Duffield, do. do. of do.
John Power, do. do. of do.
Jane Preſley, do. do. of do.
Ann Preſley, do. do. of do.
Walter Green, murdered on Vinegar-hill, St. Mary's, Enniſcorthy.
William Owens, an aged man, his brains daſhed out by an iron bar, of do.
John Larkin, do. in the barony of Forth, of do.
Henry Cookman, a gentleman deranged in mind, murdered in the ſtreet, of do.
John Kenerſley, murdered on the hill, an old man, of do.
John Hill, do. do. of do.
George Sparrow, do. in the town of Wexford, of do.
John Clarke, do. in Enniſcorthy, of do.
Edward Flinn, do. do. of do.
John Walſh, do. do. of do.
Philip Anneſley, do. on the hill, of do.
William Clampit, John Dixcy, John Farrell, John Crumpton, and James Peppar, yeomen, ſurpriſed and murdered near the woods of Killoghoran, of do.
Thomas Cook, murdered on the road from Wexford to Enniſcorthy, of St. John's.
Joſeph Grotheir, do. on the hill, of do.
William Power, do. do. of do.
Saunders Frain, forced by the rebels to Roſs, and put in front of battle where he was killed, of do.
John Engliſh, burned in the barn at Scullabogue, of do.
James Trimbly, do. do. do. of do.
John Preſcott, murdered in the town of Enniſcorthy, of do.
Edward White, eſquire, ſenior, do. at home, of do.
Edward White, junior, do. do. of do.
William Hawkins, murdered at Davidſtown, of Templeſhannon.
John White, eſquire, do. on the hill, of do.
James Brickley, do. at Oulart, of do.
Samuel Brumpton, do. in the barony of Forth, of do.
John Brumpton, do. on the hill, of do.
Edward Hayes, do. do. of do.
Thomas Rath, do. at the fort of Duncannon, of do.
Samuel Hall, do. in the town, of do.
Samuel Mills, miſſing, of do.
Mrs. Eſmond, ſtarved while the rebels held Enniſcorthy, of do.
Edward Hawkins, murdered on the hill, of Ballitwiſhard.
John Carton, do. do. of do.
Samuel Babier, do. on the hill, of do.
James Sutton, do. do. of do.
Miles Frain, do. at Ballimurran, of do.
Thomas Watkins, do. at home, of Templeſhambo.
Edward Watkins, do. do. of do.
John Stafford, do. do. of do.
Thomas Dormer, do. do. of do.

Roger

Roger Percival, murdered on the hill, of Templeſhambo.
Joſeph Brown, do. do. of do.
William Nanton, do. do. of do.
Richard Gantford, do. do. of do.
Stephen William Reynolds, do. on Vinegar-hill, of do.
George James, do. at home, of do.
Richard Coplin, do. do. of do.
John Hawkins, do. on hill, of do.
William Sherlock, do. at Enniſcorthy, of do.
John Sherlock, do. do. of do.

John Pounden, eſquire, firſt wounded in the engagement twenty-eighth May, then murdered, of do.

Samuel Murphy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of Killan.

George Kearley, boat builder, aged about ſeventy, a proteſtant, was dragged out of his houſe, put on his knees in his garden, where his brains were blown out; an innocent honeſt man.

William Thornton, coachmaker in Wexford, in endeavouring to make his eſcape to Waterford, taken near Taghmon, his eyes firſt piked out, and barbarouſly murdered the next day.

Proteſtant inhabitants of the pariſh of Ferns, murdered in the rebellion.

Thomas Bookey, eſquire, lieutenant of Camolin cavalry, killed in battle of Ferns.

Reverend Francis Turner, rector of Edermine, murdered in his own houſe of do.

Robert Ganford, farmer, Richard Ganford, his ſon, Richard Ganford, his nephew, Thomas Dowſe, farmer, all murdered in the reverend Mr. Turner's houſe, all of do.

William Richardſon, pariſh clerk, Francis Smith, ditto, Richard Tackaberry, farmer, William Rudd, farmer, Thomas Crofts, ditto, John Crofts his brother, John Crofts, his nephew, all killed in Enniſcorthy, the day of the firſt engagement, twenty-eighth of May, and all of do.

Roger Sparks, farmer, John Sindon, labourer, John Hawkins, farmer, Thomas Piper, farmer, Thomas Kendrick, farmer, Samuel Kendrick, ditto, his ſon, Samuel Crofts, farmer, William Kane, labourer, Thomas Mowles, farmer, all murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Pounder, farmer, John Sly, ditto, John Rickaby, linen weaver, Nicholas Jones, carpenter, John Mackee, gauger, all murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Berry, labourer, killed at Gorey, of do.

Philip Bacon, labourer, murdered on Wexford-bridge, of do.

George Graham, farmer and miller, murdered in his own houſe, of do.

Thomas Hawkins, and Edward Sly, farmers, killed in retreating to Duncannon Fort, of do.

Thomas Wallis, labourer, killed at Ferns, of do.
Francis Monk, murdered, of Horetown.
Richard Davis, do. of do.
Edward Monk, do. of do.
J. Channey, do. of do.

Proteſtants who were murdered in the rebellion in pariſh of Kilcormick.

Robert Webſter, the nephew of Robert, ſenior, of Kilcormick.
Holland Finley, Thomas Floyd, Roger Floyd, Thomas Floyd, Thomas Whitney, Samuel Weſt, Samuel Judd, Benjamin Judd, Thomas Fogan, Ann Eſcott, George Kearley, all of Kilcormick.

10.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit.

ANNE PIPER, alias Kendrick, widow of the late George Piper, came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, and ſaith, That ſhe and her late huſband, George Piper, lived in the pariſh of Clone, in the county of Wexford, where their houſe and offices were burned, and all their ſubſtance was deſtroyed by the rebels, on the twenty-ninth, or thirtieth of May, 1798, for no other reaſon, as ſhe verily believes, except that they were proteſtants; for the property of all the loyal proteſtants in that county was deſtroyed. Deponent ſaith, that her ſaid huſband was taken priſoner between Vinegar-hill and Scullough's-buſh, in ſaid county, by a party of rebels, who conducted him to Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, where the ſaid rebels were then encamped; and that deponent and her ſaid huſband, with four children, remained there till next morning, viz. Thurſday the thirty-firſt of May, 1798, when they were diſcharged, in conſequence of an oath ſworn by one Thomas Hart, to the following purport: "That he, the ſaid George Piper, was a quiet innocent man;" which oath was ſworn before a rebel court-martial, at that time ſitting at Vinegar-hill aforeſaid. Deponent ſaith, that her ſaid huſband was diſcharged, but at the ſame time was informed, that he could not be ſafe without the protection of a prieſt. In conſequence of which ſhe and her huſband repaired to father Edward Redmond, pariſh prieſt of Ferns, in ſaid county, but as deponent and her huſband were going there, they were arreſted at Milltown bridge, near Ferns, aforeſaid, by another party of rebels, well armed, who led her ſaid huſband before one William Goff, who ſeemed to be a captain of ſaid rebels, who ordered him to be put to death, and repeatedly ſaid and ſwore that he and every perſon of his profeſſion that came in his way ſhould be put to death; on which the ſaid George Piper produced a paſs obtained from one William Lacey, a rebel leader, and commiſſary to the rebels on Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, to enable him to go and to ſecure his perſon, while he went to father Edward Redmond aforeſaid; but as the ſaid Goff declared that the ſaid paſs was a forgery, ſhe, this deponent, went off with the utmoſt ſpeed to the ſaid Edward Redmond, whom ſhe ſolicited to ſave the life of her huſband, but the ſaid Edward Redmond declared that he could not, nor would not do any thing for deponent or her huſband, though the father of deponent and the ſaid Edward Redmond had always lived on terms of intimate friendſhip. Deponent ſaith ſhe returned directly to Milltown bridge aforeſaid, and that ſhe told the ſaid rebels, though falſely, in hopes of ſaving her huſband's life, that the ſaid prieſt deſired that her huſband ſhould be conducted to him, and he was accordingly led by a party of rebels before ſaid prieſt. Deponent ſaith, that the ſaid prieſt became very angry, and much enraged, on ſeeing her and her huſband, and declared he would do nothing for her, or any of her huſband's ſort, and he ordered the ſaid George Piper to Vinegar-hill, to ſuffer where he would get his deſerts; and ſaid, that he and all his ſort, that came in his way, ſhould die, though deponent on her knees, and with tears in her eyes, ſolicited him by the early friendſhip of their fathers, and their cloſe intimacy as neighbours, to ſave her huſband's life: but the ſaid prieſt remained deaf to her intreaties,

treaties, and ordered her husband to Vinegar-hill to suffer; in consequence of which, deponent saith, a rebel attempted to put her said husband to death with a pike, but the said priest seized the rebel in his arms, and ordered the said rebels to take the said George Piper to Vinegar-hill, the place of sufferance for him and all his sort. Deponent saith, her said husband was immediately conducted to Vinegar-hill, and as she verily believes, was put to death there that evening, as a woman of the name of Walkin, related to the said George Piper, declared, and has since proved, on a court-martial held at Enniscorthy, in the aforesaid county, that she saw the body of the said George Piper after he was killed, on the evening of same day, on Vinegar-hill aforesaid.

Sworn before me, this 8th day of June, 1799,
W. LIGHTBURNE.

her
ANNE ⋈ PIPER,
mark.

11.

ROBERT WHITNEY of Moneytucker in the county of Wexford, a member of captain Richards's yeoman cavalry, deposes, That he was at Enniscorthy on the twenty-eighth day of May last, on which day the rebels made an attack on said town; that when the troops evacuated said place, he returned to his house to protect his wife and family, was pursued, and narrowly escaped the fury of the rebels, by concealing himself in a covert of furze; that deponent and wife, feeling their situation unsafe and dangerous, quitted their house, and went for better protection to Henry Alcock's of Willon in said county, esquire, where they remained for that night; the next morning deponent, anxious about the fate of his house and property, returned and found that his house was nearly plundered, and learned that vengeance was denounced against him; that in consequence thereof, he and his wife on the same day removed from his own house to Lingstown, in the barony of Forth, to the residence of Mr. Boxwell, distant about twenty miles, and remained there for a few days; in the mean time the rebels plundered him of the entire of his household furniture, provision of all kinds, horses, cows, sheep, pigs, calves, fowls, &c. burned his dwelling-house and out-offices, propagated evil reports of his conduct, as the means of working his destruction; in consequence of which, a search was made for deponent by the rebels, under the command of Thomas Doyle of Moneytucker, who stiled himself a captain. Deponent was found and brought a prisoner by a guard of rebels from Lingstown to Enniscorthy; the charge against deponent was, that he was an orangeman, as his mittimus set forth, signed by John Colclough of Ballyteigue. Deponent on his way experienced several severe assaults and insults; being brought to Enniscorthy, deponent was put in close confinement for three days, was then taken under a strong guard to Vinegar-hill, where he expected every instant to be murdered; that many of the rebels sharpened their pikes in his presence, and with a savage pleasure, exclaimed they did so in compliment to him, that he might the sooner be put out of pain; that he was confined in the tower of a windmill on said hill, from seven o'clock in the morning until about five in the afternoon without receiving any kind of nourishment; was then marched back to Enniscorthy, and put into his prison again, where he remained about an hour, when he was desired to come out by Thomas Carty of Enniscorthy, to a place where the rebels had just whipped one George Stacey a loyalist; without any trial or reason that deponent could account for, he was stripped of his coat, waistcoat, and shirt, and tied up to a tree, planted in the main street of Enniscorthy, which the rebels

called

called the tree of liberty; when one of the rebels preſent ordered him to get one hundred and fifty laſhes with a ſcourge compoſed (he was told) of whipcord and wire; before he had received this number, the cords with which his hands were bound looſed by his ſtruggling, when deponent fell on his knees to ſupplicate the rebels not to puniſh him any more, declaring that the face of God he might never ſee if he knew any thing of an orangeman; that the rebels immediately cried out that he was very ſafe in ſaying that, as he knew that no heretick could ever ſee the face of God; not content with this cruelty, they kept him in the ſtreet with a gun preſented at his breaſt, declaring that they would deprive him of his exiſtence. After ſuffering all this agony, they blindfolded him with his ſhirt tied about his head, and dragged him in this condition back to priſon, exclaiming in the moſt ſhocking manner, that if he did not relent before morning, and make ſome diſcoveries of orangemen, that they would pike him to death; that he was ordered dreſſing for the wounds he received on his ribs and loins; the next day he was marched along with other priſoners to the town of Wexford, guarded by ſeveral rebels, who frequently goaded him with their pikes, to make him get on with that ſpeed, which his languid and reduced condition would not admit him to do; that the ſaid rebels ſtopped him three times on his way, ſwearing that they would ſhoot him; that he was confined in the coal-houſe of the barrack of Wexford, and remained there ſtanding in mire for one whole night, faſtened by cords to another priſoner, nor did he receive more food than a few cold potatoes; that deponent was removed from thence to another apartment not quite ſo bad in the barrack, and continued there a priſoner until liberated by his majeſty's forces, when they took poſſeſſion of ſaid town of Enniſcorthy.

ROBERT WHITNEY.

Sworn before me this thirtieth day of October, 1798,
STEPHEN RAM.

12.

County of Wexford, to wit. } ROBERT WHITNEY of Moneytucker, in the county of Wexford, yeoman in the Enniſcorthy cavalry, maketh oath, That he heard the rebels ſay while their priſoner, that if any one of them killed three proteſtants he was ſure of ſalvation; and if any one of them were killed they went directly to heaven, as they were fighting the battle of Chriſt; that on the contrary, for any heretick like me went to hell immediately; that they ſaid it was propheſied many years ago, that there would be but one religion, and that it would be theirs (meaning the popiſh religion,) and any that would not comply by *fair means*, ſhould by the point of the ſword; he alſo depoſes, that the rebels (converſing about the murders that had been committed) ſaid that was the way to put down hereſy, from which he firmly believes, that it was their intention to murder all proteſtants; and he further believes, that no proteſtant can at preſent reſide with ſafety in the country; that his farm is between four and five miles from Enniſcorthy, and that he has not been there ſince the twentieth of September laſt, through fear of being murdered; he alſo depoſes, that while he was at Mr. Boxwell's in the barony of Forth, whither he fled for ſecurity, he heard and truly believes, that one Whitty a popiſh prieſt in that country chriſtened many proteſtants; and that he, with thirty-ſeven other priſoners in Enniſcorthy, were obliged

obliged in preſervation of their lives to croſs themſelves (or to bleſs themſelves) as the papiſts term that ceremony.

Sworn before me at Enniſcorthy in the county of Wexford, this 3d day of December, 1798,
WILLIAM RICHARDS.

ROBERT WHITNEY.

12.

County of Wexford, to wit. THE information of Samuel Hendrick, of Kilconnel, in ſaid county, farmer, who being duly examined and ſworn, ſaith, That on the twenty-ninth day of May laſt, informant was taken priſoner by a number of rebels, and by them brought to a Patrick Quigley, popiſh prieſt of the pariſh of Clone, in ſaid county, in order to obtain a protection from him, to preſerve him from being murdered. That informant being brought, as aforeſaid, to the ſaid Patrick Quigley, he replied, when aſked for a protection, that informant, until married, could not obtain a protection, as his preſent marriage, viz. by the reverend Mr. Standcock, miniſter of the pariſh of Kilcormuck, was of no uſe, as it only ſerved to gratify a brutal paſſion; muſt, therefore, be married by him, or ſome other of his perſuaſion. That informant, in preſervation of his life, was again married by the ſaid Patrick Quigley, and that the ſaid Patrick Quigley, at the time of him thus being married, extorted from informant, the ſum of one pound two ſhillings and nine pence.

SAMUEL KENDRICK.

Sworn before me at Enniſcorthy, this twenty-ninth day of March, 1799,
A. JACOB.

13.

The trial of Thomas Clooney.

ON the trial of Thomas Clooney, a rebel leader, held at Wexford, the eighth of July, 1799, it appeared, on the evidence of Richard Ganford, and others, that a gang of rebels, who were ſent in queſt of proteſtants, ſeized on Whitſun Monday, 1798, at Mountglaſs, near Clooney's houſe, the ſaid Ganford, John Gill, Iſaac Rigley, his ſon, and ſome other proteſtants; that after burning their houſes, they kept them priſoners that night, and conveyed them next morning to a place called the Leap, where Clooney, and a Mr. Devereux, another rebel leader, were, at the head of a numerous body of them; that theſe two captains ordered the loyaliſts into a gravel pit, and deſired them to prepare to be executed; that ſoon after, an order was given to march to Vinegar-hill, which was inſtantly obeyed; that when they arrived at Mr. Swiney's houſe, in Templeſhannon, a ſuburb of Enniſcorthy, William Hanton, a Proteſtant, was dragged out by a party of rebels, and put to death; that the remainder of the priſoners, were committed to the old walls of the wind-mill; that John Gill applied three or four times to Clooney, to ſave his life; that at laſt he ordered the rebel guard to let Gill out to him, which they complied with; that Gill ſtood near Clooney, who was on horſe-back, for near two minutes, about three ſteps from the mill door, when Clooney turned his horſe away, as if to depart. He was then forced back into the mill, and ſoon after ſome perſon cried out, "Drag the orange rogue out!" on which Gill was forced

forced out of the mill, and a rebel cut his throat with a ſcythe. Edward Hampton, one of the priſoners, while on his knees, preparing for death, was ſo near Gill, that his blood ſpouted on him.

14.

VINEGAR HILL.

The trial of William Fenlon.

ON the trial of William Fenlon, the twelfth of September, 1799, at Wexford, for the murder of Thomas Hall, a proteſtant, on the fourteenth of June, 1798, at Vinegar-hill, it appeared, on the evidence of Mary Hall, widow of the deceaſed, that on the morning of that day, ſhe ſent her ſon with ſome tea to her huſband, who was at that time a priſoner in Mr. Bayle's barn: her ſon returned ſoon after, and told her that his father begged ſhe would repair directly to him, as he had been put into the wind-mill, on the top of the hill, and was afraid of being put to death; and on going to her huſband, he ſaid, pointing to William Fenlon, the nailer, Bill Fenlon is the perſon that will kill me. Fenlon then entered the mill, and deſired her huſband to come out with him. She aſked Fenlon, whether he would not give her huſband a trial? He anſwered, that he would, and that Daniel Flaherty (a man who had ſworn againſt her huſband) ſhould try him. She ſaid ſhe was contented, provided he was tried; and begged he would have compaſſion on her and her ten children. Fenlon then ſaid, he would ſhoot him firſt, and try him afterwards. Fenlon, on that, tore her huſband out of her arms, and placed centries on each door to keep her in. Some time after, hearing a ſhot fired, ſhe forced her way out of the door, and ſaw the rebels dragging a body by the heels. Fenlon was there with a blunderbuſs and an officer's ſaſh, and on enquiring, ſhe found that the body they were dragging, was her huſband's. She took the body in her arms, during which time it thundered violently, with much lightning; on which the rebels fell on their knees, and bleſſed themſelves. Some of them deſired her to throw away the body of her huſband, and to bleſs herſelf. They aſked her, "What was the reaſon of the thunder?" She anſwered, "That God was angry at their acts." "No, you whore!" "replied they, God is ſounding the horn of joy, becauſe an orangeman is killed." Her huſband, who ſhe thought was dead, ſtretched out his feet, and turned to her, ſaying, "Molly, my dear, take me from theſe people;" on which he expired. His body was black, as if from a cat-o'nine-tails, and had the mark of a bullet, that entered his breaſt, and came out at his ſhoulder. The rebels, among whom was the priſoner, refuſed to let her take the body; but ſhe ſaid ſhe would not leave it. They ſaid they would not kill her, as ſhe was with child, and ſhe would have a chriſtian,* which ſhe never had before; but that if ſhe was ſo fond of a dead huſband, they would cut him in pieces, and put him in her ſkirts.

James Hall, ſon of the deceaſed, confirmed her evidence, and added, that Morgan Byrne,† ordered a man to whip his father, and called out for one Murtagh Keane,‡ to come to ſhoot him; but ſome one anſwered, that Keane was gone to Mr. Richard's.

The

* On a ſuppoſition, that the child muſt be brought up a Roman catholick.

† The ſon of Luke Byrne, a man of wealth and education.

‡ The common executioner, who, it is ſaid, put three hundred perſons to death on Vinegar-hill.

15.

The following facts appeared on the trial of Andrew Farrell, a leader of the rebels, charged with being concerned in various murders. He was tried the twenty-ſecond of May, 1800, at Wexford, having eluded juſtice a long time.

WILLIAM FURLONG, a proteſtant, declared upon oath, that he was taken priſoner by the rebels, on Whitſun Tueſday, 1798, and conducted to the windmill, where he ſaw the reverend Mr. Pentland, and the reverend Mr. Trocke, three men of the name of Gill, and about thirty more loyaliſts. Andrew Farrell had a ſword in his hand, and was called captain by the rebels. He deſired the loyaliſts to fall on their knees, and prepare for death, as they ſhould be killed directly. He then ſeized Mr. Pentland by the breaſt, and dragged him out of the mill by force, though he reſiſted as much as he could. He was inſtantly put to death, and fourteen or fifteen more immediately met with the ſame fate. Andrew Farrell told the witneſs, that he muſt know where there were arms and ammunition concealed in Enniſcorthy, and that he ſhould be ſaved if he diſcovered where they were. He ſaid he would; and on going there, his life was ſaved by a man who had been malſter to his uncle. He ſaw Farrell diſtributing powder to the rebels. He believes that only eight of the proteſtants who were in the windmill, eſcaped death.

Francis Bradley, ſaw Farrell conducting to Vinegar-hill Philip Anneſley, a proteſtant, who deſired him to take his watch and money, and give them to his friends, becauſe he ſaid Farrell was taking him to be killed; but he was afraid to do ſo.

Henry Whitney, a proteſtant, who had been a priſoner in the windmill, ſaw Mr. Pentland piked to death, and he believed that twenty-five proteſtants more were put to death at the ſame time. He ſaw their bodies lying dead out-ſide the windmill. Mr. Pentland's, which was naked and bloody, lay ſeparate from the reſt.

When the priſoners were deſired to go on their knees, and prepare for death, meſſieurs Pentland and Trocke expoſtulated and begged they might be ſaved, as they were both clergymen. The former ſaid he was a northern man, and had been but a ſhort time in the country. He then offered his watch, which was taken by a man of the name of Foley.

John Gill, a witneſs, was a priſoner in the windmill, on Whitſun Tueſday. The party who conducted him into it, ſaid, captain Farrell (pointing to Gill) there is an orangeman. Gill aſked Farrell to ſave his life, as he ſaw him much in the eſteem of the rebels. He aſked him his name. He anſwered Gill. Farrell replied, that is a bad name, prepare for death, you have not an hour to live. Gill was a proteſtant name in the county of Wexford.

John Gill, of Monglaſs, was lying dead there. A party of rebels, with guns and pikes, formed a line in front of the windmill door, and behind them there were ſome men on horſe-back. On being led out, he addreſſed the rebels, and aſked them if they would put a man to death without a trial? Andrew Martin, the executioner, who ſtood inſide the line with a drawn ſword, cried out, Damn your ſoul, do you come here to preach? made a ſtab at him, and wounded him in the wriſt. Some of the rebels deſired Martin to ſtop, and aſked Gill how he would chooſe to die? He replied, as a chriſtian. A man on horſe-back ſaid, are you a chriſtian? He anſwered, that he believed in the ſaviour of the world, and that he hoped to be ſaved through him. Martin then ſaid, Oh! Damnation to your ſoul, you are a chriſtian in your own way, and directly ſtabbed him in the ſide. He then fell on his face, and was ſtabbed in the

back, and beat on the head with ſome heavy inſtrument. He ſtill continued in his ſenſes. His brother was next brought out, and having been aſked the ſame queſtion, he boldly anſwered that he would die a proteſtant; on which he was inſtantly put to death. He then fainted, and continued inſenſible till his wife came for him in the evening, and ſhe found great difficulty in ſaving him, as there was an old man with a ſcythe, examining the bodies, and ſtriking it on the head of ſuch of them as had any ſigns of life. She took him to the bottom of the hill, where, finding that he had ſome appearance of life, ſhe concealed his body. Next morning he was diſcovered by a party of rebels, who carried him to the hill, where he was ſaved by a man who was to have married his daughter. About half a mile from the hill, he was met by two men, one of whom fired at him, and the ball grazed his head and ſtunned him. His wife, at her return, found him again, and from that time, till Vinegar-hill was taken by the king's troops, he lay concealed in ditches in that deplorable ſtate; but at laſt recovered, and is ſtill alive. John Auſtin, a proteſtant, was taken priſoner and conducted to Enniſcorthy by one captain Weſt, when Farrell was on parade with ſome rebels. Weſt ſaid, captain Farrell, here is an orangeman. Farrell ordered him to a rebel guard-houſe, where there were fifteen or ſixteen loyaliſts, and he ſwore that he would have them all put to death the next night. A Mr. Robinſon who was there begged that Farrell would ſave them. Auſtin was ſaved by the interceſſion of a rebel. John Mooney ſwore, he ſaw Farrell head a party at the attack of Borris, the ſeat of Mr. Kavenagh. That after it, he ſaw him ſwore in a captain, on which, father Kearns, the prieſt, kiſſed him. He was called St. Ruth.

Morgan Byrne and he diſputed who ſhould be eldeſt captain. The former ſaid he had ſubſcribed a long time to the united Iriſhmen; Farrell anſwered, that he had ſubſcribed full as long.

David Ogden, a witneſs, ſwore, he was taken priſoner by him at Mr. Wheeler's houſe, whither he had taken refuge. He took him and Mr. Wheeler to conduct them, as he ſaid, to Vinegar-hill; but they were releaſed by one M'Lean, who threatened to go to the hill, and diſcover there, that Farrell, on the day of the battle of Enniſcorthy, diſguiſed in woman's clothes, was robbing, inſtead of fighting the king's army.

16.

ON the trial of Nicholas Walſh, a rebel leader, held at Wexford, the fourteenth of April, 1800, it was proved that he was a captain of rebels at Enniſcorthy during the firſt week of the rebellion, that he danced round the tree of liberty before his corps in the ſtreets of that town, and offered 50 l. for the head of Mr. Jacob, or any other heretick.

On the ſeventh of June he went to the houſe of Thomas Hall, with a number of pike-men, and deſired his wife to deliver up that bloody orangeman her huſband. On her ſaying he was not at home, he went up ſtairs to ſearch for him, leaving two centinels at the front door and two at the back door. She and her children followed him up ſtairs: Walſh found her huſband in the garret, concealed in the ſet-off of the chimney, and deſired him, the orange raſcal, to come down. She, on her knees, implored mercy for him; on which he ſwore he would cut her head off in two minutes, if ſhe did not deſcend, and he threw down ſtairs two of her children. He then conveyed him to the rebel guard-houſe, and deſired his men to give three cheers for having taken the orangeman, and ſaid he ſhould be killed next day. He was kept there till the eleventh of June, when Walſh repaired thither,

ther, and aſked why the priſoners were not put to death? and ſaid he would kill the guard if they were not put to death before next day. The priſoners, in number twenty-four, were conveyed that evening to Bayle's barn, which lies at the foot of Vinegar-hill, and was uſed as a priſon for proteſtants by the rebels. Next day meſſieurs Hunt, Reynolds, Robinſon, and one Simpſon a weaver, were murdered. Mary Hall ſaw their bodies lying naked in the fields. On the fourteenth, her huſband and ſixteen more were murdered. The rebels dragged the body of her huſband round the hill.

It was proved that Walſh, with a party of rebels, murdered William Mooney, Richard Leech, John Hawkins and James Lett near Caſtlebridge, a week after Wexford was taken by the rebels. When they were ſhot, Walſh diſmounted, and run his ſword into one of their bodies. Moſes Allen proved that he ſaw this horrid tranſaction; and John Mooney, the brother of William, that he ſaw the four bodies lying dead.

William Furlong and John Mooney ſaw Nicholas Walſh ſworn in as captain of the rebels at Enniſcorthy, when father Kearns, the prieſt, kiſſed him and wiſhed him good luck.

George Freeman, a proteſtant, and a priſoner, proved that Nicholas Walſh, who headed a party of rebels at Vinegar-hill, compelled him to ſhoot John White, eſquire, an aged gentleman, and a magiſtrate; and the ſame day he ordered five or ſix more proteſtants to be put to death with pikes on Vinegar-hill, and to be buried in a hole; and as ſome of them had life in them at the time of interment, Nicholas Walſh ſtabbed them with pikes, and cut down one of the priſoners with his ſword.

As ſoon as the priſoners were put to death, he ordered his rebel corps to ſhout aloud, and to go off in queſt of more proteſtants.

John Harris ſwore that he was ordered to throw Mr. White's body into a hole, and that he was gaſping while he was doing ſo.

This wretch was in good circumſtances, and was well educated. He was hanged on Vinegar-hill.

17.

Vinegar-hill, fifteenth July, 1799.

Trial of James Beaghan, at Wexford, charged with the murder of George Piper, Thomas Piper and William Kean, on the thirty-firſt May, 1798, *on Vinegar-hill.*

Alexander Magee ſwore, that he was taken priſoner in Wexford on Wedneſday the thirtieth May, 1798; that the day following he was led to the windmill on Vinegar-hill, where he found a great number of people; that ſoon after George and Thomas Piper and William Kean were put in there; that in a quarter of an hour Luke Byrne came to the door of the mill, and ordered thoſe fellows to be taken out to be ſhot. Immediately after James Beaghan ſtept out and aſked, which of them? witneſs did not hear Byrne's anſwer; but Beaghan ruſhed into the mill, and ſwore by Jeſus Chriſt he would neither pick them nor chooſe them, but would take the firſt that came to his hand. He then laid his hand on one of the Pipers, and turned him and his brother out. Witneſs heard the report of a gun, and immediately each man was carried out. Kean was led out in the ſame manner. Beaghan then led out a ſtranger, who reſiſted, and cried out, "Murder!" on which Beaghan puſhed him againſt the wall, gave him two boxes, and ſaid, "Damn you, you he-

retick dog;" and having dragged him out, he was killed within three yards of the door. Next morning, about eight o'clock, witneſs was taken out to be ſhot, when he ſaw the two Pipers lying dead, with eighteen or nineteen bodies more. Witneſs was ſaved by a rebel who took compaſſion on him.

Michael Foley was tried for the murder of Mr. Henry Hatton, deputy portrieve of Enniſcorthy, April nineteenth, 1799. Henry Whitney declared, that the priſoner ſwore vehemently on Vinegar-hill, that he would have the life of Henry Hatton; that ſome perſon having tried to diſſuade him from it, he ſwore vehemently that he would quit the hill with one hundred men,* if he was prevented from killing him; on that he puſhed Mr. Hatton out of the windmill and ſhot him. Several perſons were led out of the windmill and murdered the ſame day.

James Beaghan who was tried and convicted of the horrid crime of murder, made the confeſſion, the day but one before his execution, which we have inſerted in page 100 of the Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

18.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE examination of Mr. John Semple, of Borris, in the county of Carlow, engineer, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, and ſaith, That on the twelfth of June, 1798, and at the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon, the town of Borris in the county of Carlow, was attacked by a numerous mob, who called themſelves united Iriſhmen; and who had three pieces of cannon, and were armed with guns, ſwords, piſtols, and pikes; that the ſaid mob attacked and forcibly entered the houſe of examinant, at Borris aforeſaid, and felonioufly took thereout all the houſehold furniture, and many books, papers, and bonds of very great value. Examinant ſaith, that as ſoon as the ſaid mob had ſo plundered his houſe, they ſet fire to the ſame. Examinant ſaith, that, at that time he was at ſome diſtance from the town of Borris aforeſaid; and that on ſeeing a ſmoke iſſuing out of ſaid houſe, he this examinant ran towards ſaid houſe, with a deſign of reſcuing his books, papers, and bonds from the flames. Examinant ſaith, he was made a priſoner by the ſaid mob, who ſtripped him of all his clothes before he arrived at his houſe; and that they preſented five pikes and a muſket at examinant, with an intention, as he verily believes, of putting him to death. Examinant ſaith, he immediately threw himſelf on his knees to implore mercy, and aſked the ſaid mob what crime he this examinant was guilty of? On which two of the leaders or captains of the ſaid mob cried out aloud, "That he, this examinant, was a vagabond orangeman, and muſt inſtantly die;" by which examinant is convinced in his mind the ſaid captains meant a proteſtant, as this examinant, who was born in Scotland, was not an orangeman, nor had any connection with orangemen. Examinant ſaith, that two other of the ſaid captains then ſaid, that examinant was too old, and not worth killing; on which another of the ſaid captains cried out aloud, addreſſing himſelf to the ſaid mob, "You vagabonds! remember your oath;" with a deſign to urge the ſaid mob to put this examinant to death; as this examinant has ſeen the form of an oath, which he heard and verily believes the united Iriſhmen, or ſome of them had ſworn to deſtroy and murder all hereticks. Examinant ſaith, that while the ſaid mob were ſcrambling for his property which they had taken out of his houſe, he, this examinant made his eſcape into a ſand pit, and that ſoon after, one of the ſaid mob came up in great haſte, and exclaimed, "Have you diſpatched the vagabond? for his ſon has killed one of our beſt captains, and is killing them

* He had theſe men under his command.

them as faſt as they get up;" meaning to the houſe of Walter Kavanagh, eſquire, of Borris aforeſaid, to which the ſaid mob were at that time laying ſiege, and at which they were firing cannon; and this examinant ſaith, that James Semple the ſon of this examinant, was at that time in the manſion of the ſaid Walter Kavanagh, aſſiſting in the defence of the ſame. Examinant ſaith, that the ſaid mob burned thirteen houſes in Borris aforeſaid, for no other reaſon, as examinant verily believes, than becauſe the proprietors thereof belonged to the yeoman corps, commanded by the ſaid Walter Kavanagh. This examinant ſaith, he heard, and verily believes that the ſaid party of united Iriſhmen was commanded by father Roche, a prieſt who was afterwards killed at Scullaghgap on the bounds of the counties of Wexford and Carlow. Examinant ſaith, that one of the ſaid mob told examinant that he had better turn to maſs, and that by doing ſo he would get a leaſe for ever of any demeſne he choſe in the kingdom.

JOHN SEMPLE.

Sworn before me the 14*th day of Auguſt*, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

No. XX. 1.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit.

THE examination of corporal Sheppard of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he this examinant, when on his march with a detachment of militia of the Meath regiment from Duncannon Fort, to the town of Wexford, was taken priſoner on the thirtieth day of May laſt, at a place called the mountain of Forth, within three miles of Wexford aforeſaid, together with two howitzers, and nine privates belonging to the ſaid Royal Iriſh artillery, by a numerous body of rebels, who were encamped on the ſaid mountain. Examinant ſaith, that as ſoon as the ſaid rebels had made him and his comrades priſoners, they were going to put them to death; but that previous to their doing ſo, one of the ſaid rebels aſked them what religion they were of, and that a private of the ſaid Royal Iriſh artillery, whoſe name is Patrick Dungannon, replied, that they were all Roman catholicks, though examinant ſaith, that he and five more of his ſaid comrades were proteſtants. Examinant ſaith, he is convinced in his mind, that the ſaid rebels would have put the whole of ſaid party inſtantly to death, but that they believed they were Roman catholicks. Examinant ſaith, that he and his ſaid comrades were conducted as priſoners to Wexford, on the ſaid thirtieth day of May, and put into priſon; but that he this examinant and his comrades were committed to different apartments. Examinant ſaith, that while a priſoner at Wexford, he was taken out into a ſmall ſquare in the gaol to be ſhot, and that on being placed againſt a wall in ſaid ſquare, they the ſaid rebels burned priming four times at examinant with a muſket; on which father John Murphy, a prieſt, who had entered the ſaid gaol, cried out aloud, that he this examinant had longer days to live; and at the ſame time, the ſaid prieſt ſaid, "Let the heathen go back to priſon, and be damned." Examinant ſaith, that while he and his comrades were in priſon, the rebel guards who were placed over them, frequently attempted to break open the doors of the place where they were confined, with an intent as the ſaid rebel guards declared, to murder examinant and his comrades, having often declared that they would not ſtand as guards over hereticks; and that the officers of the ſaid rebels with the greateſt difficulty prevented the ſaid rebels from putting them to death. Examinant ſaith, that during

ten

ten days that he and his comrades were confined in Wexford, they received no other food but potatoes and water; and of which they got but one meal in twenty-four hours. Examinant ſaith, that during his confinement, the ſaid rebels took out many priſoners to execute them; and examinant verily believes they were put to death, as the ſaid priſoners never returned to the priſon; and he this examinant was informed that they had been ſhot or put to death with pikes in the Bull-ring, or in ſome other part of the town. Examinant ſaith, that he and his comrades were aſked to ſerve in the rebel army by one captain Dixon, and by one Roche the brother-in-law of ſaid Dixon, who wore two epaulettes, and paſſed for a rebel general; and that ſaid Dixon and Roche promiſed examinant and his comrades commiſſions in the rebel army, and eſtates in ſome time, if they would ſerve in ſaid army. Examinant ſaith, that he and his comrades, well knowing that they had no other way of making their eſcape from Wexford, complied with the deſire of ſaid Dixon, and the ſaid Roche. Examinant ſaith, that he, and three of his comrades were conducted by the ſaid rebel general Roche to the rebel camp of Gorey, near the town of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, on or about the eleventh day of June laſt, where examinant found three of his ſaid comrades before him in ſaid camp, and ſome ſoldiers of the Meath and Antrim regiments who had been taken priſoners. Examinant ſaith, that on the morning of the day that the ſaid rebels marched from ſaid camp to attack the town of Arklow, one Murphy a prieſt who was killed at the battle of Arklow that day, mounted on a car, and preached a ſermon of exhortation to the ſaid rebels, in which the ſaid Murphy aſſured the ſaid rebels that they were fighting in the cauſe of God; that the more of the heathens (meaning the king's army) they would kill, the ſooner they would go to heaven; and that if any of them died in battle, they would be ſure of immediate ſalvation; that ſaid Murphy took ſome bullets out of his pockets, ſhewed them to the rebels, and aſſured them, that they had hit him at the battle of Gorey, in different parts of his body and limbs, and that they could not do him any injury. That ſaid Murphy ſaid further in ſaid ſermon, that he would take the gravel off the road and throw it at the hereticks, and that he could kill them with it. Examinant ſaith, that another prieſt of the name of Dixon declared to the rebel general Roche, that they would take the town of Arklow in half an hour, that then they would be joined by twenty thouſand men; that then they would proceed to Wicklow, and from thence to Dublin. Examinant ſaith, that ſaid rebels wherever they marched, put to death ſuch proteſtants as fell into their hands; ſaying often on ſuch occaſions, that the kingdom was their own, and that there ſhould be but one religion. Examinant ſaith, that ſaid rebels on their arrival at Gorey aforeſaid, after the battle of Arklow, put many proteſtants to death, though they had ſerved with the ſaid rebels in ſaid battle; and that when they were on the point of executing one Walker a blackſmith, ſome of ſaid rebels pleaded in his favour, having ſaid, that he had made many pikes, and fought well with them; but that father John Murphy ſaid, that if there was but one drop of proteſtant blood in a family, they ought to put that family to death; and that ſaid Walker was accordingly put to death. Examinant ſaith, he repaired with the ſaid rebels from Gorey, to a place to the beſt of examinant's recollection, called Limbrick, from thence to Tinnehely, and from thence to Carnew, and from thence to Vinegar-hill; and that ſaid rebels in their march from Gorey to Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, killed all the proteſtants they could get into their cuſtody. Informant ſaith, that he and his comrades made their eſcape at the battle of Vinegar-hill aforeſaid.

ANDREW SHEPPARD.

Sworn before me this 7th day of September, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

We,

We, the underſigned officers of the Royal Iriſh artillery, do certify that Andrew Sheppard, a corporal in ſaid corps, is a man of an honeſt fair character, and that he is to be credited on his oath. September fourteenth, 1798.

J. STRATON, colonel commandant, lieutenant general,
RICHARD BETTESWORTH, colonel commandant, major general,
H. SNEYD, major, Royal Iriſh artillery,
JOHN PRATT, lieutenant colonel, colonel brevet,
W. WRIGHT, lieutenant colonel,
J. D. ARABIN, lieutenant colonel.

2.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. THE information of George Taylor, of Ballywalter, and barony of Ballaghkeen in the county of Wexford, gentleman, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he this informant was very much alarmed on the morning of the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1798, having been informed that the rebels in great force were approaching his place of reſidence, and that they had burned the houſes of many proteſtants, and had murdered their inhabitants; among whom were, as he was informed, lieutenant Bookey of the Camolin cavalry, the reverend Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Howlan Darcy; on which informant ſaith, that he repaired for protection to the town of Gorey, about four miles diſtant. Informant ſaith, that he, his mother, and ſiſter repaired with the army to Arklow, as the town of Gorey was expoſed to the rebels when the army marched from it on the twenty-eighth of May. Informant ſaith, that he returned towards Ballywalter aforeſaid, on the fifth of June; but that he, this informant before he arrived there, was taken priſoner by the rebels on the ſixth day of June, when he was within three miles of Ballywalter aforeſaid. Informant ſaith, that he was led by the rebels the ſame day to the town of Gorey, and was confined with many other priſoners in a room over the market-houſe of ſaid town during a week. Informant ſaith, that ſoon after he was committed a priſoner as aforeſaid, the rebels robbed him of half a guinea, and deprived him of his hat, his neckcloth, his coat, waiſtcoat, breeches and ſhoes, and gave him in their ſtead the old ragged apparel of a ſoldier. This informant ſaith, that while he and the other priſoners were in cuſtody of the rebels at Gorey aforeſaid, they were led out to the rebel camp to be ſhot, for no other reaſon, as informant verily believes, than becauſe they were proteſtants. Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid priſoners was marked out to be ſaved, becauſe he was a papiſt, and gave a proof of his being ſuch, by croſſing himſelf, and by ſaying popiſh prayers, which the rebels required him to do. Informant ſaith, that before he and his fellow priſoners could be executed, an order was received from general Bagenal Harvey, that the rebels ſhould not in future under the pain of being ſhot, put any of their priſoners to death, which order, as informant verily believes, ſaved the lives of him and his fellow priſoners. This informant ſaith, that during his confinement at Gorey aforeſaid, ſome of his Roman catholick neighbours viſited him, and wiſhed him a ſpeedy liberation; and at the ſame time, informed him that the only mode of procuring it was, to be baptized by the prieſt, to embrace the holy Roman catholick faith, and to take up arms, and to fight for the cauſe of liberty. And informant ſaith, that his ſaid neighbours informed him that they feared he would not eſcape, unleſs he complied with their advice;

advice; and that at the ſame time they expreſſed much concern at ſeeing him in the act of reading proteſtant prayer books. Informant ſaith, he anſwered them by ſaying, he profeſſed the proteſtant faith from conviction, and therefore would not renounce it. Informant ſaith, that during his confinement at Gorey aforeſaid, and previous to the arrival of general Bagenal Harvey's humane order for ſaving the lives of the priſoners, the rebels took out two yeomen who were their priſoners, and ſhot them, one of them of the name of Rogan, was of the Arklow corps, the other whoſe name was James Wheatley, was of the Caſtletown corps; and that a rebel horſeman fired a piſtol at one of the priſoners, and that the ball lodged in the ſhoulder of the ſaid priſoner; and that another priſoner, previous to the arrival of the ſaid humane order, received ſome wounds of a pike in the ſide, by which three of his ribs were broken. Informant ſaith, that when they were leading the priſoners out of the camp, a rebel gave informant two or three ſtrokes of a pike in the back. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebel camp near the town of Gorey, was attended by one Michael Murphy a prieſt. Informant ſaith, that on the morning of the ninth of June laſt, the rebels at Gorey aforeſaid, cut off the hair of all the priſoners (this informant excepted) and put pitched caps on their heads; and that the reverend Mr. Owens, a proteſtant clergyman, one of the ſaid priſoners, was treated in that manner. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid priſoners having as aforeſaid pitched caps on their heads, were compelled to put out their heads and ſhoulders out of the windows of the market-houſe of Gorey aforeſaid; and that while the ſaid priſoners were ſo expoſed, the rebel troops marched by, and inſultingly expreſſed their joy by repeatedly ſhouting aloud. Informant ſaith, that on Wedneſday the thirteenth day of June, they inſtituted a kind of trial of the priſoners confined in the market-houſe of Gorey aforeſaid, on which they ſelected ſuch as they thought were ſteady to the proteſtant cauſe, among whom this informant was one, and that they ſent them to the gaol of Wexford, under a guard, after having pinioned them with cords, and tied them one to the other, two and two. Informant ſaith, that they compelled the remainder of the priſoners to join the rebel troops as ſoldiers. Informant ſaith, that on the arrival of the priſoners at Wexford, on the fourteenth day of June, they ſaw the houſes hung with green emblems, and the mob in the ſtreets expreſſed their joy by ſhouting aloud. Informant ſaith, that he and his fellow priſoners were committed to gaol at Wexford, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the fourteenth of June; and that informant was told, and verily believes that there were about two hundred priſoners in ſaid gaol, all of whom as informant heard and believes were of the proteſtant religion. Informant ſaith, that during his confinement in ſaid gaol, they frequently committed other priſoners, among whom was colonel Lehunte; and that this informant heard a rebel commander of the name of Dixon tell the ſaid colonel Lehunte, who was confined to a condemned cell, that he ſhould have but ten minutes to live. Informant ſaith, that during his confinement at Wexford, his food was very ſcanty and very bad; and that he had no other bed but damaged ſtraw which was full of vermin. Informant ſaith, that on Wedneſday the twentieth day of June, this informant with ſeventeen other priſoners was taken out of the gaol, and conducted to the bridge of Wexford, in order to be put to death with pikes, as many of this informant's fellow priſoners met with the ſame fate a few minutes before; and that informant as he paſſed along the bridge walked through the blood of the ſaid victims. Informant ſaith, that while the rebel guards were conducting the ſaid priſoners to the bridge, and while the ſaid priſoners were praying on their knees on ſaid bridge, the rebel guards deſired them to bleſs themſelves. Informant ſaith, that ſix of the ſaid priſoners ſo conducted

to

to the ſaid bridge were put to death with pikes, and that he verily believes the remainder would have ſhared the ſame fate, as there were but two perſons between this informant and the laſt perſon put to death; and this informant was deſired to riſe and to take off his coat, in order to prepare for execution; but Mr. Corrin, pariſh prieſt of Wexford arrived, and made the rebels deſiſt from any further ſlaughter. Informant ſaith, that he was ſoon after conducted to priſon, where he and his fellow priſoners remained until next day, when they were liberated by the king's troops, who arrived at Wexford on the twenty-firſt day of June. This informant ſaith, that the country for ſome miles round the reſidence of this informant had been for a long time ſo peaceable, and the machinations of the rebels were ſo ſecret, that neither he, nor any of the loyal ſubjects his neighbours, had any ſuſpicion whatſoever, that a general inſurrection was ſo near, except that ſome pikes and ſome ammunition had been found in the poſſeſſion of the lower claſs of people ſome time before. Informant further ſaith, that when the ſaid James Wheatly was about to be ſhot at Gorey aforeſaid, the rebel general Perry informed the ſaid Wheatly that he ſhould have but five minutes to prepare himſelf for death; on which the reverend Mr. Owen, a proteſtant clergyman, aſked the ſaid Perry, whether there was no appeal? to which the ſaid Perry replied, that he would hear no plea in his favour. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid Wheatly was ſhot in about ten minutes after; and this informant heard, and verily believes it to be true, that the ſaid Wheatly received three balls in the body, on which he aſked for ſome water, and told the perſons who ſhot him that he had ſome ammunition in his pocket, and requeſted they would put him out of pain; on which his thigh was broken by another ſhot, and that he received the fifth ball in the head which killed him. Informant ſaith, he ſaw the body next day diſfigured and covered with blood.

GEORGE TAYLOR.

Sworn before me this 28th day of July, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

3.

City of Dublin, to wit. BLEAKNEY ORMSBY, of Garrane, in the pariſh of Mylan, and county of Wexford, farmer, came this day before me, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That about the hour of eight o'clock on the morning of Whitſunday, 1798, a party of united Iriſhmen, all of the popiſh religion, as deponent verily believes, went to the houſe of this deponent, and called on him to attend them; that deponent ſaid in anſwer that he would remain at home and not take any part with either ſide. That thereon one of the ſaid body of united Iriſhmen gave deponent a ſevere wound of a pike in the head; that ſoon after two of the party deſired deponent to go on his knees and beg his life, which he accordingly did. That while deponent was on his knees, one of the party gave him ſo violent a blow of a firelock on the head, as to break it in pieces, by which deponent was left ſenſeleſs on the ground. That deponent lay in a languiſhing ſtate till Thurſday the thirty-firſt day of May, when a numerous body of united Iriſhmen armed with pikes and guns went to deponent's houſe, and compelled deponent to go to the houſe of David Cullen at Blackwater, a pariſh prieſt, to be baptized; but the ſaid Cullen declared he would have nothing to do with deponent until he ſaw how he conducted himſelf in future. That next morning deponent, well knowing that he could not make his eſcape, repaired to the rebel

camp at Oulart-hill where he was to be tried, though he had little or no hope that his life would be ſaved. That on deponent's arrival there a popiſh yeoman in military uniform who had become a rebel, cried out that deponent ſhould be tried. That deponent appealed to the ſaid rebels, whether he did not always bear a good character, to which they all aſſented, except one man of the name of Kierwan, who bore an enmity to deponent, becauſe ſaid Kierwan had ſtolen turf from him, that however deponent was diſcharged and returned directly to his own houſe. That when deponent returned to his houſe at Oulart aforeſaid, he found that his houſe had been burnt and plundered, and that a woman who was ſiſter to John Brennan, a labourer who lived on deponent's land, had turned out his wife and family, and informed them in a threatening manner, that they would be put to death if they remained there; that about a week after deponent was compelled (though in a languiſhing ſtate) to go to the rebel camp at Gorey, where he found ſeveral proteſtant priſoners, among whom was the reverend Mr. Owen a proteſtant clergyman. That on deponent's arrival there, he was aſked by a rebel of the name of Maurice Doyle, whether he this deponent was a Roman catholick, to which he anſwered that he was bred a proteſtant. That ſaid Doyle aſked him what he thought of the virgin Mary; to which deponent anſwered, that he thought ſhe was next in glory to Chriſt. That ſoon after deponent was committed to priſon in the market-houſe of Gorey, where, including deponent, there were thirty-nine priſoners all proteſtants; that about the hour of four o'clock the ſame day, the ſaid proteſtant priſoners were led out by a party of rebels to Gorey-hill, to be put to death, and which would have taken place as deponent verily believes, but that an order was received from general Bagenal Harvey, deſiring that no perſon ſhould kill his priſoner under pain of death. That notwithſtanding ſaid order, a rebel fired a piſtol at one of the proteſtant priſoners, and wounded him in the ſhoulder. That the rebels on hearing the ſaid humane order, ſeemed much diſappointed, and expreſſed an earneſt deſire of putting the priſoners to death. That deponent was diſcharged the ſame day by the orders of one Richard Monaghan a rebel captain, and was compelled to join the rebels as a ſoldier. That next day deponent was compelled to march with the rebel army to the battle of Arklow. That Michael Murphy a prieſt, who had the chief command, ſtopped very often in their way thither, and ſaid prayers for the rebels, who always kneeled down and often kiſſed the ground. That ſaid Monaghan deſired the rebels not to kill the ſoldiers, as they were their friends, and would join them. That deponent received a ball in the thigh at the battle of Arklow, and lay in a languiſhing ſtate one night within two miles of Arklow; and that deponent recovered from his wound, and is now perfectly well, though he received no medical aſſiſtance. Deponent ſaith, that great numbers of wounded rebel ſoldiers were carried the ſame night on cars or on horſeback to Gorey aforeſaid. Deponent ſaith, that while he lay ſick of his wound, a man of the name of John Brennan his labourer, often preſſed him to ſend for a prieſt and to change his religion, as no perſon could be ſaved out of the Roman catholick church; and it was not known that a proteſtant ever was ſaved. Deponent ſaith, that his father, Charles Ormſby, was murdered on Whitſun Saturday, his brother Eyre Ormſby, on Whitſunday, and his brother William Ormſby, on the twenty-ſecond day of June, 1798, all in the county of Wexford; and that his brother John Ormſby, fled from the rebels to Dublin, and after his return to the county of Wexford, on the firſt day of March, 1799, died of grief. Deponent further ſaith not.

BLEAKNEY ORMSBY.

Sworn before me the 10th day of May, 1799,
THOMAS ANDREWS, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

County

4.

County of Wexford, to wit. } CATHERINE POER of Tintern, widow, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, declareth and ſaith, That on the morning of Sunday, the third of June, 1798, John Flaherty, of Tintern, taylor, Michael Ryan and Pat. Hogan, labourers, of Salt-mills in ſaid county, went to her houſe and called for her huſband Pat. Poer, a proteſtant; ſaith, they carried him, as ſhe heard and believes, to Scullabogue, where he was burnt with the other proteſtants. Saith, that ſome time after the maſſacre at Scullabogue, ſhe, this examinant, went to John Houghran of Tintern, maſon, who acted as a commiſſary to the rebels for diſtributing proviſions, and aſked him for a pound of meat, as ſhe was ſtarving; and that ſaid Houghran aſked her if ſhe was a chriſtian? and that on ſaying ſhe did not come under the rules of his church, he ſaid ſhe was not a chriſtian, and that it would be giving meat to his enemies, and breaking his oath. Saith, ſaid Houghran ordered her to go to the prieſt to be made a chriſtian, and was ſurpriſed ſhe did not do it before. Saith, that to ſave her life and get victuals, ſhe went to the prieſt to be chriſtened.

Sworn before me, this 28th day of December, 1798, CATHERINE POER.
JOHN KENNEDY, *magiſtrate.*

County of Wexford, to wit. } FRANCES MILLER of Tintern, ſaid county, widow, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, declareth and ſaith, That on the third day of June, 1798, a gang of rebels came to examinant's houſe, headed by Patrick Fallon of Tintern aforeſaid, and Martin Murphy of Curraghmore, in ſaid county; ſaith, they inſiſted on her huſband, Robert Miller, to go with them; ſaith, they hurried him away ſo ſuddenly, they did not give him time to break his faſt, though examinant requeſted that indulgence for her huſband. Saith, that ſhe heard and believes they took him to Scullabogue, where he was maſſacred, along with ſeveral other proteſtants, on Tueſday following. Saith, that through fear of being murdered, ſhe went to the prieſt to be chriſtened. Saith, that ſhe always conſidered John Houghran of Tintern, as the leading man of the Tintern rebels.

Sworn before me this twenty-eighth day of December, 1798, FRANCES MILLER.
JOHN KENNEDY, *magiſtrate.*

AT the trial of John Houghran, a maſon, at Wexford, on the twenty-ſixth September, 1799, it appeared on the evidence of Mr. Bridges, that he appeared at Tintern to be the leader of a gang of rebels, who carried off the proteſtants to Scullabogue, and that he took the witneſs to be chriſtened by a prieſt.

Sarah Smyth, whoſe huſband was taken by him, ſwore that twenty-four proteſtants, young and old, were taken to the barn of Scullabogue and murdered there; and among them her huſband, her brother, ſiſter and niece.

That, when the widows and relations of thoſe who had been murdered, aſſembled together in the ſtreets of Tintern, and were lamenting the loſs of their relations, the priſoner threatened them with the fate of their huſbands if he heard any more of it.

That there were two corps of rebels at Tintern; the one went from it to murder, the other ſtaid at home to ſend the proteſtants to them, and to plunder.

Catherine Poer ſwore, that ſhe applied to him for ſomething to eat; but he ſaid he would not give her any, unleſs ſhe became a chriſtian (meaning a papiſt) for if he did he would break his oath.

Sarah Kelly, whoſe father was burned at Scullabogue, ſwore, that on general Lake's proclamation coming out, ſhe heard the priſoner addreſs a party of rebels, and ſay, "Boys! we may as well lay down our ſpears for a few days to ſave our lives, as the proteſtants turned to maſs to ſave theirs."

Thomas Byrne ſwore, that Michael Devereux ſeemed to have the command, and gave the priſoners orders to collect the proteſtants, and keep them 'till he ſhould call for them. The priſoner was only tranſported!!!

5.

County of Wexford, to wit. ELIZABETH DOBBYN of Old-court, in the pariſh of Adamſtown, and ſaid county, widow, came before me this fifth day of January, 1799, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That on Friday, the firſt day of June laſt, her three ſons, William, Richard and Samuel, were taken priſoners from her houſe by Thomas Cavenagh, of Old-court aforeſaid; that on Saturday, the ſecond of June, her huſband, Patrick Dobbyn, was taken priſoner by ſaid Thomas Cavenagh, aided by William Power of Brucharrow, in ſaid pariſh, and another perſon unknown to deponent. That on Sunday, the third of June laſt, deponent went to Scullabogue, where ſhe ſaw her huſband and three ſons confined in a dirty pig-yard; that at their deſire ſhe went to look for Michael Downes, a rebel captain, to endeavour to procure their releaſe, and to Mr. Shallow the pariſh prieſt, for the ſame purpoſe; that deponent could not meet Michael Downes, but found Mr. Shallow at his own houſe; that deponent requeſted ſaid Shallow to procure the releaſe of her huſband and ſons, to which ſaid Shallow replied, "That he would not go near the rebel camp; that, if he did, he would be in as much danger as ſaid Patrick Dobbyn and ſons." Said Shallow then aſked deponent how many of her people were in? ſhe replied, her huſband and three ſons were confined by the rebels; upon which ſaid Shallow ſhuddered and ſeemed to be ſhocked, by which deponent conjectured immediately that her huſband and children would be put to death, and that ſaid Shallow knew what would happen. That deponent went back, on ſaid third of June, from Mr. Shallow's houſe to Scullabogue, where ſhe found her huſband and ſons removed into the barn, which was full of priſoners, crowded as cloſe as they could ſtand, and told them that ſaid Shallow had refuſed to come to Scullabogue; whereupon ſaid Patrick Dobbyn, his ſons and the other priſoners, lamented and ſaid they had no hopes of their lives. That deponent continued at Scullabogue ſaid day until ſun-ſet, during which time one of her ſons, and a woman who was a priſoner, called for a draught of water, and one of the rebel guards aſked them if they would drink ſalt water, and ſaid, "Damnation to you, ye orange dogs, down with your prayers." And a rebel woman ſaid, "Do they want water? give them poiſon!" That on Saturday, the ninth of June laſt, deponent went to Scullabogue to look for the bodies of her huſband and ſons, who ſhe had been told were burnt in the barn on Tueſday the fifth of June. That ſhe found the barn burnt and full of dead bodies, all in a ſtanding poſture, ſome with their limbs burnt off, and others with their bowels hanging

hanging out, and others with their faces and features disfigured with the fire. That deponent could not diſtinguiſh the bodies of her huſband and ſons from the other dead. That about two or three nights after ſaid ninth of June laſt, as deponent was in bed with two young children, her houſe at Old-court was entered by a great number of men armed with pikes, who ſaid they came to ſearch for orangemen, having heard that deponent harboured them, deponent replied there were no men there, that her huſband and ſons were taken from her. They took a light and ſearched the houſe and out-offices, and then went away. That on the 19th day of September laſt, deponent's houſe, at Old-court aforeſaid, was entered by four men armed with piſtols, who murdered there Shepherd Parſlow of Bruchurrow in ſaid pariſh, who had gone out of Roſs to ſave his harveſt at ſaid Bruchurrow, and beat deponent and broke her collar bone, and ſtruck and cut deponent's mother, an old woman almoſt eighty years old. That on deponent's aſking them if it was not a ſin to uſe a poor chriſtian ſo cruelly? they replied ſhe was no chriſtian, and who had made her a chriſtian? they then robbed deponent of what they pleaſed to take from her and went away.

Sworn before me at Roſs, in the county of Wexford, this 5th day of January, 1799,
EDWARD CARR, *deputy ſovereign.*

her
ELIZABETH ⋈ DOBBYN,
mark.

6.

FEATHARD.

ON Saturday, the twenty-ſixth of May, a band of aſſaſſins roaming the country in queſt of proteſtants, and headed by Michael Devereux and Joſhua Colfer, entered the town of Feathard, about eleven miles from Scullabogue, and ſeized William Jordan and James Tweedy, both proteſtants, and conveyed them to the barn where they were burned; the former was ſervant to the reverend Mr. Kennedy, rector of Feathard, who had fled and narrowly eſcaped to Duncannon fort. Colfer often regretted that he had not that orange rogue, Mr. Kennedy, to put him to death; he exclaimed very much againſt proteſtants, and ſaid they deſerved to be puniſhed. Some of the proteſtant inhabitants of Feathard ſaved their lives by going to maſs, and by aſſuming the ſemblance of ſincere converſion. The reverend father Doyle, who acted with humanity towards them, adviſed them to do ſo, as the means of preſerving their lives. William Hurdis, a witneſs on Colfer's trial, ſwore, that Patrick Murphy, one of the gang of aſſaſſins, made him ſwear to be true to the catholick war. Theſe facts were proved on the trial of Joſhua Colfer, before a court-martial, held at Waterford, the third of December, 1798, by order of general Johnſon. Colfer had been maſter to Mr. Clarke, a brewer of Feathard, reſided there conſtantly, and had lived on terms of intimacy with the proteſtants whom he led to the barn.

James Murphy, a witneſs on the trial of Colfer, and ſervant of the reverend Mr. Kennedy, ſwore, That the priſoner aſked him whether he would kill his maſter, and declared that he would kill him if he would not. He ſaid alſo, that all orangemen ſhould be killed.

Philip

Philip Clarke, a proteſtant, and ſon of Mr. Clarke the brewer, who employed the priſoner, declared, That he (Colfer) deſired him and his brother to be chriſtened by a prieſt, and ſent for a popiſh manual to have him, his brother and ſiſters, taught their catechiſm; that he, his brother and ſiſters, and other proteſtants of Feathard, were ſaved merely becauſe they were conſidered as converted.

Richard Stewart, a boy of nine years old, and brother-in-law of Tweedy, followed him crying, on which Colfer threatened him. This child was afterwards murdered.

On Saturday, the ſecond of June, another band of aſſaſſins, headed by the ſame Michael Devereux of Battletours, arrived there and ſwept away all the proteſtants they could find. It fortunately happened that they were but few in number, as moſt of them were doing duty in a yeoman corps at Duncannon Fort. The rebels were ſo zealous in this ſervice, that they locked up ſuch proteſtants as they ſeized, while they went in queſt of others.

Samuel Orange, now living, is a memorable inſtance of this. He was taken by his own neighbours, Patrick Henneſy and James Savage, alias Bryan, and was locked up in the houſe of the former; but while they were hunting for others, he providentially made his eſcape through a back window, and concealed himſelf in ditches till Sunday, the fifth of June, when Colfer returned with another gang, and conveyed him to Wexford, Scullabogue having been conſumed. Michael Devereux having viſited Feathard again, on the third of June, with another gang, ſeized Mrs. Duffield, aged ſeventy-five, Mrs. Clarke, and Philip Clarke, a boy of about thirteen years. John Jones, a humane and reſpectable Roman catholick, ſolicited the releaſe of the priſoners; and, even on his knees, he implored him to diſcharge the latter, as he was the child of his near neighbour; but to no purpoſe, as he ſaid he could not releaſe him, conſiſtent with his own ſafety. This ſhewed that he acted by the orders of his ſuperiors, who, I have been well informed, were ſupplied with the liſts of the proteſtant inhabitants of every pariſh.

The three were conveyed on a car to Scullabogue, but, fortunately for them, Bagenal Harvey, who happened to arrive there, diſcharged them, gave them a paſs to return, and deſired that no more women or children ſhould be taken priſoners. On Saturday, the ninth of June, one Thomas M'Daniel, a ſanguinary ruffian, went to Feathard, at the head of another gang, in queſt of Elizabeth Ennis, a proteſtant, who had eſcaped all their former ſearches; and, when diſcovered, ſhe threw herſelf on the mercy of John Jones, already mentioned, who very humanely locked her up in a room in his own houſe. When M'Daniel was on the point of breaking open the door, Mrs. Jones placed herſelf between him and it, and ſaid they muſt firſt murder her. She alſo aſſured him, that ſhe was no longer a proteſtant, having been chriſtened by the prieſt, and was become a Roman catholick. The poor trembling wretch's life was ſaved by Mrs. Jones's firmneſs, and her aſſurances of her converſion.

After that period, ſuch of the proteſtants as remained at Feathard, were ſaved by going to maſs.

Father Doyle, the prieſt, aſſembled them in a houſe, under a pretence of baptizing them, though in fact he did not perform that ceremony; and he very humanely announced, in order to ſave their lives, that they were ſincere converts to his religion.

Theſe facts were proved on the trial of Devereux, Colfer, Haughran, and ſome other aſſaſſins concerned in this atrocious buſineſs. *County*

7.

County of Wexford, to wit. } RICHARD GRANDY, of Ballyſhan, in ſaid county, came this day before us his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, that he this examinant was attacked and ſeized at the croſs-roads of Kilbride, on Sunday the third of June, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the morning, as he was returning from a farm he has on the lands of Kilbride, by ſeveral perſons armed with guns, pikes and ſpears; that amongſt the number were Michael Poor, Thomas Poor, Martin White, Richard Shee, Martin Colhoun, Nicholas Brown, Michael White, John Moran and Lawrence Moran, all of Kilbride aforeſaid, with many others, whoſe names examinant did not know, though their faces were very familiar to him; he was conducted from thence to the rebel camp at Carrickburn, in ſaid county, and in the afternoon of the ſame day was brought to Mr. King's houſe at Scullabogue, that he was introduced into a room where he ſaw Bagenal Harvey, of Bargy Caſtle, eſquire, William Devereux of Taghmon, Francis Breen, Nicholas Sweetman of New Bawn, with a few more whom he did not know, but believes that John Colclough of Ballyteigue, and a ſon of William Devereux aforeſaid, were of the number; that he was cloſely examined by Bagenal Harvey as to the ſtate of Roſs and Duncannon Fort, and whether he was an orangeman or a united man; that ſaid Bagenal Harvey preſſed him to take the united man's oath and become one of their community; that at laſt he obtained a paſs from ſaid Bagenal Harvey, with which he came as far as Bryanſtown, where he was ſtopped by the rebel guard ſtationed there; that he was conducted back again to Collopſwell, where he met with ſaid Bagenal Harvey and ſaid Nicholas Sweetman; that Nicholas Sweetman ſigned the paſs he got from Bagenal Harvey before; that he had not gone far before the paſs had been taken from him and torn, upon which he was taken priſoner to Scullabogue houſe, where he was confined 'till Tueſday morning, with ſeveral other proteſtants; that about nine o'clock John Murphy of Loughnageer, (who had the command of the Roſegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the priſoners) had ordered them out by fours to be ſhot by his company, till thirty-five were maſſacred; that the ſpear-men uſed to take pleaſure in piercing the victims through, and with exultation licking their bloody ſpears; that whilſt this horrid ſcene was acting, the barn, in which were above one hundred proteſtants, as examinant heard and believes, was ſet on fire, and all conſumed to aſhes; that examinant's life was ſpared becauſe Murphy knew that Bagenal Harvey had given him a paſs, and that through his interceſſion with Murphy, Loftus Frizzle was likewiſe ſpared; that they were both tied and conveyed within a mile and a half of Roſs, where they met Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan of Johnſtown, in ſaid county, William Devereux aforeſaid, and many others retreating from the battle of Roſs.

That Bagenal Harvey ordered the ſaid Murphy to take the two priſoners to his lodging at Collopſwell, where he had given a paſs to Loftus Frizzle, but refuſed to give one to examinant, for fear he would come and report what he had ſeen and heard at Duncannon Fort; that deponent heard and believes it to be a fact that ſaid Cornelius Grogan had the command of the Barony Forth rebel troops at the battle of Roſs; that deponent was taken to Foulkes's mills that night, where he continued for two days under a guard, dreſſing the wounded; that he was afterwards conveyed to Ballymitty, where he obtained a paſs from Edward Murphy of ſaid place, to paſs and repaſs through his diſtrict for the purpoſe of curing the wounded. That he

he was ſent to Taghmon, where the ſitting rebel magiſtrates, John Breen, James Harpur, Joſeph Cullomore, and Mathew Commons, were of opinion, that he might with the prieſt's paſs have gone back again and remain there; that he ſtrolled along the ſea-ſide, till at laſt he effected his eſcape acroſs the Ferry of Bannow to Feathard, on Friday the twenty-ſecond inſtant, and from thence to Duncannon Fort this morning; that he often heard it reported whilſt in cuſtody, that John Colclough and Thomas Macord, both of Tintern in ſaid county, were very active in promoting the rebellion; that he ſaw John Devereux, junior, of Shilbeggan in ſaid county, at Scullabogue, on Monday the fourth inſtant, and that he ſeemed, and believes that he had a principal command in the rebel army. He likewiſe ſaw Charles Reilly, of Ramer's-grange in ſaid county, at the camp at Carrickburn amongſt the rebels, very buſy and active to promote their cauſe. Deponent farther ſaith, that he attended maſs celebrated by Edward Murphy aforeſaid, pariſh prieſt of Bannow; and that after maſs he heard him preach a ſermon, in which he ſaid, "Brethren, you ſee you are victorious every where—that the balls of the hereticks "fly about you without hurting you—that few of you have fallen whilſt thouſands "of the hereticks are dead, and that the few of you that have fallen was from deviating from our cauſe, and want of faith—that this viſibly is the work of God, who "now is determined that the hereticks, who have reigned upwards of an hundred "years, ſhould be extirpated, and the true catholick religion be eſtabliſhed."—And deponent ſaith, this ſermon was preached after the battle of Roſs, and that he heard ſeveral ſermons preached by the prieſts to the ſame effect; that he likewiſe heard many rebels who had been at the battle of Enniſcorthy and elſewhere, declare, that father Roche, a rebel general, did conſtantly catch the bullets that came from his majeſty's arms, and gave them to his men to load their pieces with. Deponent further ſaith, that every proteſtant that was admitted into the rebel corps, was firſt baptized by a prieſt; and that every proteſtant that refuſed to be baptized was put to death; and that many, to ſave their lives, did ſuffer themſelves to be baptized.

Sworn before us, this twenty-third of June, 1798,
GEORGE OGLE.
ISAAC CORNICK.
JOHN H. LYSTER.
JOHN KENNEDY.

RICHARD GRANDY.

The following horrid oath has been taken by all the rebels, printed copies of which were found upon numbers that were ſlain, particularly at the battle of New Roſs, and Ballicanew, and is now called "the bloody oath:"

"I A. B. do ſolemnly ſwear by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſuffered for us on "the croſs, and by the bleſſed virgin Mary, that I will burn, deſtroy, and murder "all hereticks, up to my knees in blood. So help me God."

8.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit.

THE information of William Fleming, of Taghmon, in the county of Wexford, yeoman, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he, this informant, was a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, was taken priſoner by the rebels, at Killburn, near Taghmon, aforeſaid, on Thurſday, the thirty-firſt day of

of May laſt, by a man of the name of Brien, who was a captain of ſaid rebels; and that ſaid Brien aſked informant, whether he would be baptized? on which informant replied, that he was baptized before, and that he did not think a ſecond baptiſm neceſſary. Informant ſaith, that ſaid Brien aſked him, whether he knew that this was a religious war? to which informant replied, he did not; on which ſaid Brien told informant that no perſon would be ſuffered to live but he that was a true Roman catholick. Informant ſaith, that ſaid Brien, thereon, cocked his gun, preſented it at informant's breaſt, and declared he would ſhoot informant, as he did another orange raſcal at the camp at Taghmon aforeſaid; but that another of ſaid rebels told ſaid Brien, that he had no right or authority to ſhoot him, unleſs it was done at the camp. Informant ſaith, he was then conducted to the ſaid camp, in the midſt of a great crowd of rebels, who cried out aloud, which is the orange raſcal that is to be ſhot? Informant ſaith, that his life was ſaved that evening, by the interference, as informant verily believes, of Mr. William Devereux, a Roman catholick gentleman, of Taghmon aforeſaid, who was a captain of ſaid rebels. Informant ſaith, that the guards who were placed over him that night, having a knowledge of, and a regard for informant, gave him his liberty, on which he repaired to a furze brake, where informant lay concealed for two days and two nights. Informant ſaith, he was adviſed by a friend to return to the ſaid town of Taghmon, as the rebel camp had marched to Carrickbyrne, and which informant did on the ſecond day of June, to the beſt of his recollection. Informant ſaith, that ſome days after, on or about the third day of June, he was ordered to repair to the camp of Carrickbyrne, in ſaid county, which informant did from motives of fear. Informant ſaith, he was compelled to march with ſaid rebels, on the fourth of June, to a camp at Corbet-hill, within a mile of New Roſs, in ſaid county, where the rebel officers fixed their head-quarters, at the houſe of one Murphy. Informant ſaith, that when he was returning thence, after the battle of Roſs, he, this informant, was taken priſoner by a body of rebels, at the bridge of Ballynabola, in ſaid county. Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid rebels told him, that he had juſt put an end to an orange raſcal, of the name of Byron; and informant ſaith, that he ſaw, lying in a ditch at Ballynabola aforeſaid, John Byron, a proteſtant inhabitant of the pariſh of Taghmon aforeſaid, with whom informant was well acquainted, and that ſaid Byron was grievouſly wounded, and covered with blood, and on the point of expiring. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebels called informant an orange raſcal, and threatened to ſerve him as they did Byron; and informant ſaith, he is convinced in his mind, that ſaid rebels would have put him to death, but that he produced a paſs which he had obtained from Brien Murphy, a prieſt of Taghmon, and that ſaid paſs ſaved the life of informant. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebels had a cuſtom of warning the inhabitants of each townland to attend their army, under pain of death, in caſe of diſobedience; and that informant was compelled by ſuch warning, to attend a rebel camp at Slievekielter,* ſometime in the beginning of June, where the ſaid rebels were on the point of trying him for being an orangeman, but that informant was relieved by the kind interference of Mr. John Devereux, of Taghmon. Informant ſaith, that father Roche, a prieſt, who was commander in chief of ſaid camp, preached a ſermon, or exhortation, to the rebels therein, of the following tenor: That they were fighting for their religion, their liberty, and the rights of their anceſtors, and that they muſt perſevere. That they ſhould examine their ranks, and if they found any orangemen, or diſaffected men among them, to extirpate them, as they could not proſper or thrive while they had ſuch among them. Informant ſaith, he was again taken priſoner by a

* See Plate VII. 7

body of the ſaid rebels, at Killburn mountain aforeſaid, on the nineteenth of June, and compelled to repair to the Three-rock camp, near Wexford, where many thouſands of the rebels were aſſembled and arrayed for the purpoſe ofmarching next day to fight the king's troops, at Foulkes's mill in ſaid county, and that the ſaid camp was commanded by generals Bagenal Harvey, and father Roche, a prieſt. That the ſaid rebels, in ſaid camp, marched on the twentieth of June, to Foulkes's mill aforeſaid, where they fought, and were defeated by his majeſty's forces. That the ſaid rebels returned on the night of the twentieth of June, to the ſaid camp, at Three-rock hill aforeſaid, and that the next day, on the approach of the king's troops, the ſaid rebels fled in different directions, ſome towards Wexford, and others towards the barony of Forth, in ſaid county. Informant ſaith, that a barn at Scullabogue, in ſaid county, having a great number of proteſtants in it, was conſumed on the fifth day of June; and that informant went to ſaid barn on the ſeventh day of ſaid month, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, who periſhed therein, for the purpoſe of interring it; but informant ſaith, he could not diſtinguiſh one body from another, from the injuries the ſaid bodies ſuſtained from the fire. That ſome of ſaid bodies were entirely conſumed, that the heads and limbs of others were conſumed, but the bodies remained entire, but very much diſcoloured. That the features of ſuch perſons as were not conſumed, were ſo black and diſcoloured, that he could not diſtinguiſh one from the other. That the bowels of ſome of the ſaid bodies lay expoſed on the floor. That ſome of the ſaid bodies lay againſt the wall, as if in the act of praying. That a heap of the ſaid bodies lay near the door of ſaid barn, to which they flocked, as informant verily believes, for the ſake of freſh air, to prevent ſuffocation. Informant ſaith, that he found a guard of rebels at ſaid barn, and that one of the ſaid rebels told informant, and ſome others who were with informant, and ſeemingly with much joy and pleaſure, that he, the ſaid rebel, had been aſſiſting in burning ſaid barn, and in ſhooting a number of proteſtant priſoners, who were buried in the gripe of a ditch, which ſaid rebel ſhewed, with much ſeeming ſatisfaction, to informant, and thoſe who accompanied him. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebel informed him, that one hundred and ninety-nine perſons were conſumed in ſaid barn, or ſhot at Scullabogue aforeſaid, and that ſaid rebel turned to one of his comrades, and ſaid, the number wanted one of two hundred; and that ſaid rebel told informant, that a man with a pike had been at ſaid barn, turning up and examining the bodies therein, for money and watches, which informant verily believes to be true, as the ſaid bodies ſhewed evident marks of having been ſtirred, and as the bowels of ſome of the ſaid bodies lay expoſed on the ground.

WILLIAM FLEMING.

Sworn before me, this twentieth day of September, 1798,
WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURNE.

9.

County of Wexford, to wit. MICHAEL ASKINS, having been duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That on the fifth of June, he was forced to join a party of rebels, and proceed towards Roſs; that when the party got within three miles of Roſs, they met a man riding very faſt, who ſeemed by his dreſs, to be a prieſt. That this man cried out, we are defeated, Bagenal Harvey has ruined us; I will go to Scullabogue and deſtroy every ſoul in it. That immediately this man threw down a firelock he had, and gallopped off towards Scullabogue. Deponent ſaith, he never ſaw the man before, but that the party he was with

with ſaid, he was the ſtouteſt prieſt in Ireland, father Murphy of Taghmon. That ſoon after, deponent and the party retreated to Scullabogue, where they ſaw thirty-nine bodies dead before the door, and the barn burned, and the roof fallen in. Deponent heard that one hundred and fifty perſons were deſtroyed in the barn, amongſt which were twenty-eight women and fifteen children; and deponent ſays, he heard the ſame from numbers who were there, and he verily believes the numbers were rather more.

Sworn before me, this eighteenth day of January, 1799, his
JOHN H. LYSTER. MICHAEL ⋈ ASKINS,
mark.

10.

COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

Affidavits ſworn before the reverend John Kennedy, and the reverend Robert Hawkſhaw, by the deſire, and in the preſence of general Fawcett.

DAVID NEVILLE ſwore an information, the ſecond day of July, before the ſaid John Kennedy, and in preſence of general Fawcett, that John Cody, Michael Devereux, of Battleſtown, John Devereux, of Dungulph, and David Walſh, of Ballygo, in the county of Wexford, were buſy in promoting the rebellion; and ſaid that the object of the rebellion was to murder ſuch proteſtants as would not turn to maſs.

James Murphy, a papiſt, depoſed, on the ſecond day of June, that the object of the rebellion was to murder all the proteſtants, and to have the kingdom to themſelves.

John Fitzgerald, of Black-hill, depoſed the ſame, the third of July, 1798.

Charles Reily depoſed, That he ſaw fathers Byrne and Shallow, at the camp at Carrickbyrne, active and buſy in promoting the rebellion. Dated fifth of July, 1798.

Joſeph Kelly, a proteſtant, depoſed, the fifth of July, 1798, that he was baptized by Bernard Downes, a prieſt, along with many more; as he heard and believes, that every proteſtant was to be put to death. He alſo depoſed, that knocks of furze were ſet on fire by the rebels, in expectation of finding proteſtants hid in them.

Andrew Shepherd, and Patrick Dungannon, of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who were taken priſoners at the mountain of Forth, on the thirtieth of May, depoſed, that the rebel generals, Roche, Fitzgerald, and Murphy, informed them, that John Colclough, eſquire, of Tintern, in the county of Wexford, was at the head of ſix hundred rebels, at Tintern aforeſaid, ready to cut off the retreat of the thirteenth regiment of foot, and that fathers Dixon, Cavanagh, Murphy, and ſeveral other prieſts were very buſy and active at the rebel camp at Gorey, promoting and forwarding the rebellion. The ſaid Dixon endeavoured to perſuade the rebels to march to Dublin, for the purpoſe of taking it, and that they would be joined by twenty thouſand rebels in the county of Wicklow.

11.

SCULLABOGUE.

Redmond Mitchell's trial.

ON the trial of Redmond Mitchell, alias Miſcelly, held at Wexford, the eighteenth of June, 1799, it appeared, that he was active among the rebels at Scullabogue, in murdering the loyaliſts, being armed with a fire-lock, with the but-end of which, he was knocking and battering ſuch of the priſoners as were expiring at the front of the dwelling-houſe. He had a pair of new boots on, which were much beſpattered with blood, which, and a watch, he obtained from Mr. Loftus Frizzel, a priſoner in the dwelling-houſe, who, and Richard Grandy, were the only priſoners that eſcaped. He was ſo much admired by the rebels, for his ſanguinary and ferocious diſpoſition, that they called him the true-born Roman.

He gave Mr. Frizzel his ſhoes, on getting his boots. Mr. Frizzel gave Mitchell his watch and boots, in hopes that he would ſave his life, which he did, and conveyed him to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.

That numbers were trying to ſet the barn on fire, which was difficult, as the walls were high; that a number of rebels, in front, were piking and firing on the priſoners, who drew in the door to protect themſelves; that they put a bundle of lighted ſtraw in at the door, which ſet fire to the barn, which fire they kept up till the priſoners were deſtroyed, but many were ſhot dead before.

12.

SCULLABOGUE.

ON the trial of Matthew Furlong, at Wexford, in September, 1799, Robert Mills ſwore, that he was at Scullabogue, and was ordered to ſtand guard on the loyaliſts who were in the barn. That all the orders to burn the barn were reſiſted, till three men arrived and ſaid, that a certain prieſt had given orders that the priſoners ſhould be put to death; on which the rebels all ſet about the murders, and it was impoſſible to ſay who was moſt active. Orders were given to put any man to death who ſhould quit his poſt at the barn. A man ordered the witneſs to guard the door, and not let any of the loyaliſts out. The roof was on fire, and the loyaliſts were trying to force open the door to effect their eſcape, but were prevented by the rebels, of whom the priſoner was one; and he made ſeveral ſtabs of his pike at thoſe who endeavoured to get out, particularly a woman, and on ſtriking her he bent his pike. He afterwards went to the forge of Scullabogue, and ſtraightened his pike there. Patrick Kerrivan ſwore, that the priſoner, in aſſiſting the rebels to burn the barn, lifted up the thatch with his pike, that others might put faggots under it, and that he called for more ſtraw. That he ſaw him ſtrike with a ſpear a man who was endeavouring to make his eſcape.

On the trial of Michael Murphy, at Wexford, on September fourteenth, 1799, it appeared, that he was raiſing the thatch of the barn for the admiſſion of fire, and that he was followed by perſons with lighted buſhes, who were putting them into the apertures

apertures which he had made. That he and Matthew Furlong, who were guards at the door, ſpeared a man who was endeavouring to make his eſcape. That the priſoner put his pike under the thatch to make it blaze. That he and Furlong went afterwards to the forge, which was near, to ſharpen his pike; and on being aſked, whether they were all dead? the priſoner replied, "I'll engage they are all ſettled."

September twenty-ſeventh, 1799, on the trial of Matthew Revel, it appeared, that one gang of aſſaſſins, coming from Tintern, with a drove of proteſtants, met another at ſome diſtance from Scullabogue, with Mr. Milward Giffard, and John Moran in their cuſtody, and that the two parties joined, went to Scullabogue together, and committed the priſoners to the barn.

On the trial of Patrick Furlong, at Wexford, on the twelfth of September, 1799, for being concerned in the maſſacre at Scullabogue, it was proved, that the meſſenger who conveyed orders to captain Murphy, to put the priſoners to death, ſaid they were ſent by father Murphy, which correſponds with the affidavit of Michael Aſkins, Appendix xx. 9..

13.

GENERAL ORDERS.

At a meeting of the general and ſeveral officers of the united army of the county of Wexford, the following reſolutions were agreed upon:

RESOLVED, That the commander in chief ſhall ſend guards to certain baronies for the purpoſe of bringing in all men they ſhall find loitering and delaying at home, or elſewhere; and if any reſiſtance be given to thoſe guards ſo to be ſent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our deſire and orders, that ſuch perſons ſo giving reſiſtance, ſhall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commiſſion for that purpoſe; and all ſuch perſons ſo to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, ſhall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and choſen from amongſt the commanders of all the different corps, and be puniſhed with death.

Reſolved, that all officers ſhall immediately repair to their reſpective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unleſs authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpoſe.

It is alſo ordered, that a guard ſhall be kept in rear of the different armies, with orders to ſhoot all perſons who ſhall fly or deſert from any engagement, and that theſe orders ſhall be taken notice of by all officers commanding ſuch engagement.

All men refuſing to obey their ſuperior officers, to be tried by a court martial, and puniſhed according to their ſentence.

It is alſo ordered, that all men who ſhall attempt to leave their reſpective quarters when they have been halted by the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death, unleſs they ſhall have leave from their officers for ſo doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all perſons who have ſtolen or taken away any horſe or horſes, ſhall immediately bring in all ſuch horſes to the camp, at head quarters, otherwiſe any horſe that ſhall be ſeen or found in the poſſeſſion of any perſon to whom he does not belong, ſhall, on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death.

And any goods that ſhall have been plundered from any houſe, if not brought in to head quarters, or returned immediately to the houſes, or owners, that all perſons ſo plundering as aforeſaid, ſhall, on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death.

It

It is alſo reſolved, That any perſon or perſons who ſhall take upon him or them to kill or murder any perſon or priſoner, burn any houſe, or commit any plunder, without ſpecial written orders from the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death.

Head-quarters, Carrickbyrne camp,
June 6, 1798.

By order of
B. B. HARVEY, *commander in chief.*
FRANCIS BREEN, *ſecretary and adjutant.*

14.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Countrymen and Fellow Soldiers!

YOUR patriotick exertions in the cauſe of your country have hitherto exceeded your moſt ſanguine expectations, and in a ſhort time muſt ultimately be crowned with ſucceſs—Liberty has raiſed her drooping head; thouſands daily flock to her ſtandard; the voice of her children every where prevails—let us then, in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the univerſe, that a total ſtop has been put to thoſe ſanguinary meaſures, which of late were but too often reſorted to by the creatures of government to keep the people in ſlavery.

Nothing now, my countrymen, appears neceſſary to ſecure the conqueſts you have ſo bravely won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for, through a want of proper ſubordination and diſcipline, all may be endangered.

At this eventful period, all Europe muſt admire, and poſterity will read with aſtoniſhment, the heroic acts achieved by people, ſtrangers to military tactics, and having few profeſſional commanders; but what power can reſiſt men fighting for liberty!

In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarniſhed with any wanton act of cruelty; many of thoſe unfortunate men now in priſon were not your enemies from principle, moſt of them, compelled by neceſſity, were obliged to oppoſe you; neither let a difference in religious ſentiments cauſe a difference amongſt the people. Recur to the debates in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords of the nineteenth of February laſt, you will there ſee a patriotic and enlightened *proteſtant biſhop* (Down, and many of the lay Lords) with manly eloquence, pleading for catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in oppoſition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful oppoſition of his fellow courtiers.

To promote a union of brotherhood and affection amongſt our countrymen of all religious perſuaſions, has been our principal object; we have ſworn in the moſt ſolemn manner, have aſſociated for this laudable purpoſe, and no power on earth ſhall ſhake our reſolution.

To my *proteſtant* ſoldiers I feel much indebted, for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited ſignal proofs of bravery in the cauſe.

EDWARD ROCHE.

Wexford, June 7, 1798.

Cop

15.

Copy of a letter from B. B. Harvey, to Francis Glaſcott, eſquire, then in the camp of Slievekiltagh.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter, but what to do for you, I know not; I from my heart wiſh to protect all property; I can ſcarce protect myſelf; and indeed my ſituation is much to be pitied, and diſtreſſing to myſelf. I took my preſent ſituation in hopes of doing good, and preventing miſchief; my truſt is in Providence; I acted always an honeſt diſintereſted part, and had my advice been taken by thoſe in power, the preſent miſchief would never have ariſen. If I can retire to a private ſtation again I will immediately. Mr. Tottenham's refuſing to ſpeak to the gentleman I ſent into Roſs, who was madly ſhot by the ſoldiers, was very unfortunate; it has ſet the people mad with rage, and there is no reſtraining them; the perſon I ſent in, had private inſtructions to propoſe a reconciliation, but God knows where this buſineſs will end; but end how it will, the good men of both parties will be inevitably ruined.

I am, with reſpect,
Yours,
B. B. HARVEY.

16.

By order of the council for directing the affairs of the people of the county of Wexford.

Oaths to be taken by all the united army, in the moſt publick and ſolemn manner.

TEST OATH.

IN the awful preſence of God, I, *A. B.* do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion; and that I will alſo perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, not even death, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform, or give evidence againſt any member or members of this, or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or expreſſion of theirs, done or made collectively or individually in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation.

So help me God.

Oath of a private.

I, *A. B.* do ſolemnly and ſincerely ſwear, and take God and his only ſon our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to witneſs, that I will at all times be obedient to the commands of my officers; that I am ready to lay down my life, for the good of my country; that I have an averſion to plunder, and to the ſpilling of innocent blood; that I will fight courageouſly in the field, and have mercy where it can be given; that I will avoid drunkenneſs tending to diſorder and ruin; that I will endeavour to make as many friends, and as few enemies as poſſible; that above all, I deteſt a coward,

and

and that I will look upon him as an enemy who will ſtand back in the time of battle.

So help me God.

Oath of an officer.

IN the awful preſence of God, who knows the heart and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witneſs, I, *A. B.* officer in, &c. do ſolemnly ſwear, that I do not conſider my life my own, when my country demands it; that I conſider the preſent moment calls for a proof of the ſincerity of that ſentiment, and I am ready and deſirous to ſtand the teſt; and do aver, that I am determined to die, or lead to victory; and that all my actions ſhall be directed to the proſperity of the common cauſe, uninfluenced by any inferior motive: and I further declare my utter averſion to all alarmiſts, union-breakers, and cowards, and my reſpect and obedience to the commands of ſuperior officers.

So help me God.

Done at the council chamber, Wexford, June 14th, 1798.

By order of the council,

B. B. HARVEY, *preſident,*
NICHOLAS GRAY, *ſecretary.*

BY the virtuous voice of the people, we whoſe names are here under written, do appoint our truſty and well-beloved brother, William Fielding Coſtello, to command our artillery and commiſſary of our ſtores; and we truſt this will be noticed by all whom it may concern. Given under our hands at camp at Limerick-hill, this thirteenth day of June, 1798.

EDWARD KYAN.
JOHN HAY.

[A copy.]

17.

County of Wexford, to wit. } ELIZABETH EDWARDS, of John-ſtreet, in the town of Wexford, having been duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, and ſaith, That ſhe was told by her neighbours who were Roman catholicks, that all the proteſtants would be put to death on Sunday the tenth of June laſt; in conſequence of which this deponent went to the chapel on Thurſday the ſeventh (as deponent believes,) and was baptized by father Broe. Deponent further ſaith, that ſome time in the laſt week the ſaid father Broe came to deponent and demanded payment for having chriſtened her; and in four days after, this deponent paid him one ſhilling on that account.

Sworn before me this 2d day of January, 1799,
JOHN H. LYSTER.

her
ELIZABETH ⋈ EDWARDS,
mark.

ERIN

18.

ERIN GO BRAGH!

Proclamation of the people of the county of Wexford.

WHEREAS it ſtands manifeſtly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magiſtrates of this county, have committed the moſt horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppreſſion, againſt our peaceable and well-affected countrymen:

Now we, the people, aſſociated and united for the purpoſe of procuring our juſt rights, and being determined to protect the perſons and properties of thoſe of all religious perſuaſions who have not oppreſſed us, and are willing, with heart and hand, to join our glorious cauſe, as well as to ſhew our marked diſapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large, to uſe every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforeſaid James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, and to ſecure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people. Done at Wexford, this ninth day of June, 1798.

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.

19.

ERIN GO BRAGH!

To all Iriſhmen and ſoldiers who wiſh to join their brothers in arms, aſſembled for the defence of our country, our rights and liberties, theſe few lines are addreſſed.

WE, the honeſt patriots of our country, do moſt earneſtly intreat and invite you to join your natural Iriſh ſtandard. This is the time for Iriſhmen to ſhew their zeal for their country's good, the good of their poſterity, and the natural rights and liberties of Ireland. Repair then, to the camps of liberty, where you will be generouſly received, and amply rewarded. We know your hearts are with us; and all you want is an opportunity to deſert thoſe tyrants who wiſh to keep you as the ſupport of their oppreſſive and helliſh ſchemes, to enſlave our country. Done at Wexford, by the unanimous voice of the people, fourteenth June, 1798.

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.

20.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE information of James Rowſom, of Managena, of the pariſh of Monomalin, &c. county of Wexford, farmer, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he made his eſcape from his own houſe to Gorey in ſaid county, on Whitſun Sunday laſt, in order to ſave his life; and that after the battle of Tubberneering near Gorey aforeſaid, in which colonel Walpole fell, he

retreated from Gorey aforeſaid, to the town of Wicklow, where he, this informant, remained till a day or two after the battle of Vinegar-hill. Informant ſaith, that he, and about twenty proteſtants, men who fled from the vengeance of the papiſt rebels, returned to Gorey, about two days after ſaid battle, thinking that the ſucceſs of the king's troops therein had reſtored peace and tranquillity in the ſaid county about Gorey aforeſaid. Informant ſaith, that on the day of his arrival at Gorey, a number of rebels flying from Vinegar-hill arrived at Gorey, and put to flight a great number of proteſtants, and killed every one that fell into their hands of ſaid proteſtants to the amount of, he believes and heard, thirty or forty. Informant ſaith, that in his flight from Gorey thither, informant was taken priſoner by the rebels on Kilmurry-hill, within two miles of Gorey aforeſaid, when their commander, who was well dreſſed and well mounted, told informant that he knew him to be an orangeman. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid commander deſired the ſaid rebel corps to advance, on which one of the ſaid corps ſaid, "I will ſhoot him;" but the ſaid rebel commander ſaid, "No, leave him to me." On which the ſaid rebel having advanced and left informant in cuſtody of ſaid commander, informant ſaith, that the ſaid commander deſired informant to lie down that he might ſhoot him; and this informant thereon began to plead for his life, declaring that he was no orangeman, but an induſtrious poor man, who gained his ſubſiſtence by his labour, on which the ſaid rebel commander rode up againſt him violently, and threw him into a ditch; and having deſired him to lie down a ſecond time, he this informant complied, on which the ſaid rebel commander ſhot him in the head and broke his jaw; the ſaid rebel commander having thereon ſaid, "I am ſure he is dead," to two or three of the rebel ſoldiers who happened to remain with him. Informant ſaith, he is convinced in his mind, that the ſaid rebel commander had no other reaſon for ſhooting him, than that he was a proteſtant. Informant ſaith, he was ſo much weakened by the loſs of blood, that he lay on the ſpot where he was ſo wounded for the ſpace of five hours. Informant ſaith, when he gathered a little ſtrength and thought, and that the rebels had departed, he retired to an adjacent field, and concealed himſelf in ſome ferns, hoping to make his eſcape in the night. Informant ſaith, that a party of rebels having come to the place where he had been ſhot, and ſeeing that he had made his eſcape, they went in queſt of him, this informant, and having found him, they the ſaid rebels exclaimed, "Let us ſhoot him." Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid rebels then fired at him with a muſket, and drove a bullet through his left arm; but the ſaid rebel perceiving he had not killed him, called out another rebel to ſhoot him; but the ſaid rebel ſaid in anſwer, that he had but one charge, and that he would not throw it away on informant, but they ſaid we will pike him, which however they could not do, as they had no pikes. Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid rebels took a large ſtone and ſtruck informant ſo violently in the head with it, that they left him ſpeechleſs and ſenſeleſs, and apparently dead. Informant ſaith, that in the night he made his eſcape over colonel Ram's demeſne, without coat, ſhoes, or ſtockings,* to the houſe of Thomas Ennis, of Benogue, and remained there all night in a pig-ſtye; that in the morning the ſaid Ennis gave him a blanket to cover him, and ſome milk and water to drink; that he remained there all day, and next night. Informant ſaith, that during all that time he received no other nouriſhment than milk and water adminiſtered to him with a ſpoon. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid Ennis had him conveyed next day in a car to Gorey aforeſaid; and that one of the military ſurgeons had him conveyed from thence in a car to Bray, in the county of Wicklow, where informant remained in a military hoſpital till the twenty-third day of Auguſt. Informant ſaith, his

* The rebels ſtripped him.

his under jaw is completely ſhattered, that all his teeth are looſe, and that he can receive no nouriſhment but with a ſpoon. Informant ſaith, his dwelling-houſe, furniture, out-offices, and farming utenſils had been burned or deſtroyed, and that his cows and horſes have been carried off by the rebels.

JAMES ROWSOM, *60 years old.*

Sworn before me this 25th day of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

21.

The depoſition of James Pippard, ſovereign of the town of Gorey, county of Wexford,

WHO being examined, depoſeth and ſaith, that on Wedneſday and Thurſday, the twentieth and twenty-firſt days of June laſt, 1798, a great number of proteſtants, both men and women, returned from Arklow to Gorey (on their hearing that the rebels had left the town of Gorey, on finding that his majeſty's army was in purſuit of them) the rebels then made for Vinegar-hill; that on Friday, the twenty-ſecond day of June, being the day after the engagement with his majeſty's army, and the rebels at Vinegar-hill, near Enniſcorthy, the rebels, to the amount of three hundred or upwards, armed with firelocks and pikes, retreated from the army, and came back to Gorey. On the proteſtants retreating to Arklow, the rebels purſued them, and killed the number of thirty-ſix of the loyaliſts, by ſhooting and piking them in the moſt barbarous and cruel manner. Deponent was one of the number that retreated from Gorey, and narrowly eſcaped with his life. Deponent further ſaith, that the rebels kept a conſtant fire at the loyaliſts from Gorey, till they got almoſt to the village of Coolgraney, near ſix miles.

JAMES PIPPARD.

Sworn before me, this thirty-firſt day of December, 1798,
HUNTER GOWAN.

22.

Thomas Cleary's confeſſion relative to the murder of his maſter.

THOMAS CLEARY was executed the eighth of March, 1800, for the murder of his maſter, Edward Turner, eſquire, on the bridge of Wexford. Juſt before his execution, he made the following confeſſion, in preſence of Joſhua Nunn, eſquire, high ſheriff, the underſigned gentlemen, and many others: That he was guilty of the ſaid murder. On his being aſked, did he not think it a ſin to kill his maſter? he replied, that he often heard the people ſay, it was not a ſin to kill him; and that ſince the murder of his maſter, he received abſolution from two prieſts; father Murphy of the pariſh of Kilruſh, in ſaid county, and father Ryan, who had done duty for father Ned Redmond, of the pariſh of Ferns. He was alſo aſked, did they order him to do any thing for committing ſo horrid a crime? He anſwered, they ordered him to faſt three* days in each week, for three months, as a penance.

JOSHUA NUNN, *high ſheriff.*
JAMES BOYD.
CHRISTOPHER WILSON.
WILLIAM TURNER.

 Reverend

* This was to faſt from meat only.

Doctor Caulfield's letter to Bryan Murphy.

23.

Reverend Bryan Murphy!

BEING well and truly informed that you have impiouſly and ſacrilegiouſly dared to attempt to adminiſter ſacraments without having any faculties ſo to do, nay, that you have had the diabolical audacity to attempt to hear ſacramental confeſſions, and to give the unfortunate penitents abſolution, which was abſolutely not in your power to give, thereby heaping coals on your own head, leaving the unhappy ſinners in their ſins, and, as was your practice, leading them to utter perdition, &c. &c. Wherefore in the neceſſary diſcharge of our paſtoral and indiſpenſable duty, and for the ſafety of the faithful committed to our charge, we now again repeat, and hereby declare you abſolutely and to all intents and purpoſes deprived of all prieſtly faculties, and abſolutely ſuſpended from all prieſtly functions whatſoever, except the recital of the divine office on canonical hours, and ſaying one maſs daily, and that privately in your own houſe only; and we hereby expreſsly and ſtrictly forbid and interdict you to celebrate maſs elſewhere; and we further order and peremptorily command you not to ſuffer or allow any congregations or aſſembly of people to come even to your own houſe, or to hear your maſs there. Given in Balliane, March nineteenth, 1800.

JAMES CAULFIELD.*

To reverend Bryan Murphy.

Taghmon, March 27th, 1800.

My Lord,

Pleas your lordſhip, after what you ſaid to me yeſterday, nothing ſhould or could prevail on me to be agaen troubleſome to your lordſhip, but juſt this, father Murphy underſtanding that there was no immediate allowance to ſay maſs outſide his own houſe, exclaimed, that he was then pointed out a ſacrifice, and that he might thank me for it; I told your lordſhip yeſterday that I was the cauſe of his taking on the ſtole, and of his doing the other offices he did, which your lordſhip ſaid you never knew or allowed, &c. to be given him; and that it was the pope only that could diſpenſe with him now; and this to be all through my means, heated and interdicted by your lordſhip, condemned and ſuſpected by him of purpoſly bringing him into a ſnare, is exceedingly terrifying to the mind; and the conſequences that may as yet be apprehended to follow, alarms me moſt of all, the diſtraction of the people, his life, &c. all he wants is merely to get leave to ſay maſs outſide his own houſe, and where called on, by way of preventing all other miſchieves, the command of your lordſhip ſhall be kept by me, who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

DENIS KELLY.

My lord, with all the deſires of life and ſoul, I moſt earneſtly beg the favour,—My lord, your lordſhip was pleaſed to remark that your lordſhip was never moved by any intereſt whatſoever temporal, to do any thing but your duty, which I believe no perſon doubted or ought to doubt—ſo God knows, and your lordſhip muſt in your ſoul know, that your lordſhip is anſwerable between father Murphy and me, for any function to my knowledge he has done, for I thought your ſilence on the occation gave me your tacet conſent.

Reverend

* It appears that the doctor had withdrawn the faculty or power of attorney which he had given Bryan Murphy to forgive ſins.

Reverend ſir, and worthy friend!

AS there are various reports and reaſons aſſigned amongſt the people for my preſent ſituation, and my being ſo treated by my biſhop; ſome ſaying, for ſuch a cauſe, and others for different cauſes, &c. all of which are falſe, as you'l ſee from his lordſhip's letter, which he ſent me without ever acquainting me off, till I received it in my houſe; nor did he call or acquaint reverend Mr. Kelly, any more than me, but paſſed ſentence without hearing him or me. Reverend ſir, I did not adminiſter any ſacrament, from the firſt day I was reſtricted, till about ſeventeen months back, and that after Mr. Kelly told his lordſhip that he would not anſwer all the calls, and that he ſhould ſend me to ſerve neceſſary calls, &c. at which his lordſhip ſeemed all pleaſant, and ſaid nothing. Reverend Mr. Kelly after that, ſent me to anſwer occational calls, and thus continued for the courſe of ſeventeen months, or thereabouts, without my hearing a word to the contrary. On my receiving the biſhop's letter, Mr. Kelly went to him, but could do nothing; and the next day he wrote to him, the copy of which you have incloſed; but his lordſhip did not anſwer his letter. I wrote alſo, and did not receive any anſwer. What moſtly concerns me, that my friends and wellwiſhers ſhould think my preſent treatment from the biſhop, ſhould proceed from any bad practices, eſpecially your reverence, John Heatly, eſquire, and William Goff, eſquire, &c. I am,

Reverend ſir,

Your ſincere well-wiſher,
and very humble ſervant,

BRIKETS-TOWN,
April twenty-eighth, 1800.

To the reverend Mr. ————.

BRYAN MURPHY.

County of Wexford, to wit. } ELIZABETH CRANE, of the county of Wexford, widow, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That on the twentieth day of June laſt, ſhe was in her own houſe, in great anxiety, apprehending, from circumſtances which had happened that morning, the life of her ſon-in-law, Middleton Robſon, a loyaliſt, then a priſoner in the gaol of Wexford, to be in immediate and imminent danger; that in the afternoon of ſaid twentieth day, between the hours of two and four of the clock, as ſaid deponent believeth, ſhe ſaw the reverend doctor Caulfield, accompanied by the reverend Mr. Roche, a prieſt of ſaid town, paſs by her houſe towards a lane which communicates from the back ſtreet of ſaid town to Gibſon's-lane, which gave her great pleaſure, as ſhe ſuppoſed they were going to intercede for the priſoners. That near the entrance of ſaid lane they were met by a number of men, armed with pikes and other weapons, coming, as ſhe believeth, from the gaol, who, as they came up to doctor Caulfield, kneeled down, for the purpoſe, as deponent believeth, of receiving doctor Caulfield's bleſſing, which he gave, ſpreading his hands over their heads, as ſhe had ſeen him do to others whom he bleſſed, and that the men afterwards paſſed on, as ſhe ſuppoſeth, to the bridge; and that very ſhortly afterwards, two men, armed with pikes, entered her houſe, who told her, "they were ſlaughtering on the bridge; that they would never draw bridle, till they would put them all on a level, and that by that time to-morrow, there would be neither buying or ſelling in Wexford:" and that immediately before, or during the time doctor Caulfield was bleſſing, which was of a tedious

tedious length, nearly, as ſhe thinks, an hour, ſaid deponent heard a ſhot, by which ſhe believes Matthewſon was killed at the gaol.

ELIZABETH CRANE.

Sworn before me at Wexford, this ſixteenth day of March, 1799,
WILLIAM TOOLE.

24.

*Copy of the calendar * of the proteſtant priſoners in Wexford, uſed in the bloody committee which ſat in the gaol, the twentieth of June, the original of which is lodged in Trinity college library, Dublin.*

Mark.	No.		Pariſh.
killed.	1	Aikin, Thomas	
T——	2	Abbott, Chriſtopher	
V——	3	Allen, John	Wexford.
	4	Aſkins, Henry	
	5	Aſkins, George	
B——	6	Atkin, Samuel	
V A—	7	Atkin, John	do.
	8	Atkin, George	do.
I H—	9	Atkin, Samuel	C. Ellis.
H——	10	Atkin, Samuel	do.
V H—	11	Atkin, Hercules	do.
do.	12	Atkin, Chriſtopher	do.
do.	13	Atkin, James	Edermine.
do.	14	Atkin, William	do.
do.	15	Atkin, Robert	Wexford.
	16	Atkin, William	Ardcolme.
	17	Atkin, William	Edermine.
	18	Atkin, William	C. Ellis.
	19	Atkin, Francis	Wexford.
		B	
	20	Bayly, Henry	Wexford.
	21	Birdthiſtle, Thomas	
B——	22	Burrell, Robert	Duncor.
B——	23	Burrell, Peter	do.
V——	24	Boyd, James, jun.	Wexford.
V——	25	Brett, James	Enniſcorthy.
C——	26	Bolton, Henry	
B——	27	Byrne, John	
	28	Baſſet, Edward.	
	29	Browne, William	
	30	Beaubear, William	Ardcolm
	31	Burby, Joſeph	
	32	Bland, Captain	Wexford.
	33	Byrne, Moſes	
	34	Bower, doctor	
	35	Baker, Philip	
	36	Batterton, Thomas	
	37	Barby, Henry	
	38	Burke, lieutenant	
	39	Barry, enſign	
	40	Barriſter, Joſeph	
	41	Batterton, William	
	42	Baſſet, John	
	43	Byrne, Edward	
	44	Byrne, William	
	45	Bannon, Martin	
		C	
V B—	46	Cox, captain Allen	Coolcliff.
	47	Connor, John	
B——	48	Clarke, William	Wexford.
	49	Chapman, Thomas	
T——	50	Carty, John	
T——	51	Codd, Loftus	do.
T——	52	Clifford, Robert	do.
C——	53	Coſtigan, George	do.
B——	54	Crane, Thomas	do.
C——	55	Clifford, John	do.
	56	Clarke, Thomas	do.
	57	Clarke, Thomas	do.
	58	Clarke, William	do.
	59	Cronin, Jared	
	60	Clarke, John	
	61	Callaghan, John	
	62	Callaghan, Owen	
	63	Cooke, Thomas	
	64	Conners, Peters	
	65	Crump, Nathaniel	Wexford.
	66	Cooper, Henry	do.
	67	Copeland William	
	68	Clifford, Nicholas	Wexford.
	69	Campbell, John	
	70	Coſtigan, William	Wexford.
	71	Cooper, John	
	72	Coombes, John	
	73	Codd, John	
	74	Coſtello, Edward	Ballyhack.
		D	
B——	75	Daniel, William	Wexford.
	76	Doyle, Edward	
	77	Dowſe, William	
	78	Doran, John	
	79	Dixon, John	
	80	Dixon, William	
	81	Dowzer, James	
		E	
	82	Eſmund, Richard	

83 Ennis,

* In this calendar, the word diſcharged, is oppoſite the names of Kellet, Crump, and Bland, though the two laſt were not liberated till the twenty-firſt of June, the day after the maſſacre; and as this entry muſt have been made the day before, when Atkins got the book, it in ſome degree proves the ſecret interference and influence of father Corrin, in conſequence of the compact with the ladies at Clonard. See pages 486 and 487 of the text.

Mark.	No.		Parish.
	83	Ennis, Abraham	
B—	84	Edwards, John	
	85	Edwards, Thomas	Wexford.
		F	
	86	Freeman, Richard	
F—	87	Frankland, Edward	Wexford.
	88	Furlong, Michael	Ennifcorthy.
	89	Francis, William	Wexford.
	90	Finn, Simon	
	91	Fennell, Mathew	
	92	Flood, Denis	
	93	Frizel, William	
	94	Foley, Patrick	
	95	Frayne, Parfons	
B—	96	Finn, Thomas	Killimuck.
		G	
	97	Gibfon, John	Wexford.
	98	Gainfort, Jofeph	
	99	Gainfort, Richard	
B—	100	Gainfort, Thomas	Wexford.
	101	Gore, John	D. cormuck.
	102	Gill, Allen	
	103	Gurley, William	Wexford.
	104	Gibfon, Richard	
	105	Gurly, John	Wexford.
B—	106	Gurly, Jonas	do.
	107	Goodall, James	do.
	108	Green, Benjamin	Coolftuff.
	109	Gray, Mofes	
	110	Gordon, Samuel	Wexford.
	111	Gafney, Michael	B. gale.
		H	
B—	112	Hore, William	Taghmon.
	113	Hogan, John	Wexford.
	114	Hayley, John	
	115	Hyland, Wm. Henry	Wexford.
B—	116	Harrifon, William	
	117	Hughes, James	Wexford.
	118	Hughes, Michael	
B—	119	Hatchell, John	Wexford.
	120	Hawkins, Samuel	
	121	Hamilton, James	Wexford.
	122	Hogg, lieutenant	
	123	Howlin, Abr. James	Kilcorham.
B—	124	Hennefy (Geo. or Abr.)	Wexford.
		J	
	125	Jeffares, Richard	Wexford.
B—	126	Jeffares, Ivory	Wexford.
F—	127	Jones, Benjamin	
B—	128	Julian, Richard	Wexford.
	129	Jackfon, Charles	Wexford.
	130	Jones, Ben.	
	131	Jeffares, Chriftopher	Wexford.
	132	Judd, Peter	
	133	Jones, Sheppard	
	134	Jones, James	
		K	
	135	Keer, David	
B—	136	Kennedy, William	
V. hill.	137	Kavanagh, Thomas	Ennifcorthy.
	138	Knox, Oliver	
	139	Kelly, John	
	140	King, Rd. Newton	Ennifcorthy.
	141	Kelly, Mathias	
	142	Keary, William	
	143	Kellet, William	Wexford.
	144	Kelly, William	
	145	Kingfborough, lord	
	146	Kendrick, Jofeph	
	147	Knight, John	
		L	
B—	148	Lett, Charles	
T—	149	Lammas, Thomas	Wexford.
	150	Lachey, Thomas	do.
	151	Lewis, Nicholas	K. limick.
	152	Lammas, Henry	Wexford.
	153	Le Hunte, col. Geo.	Ardcolme.
		M	
	154	Meadows, Arthur	Wexford.
	155	Meadows, William	do.
	156	Moore, Jofeph	do.
	157	Myden, John	
	158	Morgan, William	
	159	Mathews, James	do.
	160	Mathews, George	do.
	161	Mathews, Alexander	do.
Gaol	162	Matthewfon, Kennet	do.
Balbrig	163	Murphy, Francis	K. fcoran.
Strand	164	Murphy, Jofeph	K. muckridge.
	165	M'Henry, Maurice	
	166	Moore, Matthew	
	167	Moran, Bartholomew	
	168	Molony, Thomas	
	169	Maude, Samuel	
	170	Mafon, George	
	171	M'Manus, captain	
died	172	Morton, John	
	173	M'Cann, Edward	
	174	M'Kay, Robert	
	175	M'Kay, John	
	176	Milward, captain Henry	
	177	Martin, Thomas	B. Gale
	178	M'Donald, John	Wexford.
		N	
	179	Nunn, James	Wexford.
		O	
	180	Orange, Samuel	
	181	Owen, reverend Roger	Camolin.
		P	
	182	Pigott, Robert	Wexford.
	183	Peace, Samuel	
	184	Parfley, Robert	
	185	Plummer, Francis	
	186	Power, Patrick	
	187	Parfley, Eben.	
		Q	
	188	Quirke, Philip	
		R	
	189	Rudd, Anthony	Ennifcorthy.
	190	Rogers, Edward	
T—	191	Reily, William	Wexford.
B—	192	Radford, William	
B—	193	Radford, John	
B—	194	Radford, Nathaniel	
F—	195	Reeves, Richard	

B—196 Radford

Mark.	No.		Parish.
B——	196	Radford, John, jun.	
B——	197	Robſon, Middleton	Wexford.
	198	Rudd, Anthony	
	199	Richards, Richard	Wexford.
	200	Redmond, Patrick	
	201	Richards, Thomas	Wexford.
	202	Rigley, Thomas	
	203	Rhynhart, Henry	
		S	
	204	Smithſon, Joſeph	
	205	Saliſbury, James	Wexford.
	206	Stephens, Iſaac	Wexford.
	207	Sullivan, Robert	
B——	208	Sparrow, John	
A——	209	Sudal, Loftus	
F——	110	Sabourin, Chriſtopher	Wexford.
	211	Seally, Thomas	
	212	Sweetman, Nicholas	
B——	213	Sunderland, Benjamin	
	214	Smith, Joſeph	
	215	Strowd, William	Wexford.
	216	Smith, Patrick	
	217	Smithſon, Jacob	
	218	Shaw, James	
	219	Sheppard, William	
	220	Styles, Robert	
	221	Stedman, John	
	222	Swannick, Francis	Wexford.
	223	Savage, Major	Mulran.
	224	Swiney, Benj. Burton	Enniſcor.
	225	Swiney, Joſhua	do.
	226	Steadman, William	
	227	Shaw, Thomas	
		T	
B——	228	Turner, Edward	C. Ellis.
	229	Taylor, Chriſtopher	Wexford.
	230	Taylor, William	do.
B——	231	Tally, George	do.
	232	Taylor, Thomas	
	233	Taylor, Andrew	
	234	Troy, Thomas	Wexford.
	235	Troy, William	do.
	236	Thackaberry, James	
	237	Taylor, George	
	238	Thackaberry, Robert	
	239	Tuncks, John	
	240	Templeton, Alexander	
	241	Templeton, Thomas	

Mark.	No.		Parish.
		V	
	242	Vicary, Benjamin	Wexford.
		W	
T——	243	Wormington, Wm.	Wexford.
	244	Wheelock, James	
	245	Wilſon, William	Wexford.
	246	Willis, Thomas	
	247	White, John	Wexford.
B——	248	Wiſtnot, William	
B——	249	Whitney, Richard	Wexford.
	250	Willis, William	Enniſcorthy.
	251	Walters, Edward	
	252	Winter, Richard	Wexford.
	253	White, Anthony	
	254	Wilſon, reverend Henry	
	255	Ward, Abraham	
	256	Ward, Benjamin	Wexford.
	257	Woodmaſon, Noble	
	258	Wilſon, William	
	259	Wade, J.	
	260	Stephens, Iſaac	
	261	Burkett, Robert.	

Priſoners in the market-houſe	-	48
Gaol - - -		148
Guard ſhip - - -		22
Barracks - - -		56
Court houſe - - -		3
Connick's - - -		3
Total		260
Priſoners piked on the bridge, twentieth of June	-	97

Marks in the calendar affixed to the names of priſoners.

B. Killed on bridge.
V. I cannot explain.
T. To-morrow, ſuppoſed to mean the deferring execution to the twenty-firſt of June.
F. Not explained.
A. (ſuppoſed) Accuſed.
R. Rogue, or revenue officer
C. Charged.

25.

Confeſſion of faith found in the box of a prieſt at Gorey,

1 WHEN we aſſemble, we all croſs ourſelves, ſaying, we acknowledge theſed our articles, in the preſence of Chriſt's vicar, the Lord Godd the pope, and in the preſence of the holy primates, biſhops, monks, friars, and prieſts.

*We acknowledge they can make vice virtue, and virtue vice, according to their pleaſure. They all falling flat on their faces, beginning the articles in this manner, and

* See cardinal Bellarmine's opinion on this, page 12 of the text.

and ſpeaking to the Hoſt, ſaying, Holy, glorious, and admirable hoſt, we acknowledge it according to our great father the pope's mind; we muſt all fall down before the great effigy of our Lord God Almighty.

3 We all acknowledge the ſupremacy of the holy father, the Lord God the pope, and that he is Peter's lawful ſucceſſor in the chair.

4 We acknowledge that holy Peter has the keys of Heaven, and will receive thoſe that acknowledge his ſupremacy.

5 We are bound to believe no ſalvation out of our holy church.

6 We are bound to believe that the holy maſſacre was lawful, lawfully put into execution againſt proteſtants, and likewiſe to continue the ſame, provided with the ſafety of our lives.*

7 We are bound to curſe, ring the bells, and put out the candles four times a year on hereticks.

8 We are bound to believe a heretick can never be ſaved, unleſs he be a partaker of that holy ſacrament, extreme unction.

9 We are bound to believe that thoſe who elope from our holy religion, go into the power of the devil, whom hereticks have followed.

10 We are not to keep our oaths with hereticks, if they can be broken; for, ſays our holy father, they have followed damnation, and Luther and Calvin.

11 We are not to believe their oaths, for their principles are damnation.

12 We are bound to drive hereticks out of the land, with fire, ſword, faggot, and confuſion. As our holy father ſays, if their hereſy prevails, we will become their ſlaves! Oh! dear father, keep us from that; (here the holy water is ſhaken, and they ſay, Hail Mary three times.

13 We are bound to abſolve with money, or price, thoſe that imbrue their hands in the blood of a heretick.

14 We are bound to believe that Chriſt's vicar, the Lord God, the pope, can abſolve all men, hereticks excepted, and thoſe given to all clergymen under inſpection to do the like.

15 We are bound to believe all the articles our holy church commands.

16 We are bound to believe the virgin Mary has more power in Heaven than any other angel.

17 We are bound to pray to the holy angels, that they may pray for us.

18 We are bound to believe in the holy croſs, holy water, holy ſpittle, holy earth, holy bones, holy people, and beads, and that they are to be uſed on certain occaſions.

19 We are bound to celebrate the holy maſs in latin, having ourſelves clothed in a holy veſtment and ſhirt, and bearing the holy croſs on our ſhoulders, ſignifying we are Chriſt.

20 We are bound to believe, every time maſs is celebrating, there is an expiatory ſacrifice for the living and the dead.

21 We are bound to believe there are four places of purgation, viz. Limbus infantum, Limbus patrum, Meadows of eaſe, and Purgatory.

22 We are bound to believe that Chriſt was three days in Limbus patrum, where the ſouls of holy fathers go, till they get a paſs with them to holy Peter.

23 We are bound to believe, that the ſouls of children unbaptized, go to Limbus infantum, until original ſin is well paid away, by the help of holy maſſes ſaid for them.

24 We know the ſouls of chriſtians go to purgatory, and remain there till we pray them out of it, that they may have power to walk the meadows of caſe with

 ſafety

* This it is believed was compoſed ſoon after that of 1641, and alludes to it.

ſafety, till it pleaſes holy Peter to open the gates of glory for them, where no heretick ſhall ever enter.

25 We are bound to keep lent according to our clergies pleaſure, and to maintain the work of ſupererogation.

26 We acknowledge the lake in the North to be holy, called lough Dergh.

27 We are bound to pray to no other ſaint on that day, only to him to whom it is dedicated.

28 We muſt baptize bells, conſecrate chapels, and no man to enter into the holy office of a prieſt, only he who is known to be a man.

29 We maintain ſeven ſacraments eſſential to ſalvation, viz. baptiſm, euchariſt, penance, extreme unction, holy order, confirmation, and matrimony.

30 We maintain that we can tranſubſtantiate the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Chriſt.

31 We believe the hereticks eat their kind of ſacrament to their eternal damnation.

32 We believe that Chriſt is every where, but particularly in our church.

33 We maintain that we cannot marry any heretick woman without being in danger of judgment.

34 We maintain, that hereticks know neither the will of the prophet nor of Chriſt.

35 We acknowledge, that the roſary of ſaint Bridget is to be ſaid once a week; and laſtly, that our holy church can never err.

Secula ſeculorum. S.

Roche and Murphy ſaid maſs four times on the march from Gorey to Arklow.

No. XXI. 1.

Dublin Caſtle, 22d June, 1798.

Extract of a letter from lieutenant general Lake to lord viſcount Caſtlereagh, dated Enniſcorthy, 21ſt June, 1798.

" My Lord,

" I HAVE the honour to acquaint your lordſhip, for his excellency the lord lieutenant's information, that the rebel camp upon Vinegar-hill, was attacked this morning, at ſeven o'clock, and carried in about an hour and an half.

" The relative importance of this very ſtrong poſition with our operations againſt Wexford, made it neceſſary to combine our attacks ſo as to inſure ſucceſs. A column, under major-generals Johnſon and Euſtace was drawn from Roſs, and began the attack upon the town of Enniſcorthy, ſituate upon the right bank of the Slaney, cloſe under Vinegar-hill upon the right, and rather in the rear of it.

" Lieutenant general Dundas commanded the centre column, ſupported by a column upon the right under major generals ſir James Duff and Loftus; a fourth column upon the left was commanded by the honourable major general Needham. To the determined ſpirit with which theſe columns were conducted, and the great gallantry of the troops, we are indebted for the ſhort reſiſtance of the rebels, who maintained their ground obſtinately for the time above mentioned; but on perceiving the danger of being ſurrounded, they fled with great precipitation. Their loſs is not yet aſcertained, but it muſt be very conſiderable. The loſs on our part is not great, the particulars of which I ſhall report as ſoon as poſſible. In the mean time, I am ſorry to ſay, that lieutenant Sandys of the Longford regiment is killed; and

and that colonel King, of the Sligo, was wounded in gallantly leading his regiment. Lord Blayney, and colonel Vefey, of the county of Dublin regiment, are alſo wounded, but I am happy to add, that the wounds of theſe three officers are very ſlight.

" I cannot too highly expreſs my obligations, particularly to lieutenant general Dundas, and the general officers, on this occaſion, for the abilities and ardour ſo ſtrongly manifeſted by them; and to the officers of every rank, and the private men, for a prompt, brave and effectual execution of their orders.

" To colonel Campbell, with his light battalion, I am much indebted for their very ſpirited attack; and great praiſe is due to the earl of Ancram and lord Roden, for their gallant charge with their regiments, at the moment the cavalry was wanted to complete the ſucceſs of the day.

" It is with great gratitude I alſo beg leave to mention the able aſſiſtance I received from major generals Hewitt and Cradock, and from colonel Handfield, on this, as I do on all occaſions; and ſhould be extremely wanting to myſelf, as well as to lord Glentworth, lieutenant colonel Blyth, and lieutenant colonel Read, (who did me the honour to volunteer their ſervice, and accompany me from Dublin,) were I to omit expreſſing the high ſenſe I entertain of their active and uſeful aid to me this morning. I alſo beg leave to mention, in the ſame warm terms, my aid-de-camp, captain Nicholſon.

" To the rapid and well-directed fire of the royal artillery, and the gallantry of their officers and men, for which they have ever been diſtinguiſhed, I conſider myſelf this day highly indebted; and I am happy in expreſſing my obligations to captain Bloomfield, commanding the Britiſh, and captain Crawford, commanding the Iriſh Royal Artillery, with the officers and men under their command."

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. LAKE.

" P. S. I have juſt learned that lieutenant colonel Cole is ſlightly wounded. Incloſed is a return of the ordnance taken on Vinegar-hill, in which are included three taken from us on the fourth of June."

Return of ordnance as taken from the rebels on Vinegar-hill, 21ſt June, 1798.

3 Six-pounders, braſs.
1 Three-pounder.
7 One-pounders.
1 $5\frac{1}{2}$ Inch howitzer.
1 $4\frac{1}{2}$ Inch howitzer.

13 Total.

Rounds of ammunition.

17 Six-pounders.
30 One-pounders.
11 $5\frac{1}{2}$ Inch howitzers.

Note.—A cart, with a vaſt variety of balls of different diameters, had been thrown down the hill after the action, and immenſe quantities of lead and leaden balls delivered over to the Dunbarton fencibles.

(Signed)

ROBERT CRAWFORD, *captain* R. I. A.

Dublin

2.

Dublin Caſtle, 23d June, 1798.

This day the following letter was received from lieutenant general Lake by lord Caſtlereagh:

Wexford, 22d June, 1798.

My Lord,

" YESTERDAY afternoon I had the honour to diſpatch a letter to your lordſhip from Enniſcorthy, with the tranſactions of the day, for his excellency the lord lieutenant's information; and the encloſed copy of a letter from brigadier general Moore, to major general Johnſon, will account for my having entered this place without oppoſition. General Moore, with his uſual enterprize and activity, puſhed on to this town, and entered it ſo opportunely as to prevent it from being laid in aſhes, and the maſſacre of the remaining priſoners, which the rebels declared their intention of carrying into execution the very next day; and there can be little doubt it would have taken place, for the day before they murdered above ſeventy priſoners, and threw their bodies over the bridge.

" Incloſed is a copy of my anſwer to the propoſals of the inhabitants of this town, tranſmitted in my letter of yeſterday to your lordſhip; the evacuation of the town by the rebels renders it unneceſſary. I have the pleaſure to acquaint your lordſhip, that the ſubſcriber of the inſolent propoſals, Mr. Keugh, and one of their principal leaders, Mr. Roche, with a few others, are in my hands, without negotiation. The rebels are reported to be in ſome force within five miles of this place, it is ſuppoſed, for the purpoſe of ſubmiſſion, to which the event of yeſterday may ſtrengthen their inclinations. I have reaſon to think there are a number ſo diſpoſed, and that I ſhall be able to ſecure ſome more of their leaders; but ſhould I be diſappointed in my expectations, and find they collect in any force, I ſhall loſe no time in attacking them.

I have, &c.

G. LAKE.

Lord viſcount Caſtlereagh.

From enquiry the numbers killed yeſterday were very great indeed.

Camp above Wexford, 22d June, 1798.

Dear General,

" AGREEABLE to your order, I took poſt on the evening of the nineteenth, near Foulke's-mill, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day I ſent a ſtrong detachment under lieutenant colonel Wilkinſon, to patrole towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to ſcour the country, and communicate with the troops you directed to join me from Duncannon. The lieutenant colonel found the country deſerted, and got no tidings of the troops. I waited for them until three o'clock in the afternoon, when, deſpairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile, when a conſiderable body of the rebels was perceived marching towards us. I ſent my advanced guard, conſiſting of the two rifle companies of the 60th, to ſkirmiſh with them, whilſt a howitzer, and a ſix-pounder were advanced to a croſs road above Goff's-bridge, and ſome companies of light infantry formed on each ſide of them under lieutenant colonel Wilkinſon. The rebels

rebels attempted to attack theſe, but were inſtantly repulſed, and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived at the ſame time moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry, and a ſix-pounder, were detached againſt them. The 60th regiment, finding no further oppoſition in front, had, of themſelves, inclined to their left to engage the body which was attempting to turn us. The action here was for a ſhort time pretty ſharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muſkets and pikes. They were, however, forced to give way, and driven, though they repeatedly attempted to form behind the ditches. They at laſt diſperſed, flying towards Enniſcorthy and Wexford. Their killed could not be aſcertained, as they lay ſcattered in the fields over a conſiderable extent; but they ſeemed to be numerous. I incloſe a liſt of ours. The troops behaved with great ſpirit. The artillery, and Hompeſch's cavalry, were active, and ſeemed only to regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual ſervice. Major Daniel is the only officer whoſe wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

"The buſineſs, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight; it was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took poſt for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the ſecond and twenty-ninth regiments under lord Dalhouſie. In the morning of the twenty-firſt we were proceeding to Taghmon, when I was met by an officer of the North Cork from Wexford, with the incloſed letters. I gave, of courſe, no anſwer to the propoſal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take poſt above the town, by which means I have, perhaps, ſaved the town itſelf from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal ſubjects who were priſoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled upon my approach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I ſhall wait here your further orders. Lord Kingſborough has informed me of different engagements he had entered into with reſpect to the inhabitants; I have declined entering into the ſubject, but have referred his lordſhip to you or general Lake.

"I received your pencilled note during the action of the twentieth; it was impoſſible for me then to detach the troops you aſked for; but I hear you have perfectly ſucceeded at Enniſcorthy with thoſe you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, I hear, about five miles off; he ſent lord Kingſborough to ſurrender upon terms. Your preſence ſpeedily is upon every account extremely neceſſary.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

JOHN MOORE.

DURING the action of Foulke's-mill, many of the rebel leaders, among whom father Roche, doctor Caulfield's chaplain, was very conſpicuous, were extremely active in keeping the rebel ſoldiers to their quarters, and in preventing them from flying. They horſewhipped ſome of them, and even fired piſtols at others; in the performance of this ſervice, Roche attempted to horſewhip a proteſtant of the name of Barrington, who was compelled to join them; I have been aſſured by a perſon who ſerved in the rebel army in that action, that the object of father Philip Roche the general, was to attack Roſs when general Johnſon left it; that he ſent one party to Horetown to watch the motions, and engage the attention of general Moore, while the main body proceeded by Cullinſtown-bridge, to the attack

rack of that town. The former, ſuddenly, and unexpectedly came on general Moore, and had a ſkirmiſh with him; which the main body hearing, went to their aſſiſtance, which brought on a general action. Roche intended to have kept one diviſion of his army in the woods of Horetown; the other in thoſe of Roſsgarland; and to have attacked general Moore next morning; but the arrival of the Queen's, and the 29th regiment, to general Moore, deterred him from that attempt. It was much to be lamented, that a gallant officer, major Daniel of the 41ſt regiment then quartered at Liſmore, loſt his life by this action. He volunteered, and ſolicited to be employed againſt the Wexford rebels; and having received a bad wound in the knee, he died of it a few weeks after in Dublin. He diſplayed very great valour both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

3.

A deſcription of the rebel camp on the mountain of Forth, on the thirtieth of May.

PREVIOUS to the evacuation of Wexford, its proteſtant inhabitants dreading that the ſudden and furious aſſault of the rebel army ſtationed on the mountain of Forth, within three miles of it, would be attended with the complete deſtruction of their lives and property, prevailed upon Mr. Loftus Richards and his brother to go to them for the purpoſe of propoſing certain pacific terms; and I give the reader his deſcription of their camp. "On entering, they were ſurrounded by many thouſand vagabonds, of whom they enquired, to whom they ſhould addreſs themſelves as their leaders; and they anſwered, 'To Father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, or Lord Edward Fitzgerald,' as they uſually ſtyled him. They ſoon after met this reverend gentleman, on horſeback, and on communicating to him the object of their miſſion, he ſaid, 'He did not know what terms they could expect from the treatment which he had received; for that, by burning his houſe and property, and obliging him to take ſhelter in the ditches, he was under the neceſſity of raiſing the whole country.' From his ſavage aſpect, they had very great reaſon to be alarmed for their ſafety: they therefore advanced from a crowd, who were debating on putting them to death; and ſent for Mr. Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, another rebel chieftain, who came to them, and treated them with more civility and humanity; and who diſperſed the rabble, telling them at the ſame time, that they ſhould have nothing to do with them. They inſtantly obeyed. He then led them to a miſerable hut at the top of the rocks, which ſeemed to have been appropriated to the double purpoſe of an hoſpital and a place of ſhelter for their leaders; but in the thatch of which there were many holes. Soon after their arrival they were obliged to deliver up their arms and accoutrements. Mr. Robert Carthy, who ſeemed from the authority which he exerciſed, to be chief in command, approached, and aſked them, 'What terms they could expect, when at the moment they were entering into a treaty for ſurrendering the town, there was an army marching againſt them from toward Taghmon? and ſee, ſaid he, pointing to a mob of aſſaſſins, 'where I have my men ready drawn out to attack them.' And they made a moſt extraordinary appearance, being armed with pikes, ſcythes, hay-knives, ſcrapers, currying-knives, and old ruſty bayonets fixed on poles: but a good number of them had muſkets. They expoſtulated with Carthy, and told him they had good authority for ſaying, that the thirteenth regiment, which had advanced as far as Taghmon, had retreated, on hearing of the defeat of a detachment of the Meath regiment; but, to ſatisfy them, they propoſed that Fitzgerald, his brother and himſelf, ſhould take horſes, and

and proceed to meet the regiment, if coming, and to tell colonel Bradſhaw, who commanded it, of the circumſtances as they then ſtood. They advanced within a mile of Taghmon, where they met a large foraging party proceeding to the rebel camp, with from ſix to eight car loads of proviſions, and who declared that the thirteenth had retreated. They then returned ſpeedily to the rebel camp, and made their report; but Carthy came forward again, and ſaid, 'Can theſe men be ſincere? the whole country towards the barony of Forth is in flames!' alluding to the village of Maglaſs, which our retreating army had ſet fire to, as they had been treacherouſly fired on by a party of rebels, who lay in ambuſh there for them. Mr. L. Richards requeſted, if they had any doubts of their ſincerity, that he would remain as an hoſtage with them, while his brother and Mr. Fitzgerald went to Wexford, to which they aſſented. He then remained in the hut, with a guard at the door, and while there he perceived, through a hole in the wall, about a foot ſquare, a great number of men armed with the deſperate weapons which he before deſcribed, inceſſantly marching, except that now and then, they knelt down to pray; and at the end of each prayer, bent their bodies towards the earth, and thruſt the fore finger of the right hand into their mouth, as far as the extremity of the knuckle. When he had remained about three hours in that unpleaſant ſituation, Mr. John Hay came to him, and ſaid, "That the people had agreed, that he had betrayed Fitzgerald, "and therefore, that he muſt be put to death." Mr. Richards inſiſted on the contrary. Mr. Hay went off, returned in about half an hour, and declared, it was univerſally agreed, "That Fitzgerald had either ſold them, or that he had betrayed him." And he ſwore vehemently, that the forces would be marched immediately towards Wexford, which, Mr. Richards ſaid, "would be the beſt thing to prove his ſincerity." In about five minutes after, the whole body of the rebels proceeded towards Wexford; and as they marched, continued to fire muſkets, and give the moſt dreadful yells. They left two ſentinels to guard Mr. Richards; who, in the mean time, examined the wounds of ſix unfortunate wretches, who lay upon ſtraw in the hut, and who, though badly wounded, did not receive any nouriſhment or medical aſſiſtance.

The banditti who marched towards Wexford, could not be leſs than fifteen thouſand men. Mr. Fitzgerald ſent for Mr. Richards, and for a drummer of the Meath militia, that had been cut off that morning. They ſet off with their conductor, and when they had arrived within a quarter of a mile of Wexford, they perceived the rebels flying into the country, in every direction, and the road ſtrewed with their coats, wigs, hats, pikes, muſkets, and other weapons, and men, women, and children, in the greateſt conſternation. On enquiry, he found that their diſmay, and their flight, were occaſioned by the report of a gun, which had been fired at Mr. Sparrow, of Enniſcorthy, a yeoman of diſtinguiſhed loyalty, by a perſon in the van of their army; from which, the rear having been panick ſtruck, fled in the utmoſt confuſion; conceiving that our army had returned and were firing on them. Mr. Richards, on entering the town, ſaw the dead body of Mr. Sparrow lying in the ſtreet, and the rebels engaged in deſtroying the houſe of a watch-maker, whom they branded with the appellation of "orange man." A gentleman who had procured the pardon of one of the unfortunate wretches who attended this camp, aſſured him, that at one time he was almoſt famiſhed; that at another, he was overcome with repletion. That at times, the hunger of the rebel ſoldiers was ſo great, that they uſed to cut off large pieces of fleſh from the body of a bullock, before it was killed, then throw it on a fire, with the hair and ſkin on, and conſumed it before it was half roaſted.

A liſt

4.

A list of persons executed in the town of Wexford, for the crimes of rebellion, murder, &c. from the retaking of the town by the royal army, June the twenty-first, 1798, to the eighteenth of December, 1800.

No.	
1	John Hay
2	Philip Roche, priest
3	Matthew Keugh
4	John Herron
5	Nicholas Cousins
6	Mark Nugent
7	Bartholomew Shea
8	Martin Fenlon
9	Edward Frayne
10	Michael Magee
11	B. Bagenal Harvey
12	Patt. Prendergast
13	Cornelius Grogan
14	John Colclough
15	John Rousfom
16	John Murphy
17	John Whitty
18	James Kelly
19	Patrick Harpur
20	Hugh M'Guire
21	Robert Murphy
22	Esmond Kyan
23	Matthew Ryan
24	Peter Byrne
25	Miles Whelan
26	James D'Arcy
27	Matthew Green, jun.
28	Matthew Mahony
29	Hugh Hughes
30	Patrick Doran
31	Hugh Rooney
32	Stephen Furlong
33	Denis Murphy
34	Redmond Mitchell
35	Michael Donnelly
36	Bartholomew Murphy*
37	William Conners
38	Denis Kehoe
39	Daniel Mooney
40	Phelim Fardy
41	James Beaghan
42	Arthur Murphy
43	James Burkett
44	Francis Cuthbert
45	William Fenlon
46	Patrick Elliott
47	Matthew Furlong
48	Patrick Furlong
49	Michael Dudley
50	Daniel Sullivan
51	John Fitzhenry
52	Michael Patrick
53	Maurice Murphy
54	James Sculley
55	Michael Kelly†
56	Nicholas Walsh
57	Nicholas Parle
58	Thomas Parle
59	James Byrne
60	Andrew Farrell
61	John Dunn
62	Gerald Lacy
63	Mogue Foley
64	Hugh Boulger
65	Patrick Kehoe
66	Edward Stacey

No. 66 was executed for a recent murder; he was not a rebel.

The

* Alias Cormuck.

† So sure were the rebels, that the confiscation of all protestant property would take place, that Michael Kelly, commonly called general Kelly, made a will, by which he left captain Blacker's estate to a relation, in case he should be killed in the rebellion. The will, and father Roche's vestments were found together on Lacken hill, when general Johnson drove the rebels from it.

The reader may form ſome idea of the clemency of government, and of the general officers, from the following proclamation publiſhed a few days after the rebels had perpetrated ſuch barbarities.

Proclamation by lieutenant-general Lake, commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces in Ireland.

TO prevent the further effuſion of blood, the fatal effects of depopulation, and the total deſtruction of property in this once-happy county, the general wiſhes to hold out, to the laſt moment in his power, the means of forgiveneſs, and of returning happineſs, to the unfortunate multitude, who, from ignorance, and the perſuaſion of intereſted, wicked, and deſigning men, have been ſeduced from their allegiance, to riſe in arms and rebellion againſt their ſovereign, and the laws of their country, and to commit acts of murder, cruelty, and depredation, that would diſgrace the moſt ſavage nation. From this horrid ſtate, and from the impending ruin of the county and its inhabitants, the general is moſt anxiouſly deſirous of reſcuing them; and hereby promiſes to all deluded perſons who have yielded to the threats or perſuaſion of the infamous promoters of rebellion, that if they will immediately abandon their wicked courſe, and return as peaceable and good ſubjects to their reſpective homes and occupations, their perſons and property ſhall remain unmoleſted, and in perfect ſecurity from injury. But, as a proof of their ſincere repentance, and deſire to return to their allegiance, they muſt, in the firſt inſtance, and in the courſe of *three days*, from the date hereof, (making allowance for the moſt diſtant parts of the county) deliver up their arms and ammunition, as directed in the notice of the twenty-third inſtant, and hereunto ſubjoined,* and alſo the perſons who have been moſt active in inſtigating or compelling them to engage in the rebellion; or if this is not in their power, they muſt give information where they are moſt likely to be found.

Should the terms here offered not be attended to, it will become the general's indiſpenſable duty totally to deſtroy every town, cottage, and farm-houſe, that ſhall be found unoccupied by the maſters of them, and to put to the ſword every perſon who ſhall be found in arms, or having arms or ammunition in their poſſeſſion.

A ſerious conſideration of this proclamation is recommended to all perſons who have been compelled to join the rebels, and who ſincerely repent their paſt conduct; and they are particularly required to uſe their utmoſt exertions in bringing the deluded people to a ſenſe of the ruinous ſituation into which they have brought the country, and of the only means by which they can reſcue themſelves and their property from the juſt vengeance that muſt be the inevitable conſequence of their not attending to the terms of reconciliation now offered, and the laſt that will be made to them.

Wexford, June 27th, 1798.

* On their delivering their leaders into the hands of the commanding officers of his majeſty's forces, nearеſt to their reſpective ſituations.

5.

A liſt of leaders among the rebels found by general Lake in governor Keugh's houſe.

Colonel Edward Roche, of Garrylough,
Eſmond Kyan, major of brigade,
Colonel Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark,
Colonel John Perry, of Inch,
Captain Nicholas Dixon, of Caſtle-bridge,
Captain Martin Myrna, of Limerick,
Captain Nicholas Murphy, of Moneyſeed,
Captain William Carton, of Ballyclough,
Captain Roſſiter, of Saunders-court,
Father Nicholas Stafford, of River-chapel,
Captain Denis Doyle, } of Gorey,
Captain James Doyle, }
Lieutenant John Tiſſin, of Coolatore,
Captain Martin Quin, of Clough,
Captain Edward Synnot, of Kilruſh,
Captain Philip Murphy, of Peppard's Caſtle-gate. } Co. Wexford.

Captain Patrick Redmond, of Coolgreney,
Captain William Byrne, of Ballymanus,
Captain Holt,
Captain Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus. } Co. Wicklow.

Captain Kelly,
Captain Reynolds. } Co. Kildare.

6.

Affidavit of the burning of the biſhop's palace, and of Mr. Abel Ram's houſe in 1641.

ABEL RAM, of Ramsfort, in the pariſh of Kilmeckeloge, in the barony of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, eſquire, a Britiſh proteſtant, being duly ſworn, depoſeth, That on or about the twenty-firſt of November laſt, about the hour of twelve of the clock in the day time, he, this deponent, was robbed, and loſt,

	£.
Imprimis in corn and hay, - - -	200
Item in cattle, - - - -	130
Item houſehold goods, - - -	250
Item in bonds and mortgages, - - -	500
The whole being	1080

Beſides which he was diſpoſeſſed of freehold lands, being of the value of 1200l. per annum.

By Aneias Kavenagh, of Mullanegraugh, gentleman,
Theobald Mackvadagh, gentleman, of Ballegarrett,
Morriſon Garratt, of Ballyneccolaugh, gentleman,
Donoghoe Kavanagh, of Ballymenan, gentleman,

Owen

Owen Mac Turlaugh, of Balleloghan, gentleman,
Adam Wafer, of the Aſke, gentleman,
Alexander Redmond, of the Ruhin, gentleman,
Donagh Mac Shaneballagh, the prieſt,
John Fitz-James, of Newburrow, gentleman,
Turlagh Darcy, of Glanderan, gentleman,
Shane Sarragh, of Carrybeg, gentleman,
Griffin Kavanagh, of Ballowin, gentleman,
Nicholas Kavanagh, of Coles-hill, gentleman,
Turlagh Mac Enogh, of Mallanegraug, gentleman,
All of the county of Wexford.

ABEL RAM.

Jurat coram nobis, 12*th January*, 1641.
HENRY BRURTON.
WILLIAM HITCHCOCK.

The names of more men who were ſeen by the deponent among other rebels at Limerick.

William Doyle, of Fort-cheſter, gentleman,
Morriſon Vadagh, of Ballantlea, gentleman,
Donnell Roe Mc. Owen, of Ballelogh, gentleman.

ABEL RAM.

Dated the 12*th of January*, 1641.

Jurat coram nobis, 12*th of January*, 1641.
HENRY BRURTON.
WILLIAM HITCHCOCK.

JOHN CLIFFE, late of Courtown, in the county of Wexford, gentleman, ſworn the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1642, before John Watſon, and John Sterne, eſquires, ſaith, he was told for certain truth at Arklow, while he was priſoner there, by divers perſons of undoubted credit, that on the fifth day of March laſt, divers prieſts and friars met at Newburrow, alias Gorey, to burn the library of biſhop Ram, late biſhop of Ferns and Laughlin; and while the books were burning, a ſwarm of bees came in at the windows of the room where they were, and ſtung and frighted the prieſts and friars out of the room.

JOHN CLIFFE.

7.

County of Sligo, to wit. WILLIAM STINSON, of Ballekillcaſh, in the pariſh of Killmeckſhalgan in ſaid county, gentleman, came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That he was taken priſoner at his own houſe, on Saturday the eighth day of September laſt, about the hour of four o'clock in the afternoon, by two men of the name of Rogan and Gillaſpy, as deponent was informed, both armed with a gun and ſword, and that they conveyed him to Ballina, in ſaid county, and confined him in the houſe of the right honourable Henry King; that during his confinement, a popiſh prieſt of the name of Cowley, came into the room where this deponent was confined, and ſaid, "Orange, lie down," and "Croppies, riſe up;" ſaying alſo, to the priſoners who were confined there, and who were of the proteſtant religion, "You are a parcel of

 hereticks,

heretieks, you have no more religion than pigs; you will be put to death with the greateſt torture before ten o'eloek to-morrow;" and that the ſaid prieſt at the ſame time ſtruek a Mr. Robert Atkinſon, of Ballybeg, as a heretiek; and ſaid, at the ſame time, that if he had Robert Atkinſon, of Eaſky, he would ſkin him alive.

WILLIAM STINSON.

Sworn before me this 2d day of June, 1799,
ROBERT HILLAS.

County of Sligo, to wit. THE information of John Armſtrong, of Ballymooney, and pariſh of Eaſky, in ſaid county. Deponent eame before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, that he was taken priſoner on Thurſday or Friday, the ſeventh or eighth of September laſt, near Eaſky aforeſaid, by a number of armed rebels who conveyed him to the houſe of the right honourable colonel King, at Ballina in ſaid eounty; that during his eonfinement, father Cowley, a popiſh prieſt, eame into the room where this deponent was, with many other proteſtants who were confined there, about the hour of twelve o'eloek at night; and that he aſked if the pareel of orange hereticks were there, and ſaid, "Lie down, orange," and, Riſe up, croppy," or words to that effect; and that the ſaid prieſt, ſtamping on the ground in a violent angry manner, ſaid, "You parcel of heretieks, have no more religion than a pareel of pigs; I do not know whether you will be put to death before ten o'cloek to-morrow, by being burned with barrels of tar, or by pikes, or by balls;" adding "that the latter would not get room on your bodies;" and that deponent ſaw the ſaid prieſt ſtrike Robert Atkinſon of Ballybeg in ſaid pariſh, as a heretiek; and that the ſaid prieſt ſaid, if he had Robert Atkinſon of Eaſky in his poſſeſſion, he would ſkin him alive.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Sworn before me this 1ſt day of June, 1799,
ROBERT HILLAS.

County of Sligo, to wit. ROBERT ATKINSON, of Ballybeg, in the pariſh of Eaſky, in ſaid county, gentleman, eame before me this day, and maketh oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That after his houſe was deſtroyed by the rebels, he lay in a neighbouring cabin, in order to bring off his family next day, but was taken priſoner about ſun-riſe on Saturday the eighth of September laſt, as he beſt reeollects, by a body of armed rebels, to the number of ten or twelve, headed by two eaptains, namely, Thady Murray and Francis Finigan, who brought him direetly to Ballina on foot, and would not let him take a horſe, and confined him in the houſe of eolonel King, in Ballina, where he remained that night; that prieſt Cowley eame before ſun-riſe next morning into the room where he was confined; when he eame into the room he called for the guard, the guard anſwered, and he deſired the guard to take very good eare of theſe priſoners; that Mr. Atkinſon, thinking he was a pariſh prieſt, and that he might have ſome influenee on him; but inſtead of ſhaking hands with him, he ſtruek him with a ſtick aeroſs the head, and deſired them all to be prepared, and that he would have them all burned in four hours after.

ROBERT ATKINSON.

Sworn before me this 3d day of June, 1799,
ROBERT HILLAS.

In

8.

In the begining of September, and ſoon after the French landed, the following denunciation was poſted up on the church of Killyſhee, in the county of Weſtmeath, by the rebels:

TAKE Notice, heretick uſurpers, that the brave ſlaves of this iſland will no longer lie in bondage; the die is caſt, our deliverers are come, and the royal brute who held the iron rod of deſpotick tyranny is expiring; nor ſhall *one* govern. Our holy old religion ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in *this houſe*, and the earth ſhall no longer be burthened with *bloody hereticks*, who under the pretence of rebellion, (which they themſelves have raiſed) mean to maſſacre us.

The Fleur de lis and harp we will diſplay,
While tyrant hereticks ſhall mould to clay.

REVENGE! REVENGE! REVENGE!

9.

Extract of a letter from a R miſh prieſt, written to an eminent attorney in Dublin, who has the original.

SIR,

YOU no doubt muſt be ſurpriſed to find yourſelf addreſſed by one who has not the honour of your acquaintance; however, if you will arm yourſelf with patience, to hear a long ſtory, I will endeavour to introduce myſelf to you. Sir, I am a Romiſh prieſt. Impoſed upon by the example of my biſhop, I ſaid maſs at the rebel camp; my behaviour during the time was ſuch, that I am neither ſorry for, nor aſhamed of it. I ſaved from twenty to thirty lives, who will make affidavit of it in any court; and this I look upon to be more meritorious, (at leaſt in the ſight of God,) than running away like many others, who now make ſuch a boaſt of their loyalty. As a proof of the publick goodwill towards me, my chapel has never been inſulted, though ſituated in the moſt publick place in the county. On the return of the king's government, my firſt concern was to obtain his majeſty's pardon, for that degree of rebellion of which I was guilty, which (long may he live!) I obtained without any difficulty; but gueſs, ſir, my aſtoniſhment at receiving a letter from my biſhop, ſilencing me from my clerical function in this dioceſe, when his own conduct was what chiefly led me aſtray, (if I except the degree of terror the rebels put me into after the government was upſet all round me,) for during the ferment, which preceded the exploſion, he never inſtructed me how to act. Inſtead of excommunicating them for their horrid rebellion, he gave them his benediction in the chapel-yard, the day they took two days before they called on me to follow them. *Inſtead of excommunicating the barbarous murders at he gave all his prieſts power to give abſolution for murder; a power which he ever till then reſerved to himſelf.* Even the laſt battle in this county was fought by his direction, and the prieſt who ſerved as his aid-de-camp on the occaſion, he kept in his houſe till laſt ſpring, when he was obliged to ſmuggle him out of the county, otherwiſe he would have fallen a victim to outraged juſtice; and indeed it is of but little avail to me, that the king ſhould grant me both my life and liberty, if he ſuffers this gentleman to ſtarve me

me. I have been at great expence to qualify myſelf, to live by the goſpel, and am now too old to embark in any other line, to procure myſelf bread. Hence I conceive, (and am adviſed thereto,) that the laws of my country will procure me redreſs; nor do I think it a weak argument in proof of my loyalty, that I am the firſt prieſt who has appealed to the laws of my own country, in preference to a foreign juriſdiction. My loſſes on his account, to the preſent day, I ſtate at one hundred and ſix guineas. I therefore, ſir, beſeech you, to take my caſe in hands, and if you find me law, I will find you money.

Auguſt 30th, 1799. SIR,

Your very humble and obedient ſervant.

THE CATECHISM OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN,

Publiſhed and circulated ſince the rebellion was put down, for the purpoſe of keeping the flame of it alive.

I BELIEVE in the IRISH UNION, in the ſupreme majeſty of the people, in the equality of man, in the lawfulneſs of inſurrection, and of reſiſtance to oppreſſion. I believe in a revolution founded on the rights of man, in the natural and impreſcriptable right of *all* the Iriſh citizens to all the land. I believe the ſoil, or any part of it, cannot be transferred without the conſent of the people, or their repreſentatives, convened and authoriſed, by the votes of every man having arrived at the age of twenty-one years. I believe the land, or any of it, cannot become the property of any man, but by purchaſe, or as rewards for forwarding and preſerving the publick liberty. I believe our preſent connexion with England muſt be ſpeedily diſſolved. I believe that old age, pregnant women, and labour ſhould be honoured. I believe that TREASON is the crime of betraying the people. I believe religious diſtinctions are only protected by tyrants. I believe applying the lands of the church to relieve old age, to give education and protection to infancy, will be more acceptable to an united people, than maintaining lazy hypocrites and ravenous tythe-gatherers.

In this faith I mean to live, or bravely die.

Q. What are you?

A. An Iriſhman.

Q. As an Iriſhman, what do you hope for?

A. The emancipation of my country, and equality of rights, a fair diviſion of the land, an abolition of religious eſtabliſhments, and a repreſentative government.

Q. What benefit do you propoſe to your country, by what you call emancipation?

A. Deliverance from the odious influence of England, and that domeſtick tyranny it generated, which is calculated to corrupt our morals, impoveriſh our people, and retard our induſtry?

Q. How do you conceive this?

A. By the innumerable injuries we experience from England—ſhe ſhuts us out from any mercantile connexion with the world, while ſhe tells us we are an independent

pendent people; ſhe foſters eſtabliſhments in our iſland, contrived to make her agents in the land her friends and our oppreſſors.

Q. How are Iriſh morals injured by England?

A. By monopolizing the trade of the world, and confining us to deal only with her.

Q. Does that affect your morals?

A. Yes, her contrivance leaves us at her mercy: ſhe ſells to us at her own prices, ſhe deprives us of the choice of other markets, either to buy or ſell; by ſuch means ſhe has the command of all our produce; we buy dear and ſell cheap; conſequently we are poor, and poverty begets crimes, as Job ſays, "Lord, make me not poor, leſt I ſhould ſteal."

Q. What other reaſons have you againſt Engliſh connections, and what other proofs have you of its influence on your morals?

A. England has organized a kind of legiſlators here, devoted to her intereſts, and holding their power and influence at her will.

Q. Explain yourſelf.

A. Thoſe law-makers are land-holders, all of one trade, which in itſelf is criminal; as men making laws, being of one profeſſion, will always be unanimous in promoting the welfare of a particular object. A legiſlative aſſembly of tanners would make leather dear; of weavers, would encreaſe the price of cloth; of ſchool-maſters, would monopolize inſtruction. Our law-makers contrive to make ſpirituous liquors in more general uſe than bread, they are conſtantly canting on the drunkenneſs of the people, and take no pains to diſcourage diſtillation, as it raiſes the value of their lands, under the pretext of promoting the revenue. They encourage grazing and the exportation of cattle; they ſell the draught and accuſe us of drunkenneſs; they export our raw materials; they ſay we are idlers, and mock our poverty; they import tobacco for our uſe, and export our beef and butter: Thus the neceſſaries of life are put out of our reach, to promote their own ends, and a poiſonous plant given us for the ſame purpoſes.

Q. What advantage can our poverty be to our law-makers?

A. By being poor we muſt be on the alert, to procure the neceſſaries of life, which makes true the old maxim, they keep us poor and buſy. Our time will be ſpent ſtudying to avoid want, inſtead of enquiring the cauſe of it, for enquiry is dangerous to tyranny?

Q. What benefit in a general ſenſe, would emancipation be?

A. Ireland delivered from England, would give us immenſe reſources, innumerable means of employing our people, would extend our trade and agriculture, we could have the ſugars of the Weſt-Indies, ſeventy per cent. cheaper, from the Danes, the Dutch, or the French, than we can get them from the retail market of England. The teas, and produce of the Indies, we could alſo have, in the ſame advantageous manner, from the ſame nations, or from the Americans, or by a direct importation; other branches of trade and other ſources of riches and employments would unfold themſelves to independent Ireland, now impoſſible to enumerate?

Q. What is meant by equality?

A. Men being born equal, is evident to every underſtanding. If the Creator intended any ſuperior rank among men, it is that of ſuperior abilities or ſuperior virtue; if he intended any other nobility than the noble of nature, we ſhould ſee noblemen, not the ſame impotent, ignorant, vicious, and untaught creatures, ſo common among the artificial orders. We ſhould have them born without wanting any of thoſe acquirements

quirements that appear ſo neceſſary to every rank, which is the reſult of edious inſtruction, and perſevering induſtry, their childhood would be diſtinguiſhed by a knowledge of every talent that is known or valued; they would come into the world finiſhed ſtateſmen, orators, mathematicians, generals, dancing-maſters, hair-dreſſers, taylors, &c. nay, they would come from the womb covered with embroidery, ribbons, ſtars, and coronets.

Q. Not appearing in infancy to have any viſible or mental acquirements, more than other mortals, you think is an argument to defend the opinions of thoſe who are advocates for equality?

A. Undoubtedly. Many perſons in Ireland may remember men who are ranked as nobility, to be raiſed by accidental circumſtances from the loins of footmen, low tradeſmen, and infamous gamblers; the whole of them may be ſaid, within the laſt century, to be the deſcendants of Engliſh ruffians, adventurers, whoſe crimes or obſcurity denied them a livelihood in their own country, but were the cruel agents of foreign force or foreign ſeduction. The origin of nobles in every country is the ſame, but time and revolutions have concealed their hateful origin.

Q. What inconvenience do Iriſhmen find by the privileged orders?

A. We have manifold complaints againſt the unnatural inſtitution; they are an aſſociation in alliance with the common enemy. They conſider the people as an inferior and degraded maſs, only made for their amuſement or convenience, to dig, plow, or enliſt whenever the tyrant's amuſement or ambition, is the mode. They influence the whole race of land-holders, who are their creatures or admirers, whoſe conduct, honour, and religion is regulated by an uniform compliance, that will promiſe a hope of arriving at the rank and emoluments that are at the diſpoſal of the plunderers of the people.

Q. Do you mean an equality of property as a part of your ſyſtem?

A. By no means; 'tis too abſurd to imagine: I mean only an equality of rights, that is, that every man is eligible to publick employment, whoſe honeſty and abilities, are approved of by his countrymen; that no man ſhould be deprived of his liberty or property by any others, of ſuppoſed ſuperiority of rank; that every man, however rich, however connected, ſhould be as amenable to the laws, and as ſubject to puniſhment as the meaneſt; that labour, honeſty, and publick virtue ſhould be protected, and ſhould be the teſts of ſuperiority.

Q. What good could a fair diviſion of the land be to Ireland?

A. As the land and its produce was intended for the uſe of man, it is unfair for fifty or an hundred men, to poſſeſs what is for the ſubſiſtence of near five millions: it expoſes the great body of the people to every want and every miſery. It is a blaſphemy to ſay the preſent landholders in Ireland, are to be the "lords of the ſoil." The Almighty intended all mankind to lord the ſoil. As man cannot in the preſent improved manners of life, do without ſhoes, cloaths, or food, which are produced from the graſs and corn, ſurely it is unfair that one or one hundred, ſhould hold in their hands thoſe neceſſaries which none ought to want; it is not poſſible that God can be pleaſed to ſee a whole nation depending on the caprice and pride of a ſmall faction, who can deny the common property in the land to his people, or at leaſt tell them, how much they ſhall eat, and what kind; and how much they ſhall wear, and what kind. As we every day experience from the hands of theſe cruel uſurpers, who have formed themſelves into a corporation of law-makers, and are conſtantly exporting our proviſions, or curtailing its growth, on the horrid policy of preſerving ſubordination, by degrading our characters, and forcing on us every ſervile occupation to earn a ſcanty livelihood in a country capable of the greateſt plenty.

Q. How

Q. How would you alter the property in land, and preſerve the country from anarchy?

A. By dividing the ancient eſtates among the deſcendants of thoſe Iriſh families, who were pillaged by Engliſh invaders,* giving to every perſon without exception, a competent ſhare to enable him or her to get a comfortable livelihood; this proviſion not to extend to any perſon who impeded the deliverance of the country by cowardice or treachery. The remainder to be ſold by public cant, and the money applied to paying off the debts contracted by the former confederacy, and for rewarding the citizens who fought for their country, and providing for their wives and mothers, and giving education to their children and infant relations.

Q. What is your view by wiſhing to aboliſh religious eſtabliſhments?

A. To eradicate every reaſon of jealouſy and diſtruſt, to eaſe the nation of a uſeleſs and weighty body, formed of hypocrites and cheats.

Q. How would this provide againſt jealouſy and diſtruſt?

A. As every man has a right to make uſe of any form of worſhip he thinks moſt acceptable to his Creator, it is unfair to tax him for the maintenance of an order he does not acknowledge, and cannot approve of. It is unjuſt to take his property, his corn, his cattle, his hay and potatoes, to maintain a man he can do without, or perhaps abhors. The ſyſtem of tythes forces a man's property from his family, to apply it to the uſe of a diſorderly idler, or uſeleſs fool, protected by power, often uniting every vice that diſfigures ſociety, under the ſpecious cloke of religion. By leaving every miniſter of religion on the bounty of his hearers, you generally find the people chooſe men of education and morals, as objects of their eſteem. If there were no other advantages than that of adding the church lands to the national ſtock, and relieving the people from tythes, it would be of ſufficient utility to aboliſh church eſtabliſhments.

Q. Let me hear your reaſons for a repreſentative government?

A. By giving a power of voting to every man who has not forfeited his right by any crime, you create ſuch an immenſe number of electors, that no candidate can ever purchaſe their ſuffrage.

Q. Would that be ſufficient to promote your plan?

A. No, I mention it as the firſt towards true repreſentation; beſides the juſtice of univerſal ſuffrage, it has that beauty which muſt make every man its advocate.

Q. How would the poor ſee the advantage of it?

A. As every man, in a free ſtate, votes to ſecure his liberty and property; the poor man has but his labour, yet it is to him a property, he ſhould have repreſentatives, who would be careful of the value of labour, and watch with a vigilant eye, the different and combining circumſtances occurring in legiſlative aſſemblies, leſt the labour, or employments of the artizan or huſbandman ſhould be made uncertain, or unfaſhionable.

Q. Should there be any qualification for a repreſentative?

A. None but honeſty, and abilities, as every man ſhould be eligible.

Q. Might not a repreſentative betray the truſt repoſed in him, and be an accomplice in the deſtruction of his country?

A. By limiting the exiſtence of repreſentative aſſemblies, to one or two years, the people have a frequent check on the conduct of their repreſentatives, and ſhould any diſpleaſe by ignorant, or treacherous conduct, he could be replaced; by that

* This idea makes popery worſe and more dangerous to the ſtate in Ireland than in any other country in Europe.

means corruption or tyranny could be prevented, as near as human wiſdom can deviſe.

Q. Were we to regain our freedom, would not the power of England be dangerous to our exiſtence as a free ſtate?

A. By no means. As power principally conſiſts in population, her population cannot be ſo formidable, as to hazard our ſafety.

Q. Why ſhe has a more numerous people?

A. She has, in the iſland of Great Britain about ſeven millions, we have near five, ſhe could not ſend her ſeven millions on an invaſion; though we could fight our whole population againſt the redundancy of hers, as we could be on the defenſive.

Q. But ſhe has a navy?

A. Her navy could make little impreſſion on Ireland; a navy may cover a débarkation of troops, and ſupport them while within the reach of the ſhips guns; but after that, any number of troops, however well appointed, though all the navies of Europe were employed in conveying them, would be a very inſufficient force, to conquer the united people of Ireland, fighting for a valuable country, and a more valuable independence.

Q. Would not the navy of England deſtroy our trade?

A. We have no trade, nor have we foreign poſſeſſions, ſo we have nothing to apprehend on that account.

Q. Would not blocking up our ports be ſome inconvenience?

A. None, as our miſerable and confined commerce is calculated rather to injure the poor, the ſuppreſſing of it would be beneficial in a ſtate of hoſtility; our exports are neceſſaries of life, taken from them who labour; and our imports luxuries to pamper the idle. Were the corn, cattle and butter kept at home, and wines, teas, ſugar and tobacco, kept away, we need not be much alarmed at the naval conſequence of England.

Q. How ſhall we arrive at the bleſſings ſo certain from independence?

A. By a union of *all* the people.

Q. Do you mean the privileged orders in this union?

A. No; were we to wait their concurrence, our delivery would be as diſtant as the general death of nature.

Q. Who do you mean ſhould compoſe this favourite object?

A. Every man that is oppreſſed, every man that labours, every honeſt man of every religion, every man who loves, and whoſe love of his country raiſes the human mind above other trifling diſtinctions, and loſes the petty notions of ſects, in name of Iriſhman.

ESTO PERPETUA.

ADDITIONAL

ADDITIONAL APPENDIX.

No. XXI. 10.

The deſcent made by James Napper Tandy, at Rutland in the county of Donegal.

Rutland, ſix o'clock P. M. Sunday, Sept. 16th, 1798.

SIR,

ABOUT twelve o'clock a French brig came into this harbour, and immediately landed a number of men and officers, *Napper Tandy* at their head; they immediately enquired for the poſt-office, and came and poſted a centinel on the door to prevent my ſending off immediately; they demanded *(though very politely)* ſome victuals, with which they were furniſhed; I had a good deal of converſation with Tandy; when they found that their friends here had ſurrendered and were made priſoners of war, they ſeemed a good deal confounded, and after taking a ſlight repaſt re-embarked.

Tandy informed me that they came on a mere experiment, to try the pulſe of the people, about which he particularly enquired; I reported this neighbourhood as far as I knew to be weaned from French principles, &c. at which he ſeemed ſurpriſed; he ſays the French will never make peace with England, until Ireland is made free and independent.

They behaved very politely and paid for all they took.

The brig they came in is called the Anacreon, about twelve days from Breſt; they ſaw ſeveral Engliſh cruiſers, but out-ſailed them all.

I have ſent expreſſes to Ballyſhannon and Letterkenny.—They intend returning to France directly; they came north about by Scotland. Encloſed is a paper, A. ſeveral of which I underſtand they have diſtributed; alſo a certificate, B. ſigned by the officers, exonerating me from cenſure for admitting them into my houſe.

We have not any kind of armed military force nearer us than Letterkenny, about twenty-five miles.

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient Servant,
FRANCIS FOSTER, Dep. P. M. Rutland.

John Lees, Eſq;

Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country; your friends have fallen a ſacrifice to their devotion for your cauſe; their ſhadows are around you and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death; it is your duty to ſtrike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends. Liſten to no propoſals, Iriſhmen, wage a war of extermination againſt your oppreſſors, the war of liberty againſt tyranny, and liberty ſhall triumph.

J. N. TANDY.

B.

Rutland Iſland, 30th Fructidor.

HAVING landed from on board the Anacreon (a republican veſſel from the coaſt of France) on Rutland iſland, and being in want (for the time) of accommodations, we were under the neceſſity of putting the citizen Foſter, poſtmaſter of that town or iſland, under requiſition, and prevented him from ſending off his packet; we at the ſame time diſcharged every obligation, and paid for whatever we took from ſaid place.

AMEIL, *colonel, aid de camp du gl. Desjardin.*

TANDY, *general of brigade and commander of the expedition.*

C. LUXEMBURG, *capt. d'artillir.*

REY.

BLACKWELL, *adjutant general.*

LE DUC, *capitne.*

JOSEPH, *capt. et aid de camp.*

J. N. Tandy was arreſted at Hamburgh, with two more Iriſh rebels, and conveyed to Ireland, where he was indicted for high treaſon, at the Spring aſſizes of 1801, held for the county of Donegal, at Lifford, and, having pleaded guilty, he obtained the royal mercy, on condition of tranſporting himſelf.

11.

A paſtoral letter to the catholic clergy of the united dioceſſes of Waterford and Liſmore, by the right reverend Thomas Huſſey, D. D.

This inflammatory production, entitled a paſtoral letter, was publiſhed at the ſpring aſſizes of Waterford in the year 1797, when the baneful doctrines of the united Iriſhmen were ſpreading faſt in that county. A few days after its publication, doctor Huſſey made a viſitation through his dioceſe, and immediately after the popiſh multitude began to commit robbery and aſſaſſination, which appears in Appendix, XI.

Dearly beloved brethren in Chriſt,

IN theſe critical and awful times, when opinions ſeem ſpreading over this iſland of a novel and dangerous tendency—when the remnants of old oppreſſion, and new principles, which tend to anarchy, are ſtruggling for victory, and which in the coliſion may produce the ruin of religion; when a moral earthquake ſhakes all Europe, I felt no ſmall affliction and alarm, upon receiving the ſuperior command of the head of

of the church,* to preſide over the catholics of theſe united dioceſſes, upon the death of your moſt venerable and ever to be regretted prelate, your late biſhop.

In the midſt of theſe fears and alarms, it was a great conſolation to me, to be aſſured of the piety, zeal, and loyalty of the clergy under my ſpiritual care; and that their exertions were conſtantly employed to keep the laity within the bounds of religion, morality, and decorum.† That no part of Ireland was more exempt from turbulence, and inſubordination to the laws, than this diſtrict; and that the memory of the legal injuſtices and cruelties formerly practiſed in this country, by men who made religious diſtinctions a ſtalking horſe for political purpoſes, is completely and happily effaced, I hope, for ever.

It is upon you, very reverend, and dearly beloved brethren, that, under God, my reliance is, that the catholic faith will produce its happy effects, in mending and improving the morals of the flock which I commit to your care reſpectively. Let me beſeech you, to attach yourſelves to them, by frequently inſtructing and exhorting them, eſpecially as often as you approach the ſacred altar; and certainly you cannot fail to attach them to you by ſuch a pious, exemplary, and zealous conduct. Do not permit yourſelves to be made the inſtruments of the rich of this world, who will try, by adulation, and poſſibly by other means, to make inſtruments of you, over the poor, for their own temporal purpoſes, and perhaps to render your ſacred miniſtry odious to them. The poor were always your friends—they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worſt of times They ſhared their ſcanty meal with you, and with your predeceſſors; and thereby preſerved a ſucceſſion of ſpiritual paſtors throughout the kingdom. If they had acted otherwiſe, conformed to the errors of the nation,‡ and imitated the conduct of the rich, who not only ſhut their doors againſt you, but not unfrequently hunted you like wild beaſts,‖ I ſhould not be able to addreſs the preſent reſpectable body of clergy, under my ſpiritual authority. Such a conſideration cannot fail to enliven your zeal, and, with affectionate attachment towards them, to impel you to inſtruct them in their duties, to reſtrain their errors, and to correct their vices—*Argue obſecra increpa, in omni patientia, & doctrina.* —Upon all proper occaſions, *ſpeak to them the words of eternal life*, without fear, or deference, towards the enemies of our holy faith. The paſtor, who doth not act in this manner towards his flock, hath loſt the grace of his vocation, or perhaps he never received it from God. He is the mercenary ſhepherd, deſcribed in the ſcripture, who, upon ſeeing the wolf, runs away, and abandons his flock, an eaſy prey to him.

At the ſame time that I charge you to avoid all political interferences, as unworthy the miniſters of him, *whoſe kingdom is not of this world*,§ I call upon you to ſtand firm againſt all attempts, which may be made, under various pretexts, to withdraw any of your flock from the belief and practice of the catholick religion. Remonſtrate with any parent, who will be ſo criminal as to expoſe his offspring to thoſe places of education,

* Ireland is the only country in Europe in which the pope claims and exerciſes the excluſive inveſtiture of biſhopricks.

† The doctor could not but have known at that time, that the popiſh clergy had engaged in the ſervice of the united Iriſhmen, and that they were ſecretly promoting thoſe outrages, which broke out ſoon after in every part of Munſter.

‡ How inſolent! to call the national religion the errors of the nation; which in any other country would be conſidered and puniſhed as a crime.

‖ A moſt infamous falſehood, fabricated to excite the fanatical hatred of the prieſts and their flock againſt the proteſtant ſtate, and the members of the eſtabliſhed church,, whom he afterwards ſtigmatizes as *the enemies of his holy faith*.

§ By this he means our Saviour, to whom the pope is ſuppoſed to be ſucceſſor; but the reader will perceive how widely different he is in his arrogant and ambitious claim of temporal power in page 17 of the text.

tion, where his religious faith or morals are likely to be perverted.* If he will not attend to your remonſtrances, refuſe him the participation of Chriſt's body: if he ſtill ſhould continue obſtinate, denounce him to the church, in order that, according to Chriſt's commandment, *he be conſidered as a heathen and a publican.*

If, in any of your diſtricts, the catholic military frequent proteſtant places of worſhip, it is your duty to expoſtulate with them, and to teach them how contrary to the principles of the catholick faith it is, exteriorly to profeſs one faith, and interiorly to believe another. That ſuch hypocriſy, even in the eyes of the world, is mean and puſillanimous, as well as odious and abominable in the ſight of God. That the military garb they wear implies a manly candour, that abhors ſuch duplicity. That this manly candour is peculiarly the character of an Iriſh ſoldier, who ought not to be aſhamed of openly profeſſing the catholick religion—*the religion of Iriſhmen.* Inſtruct them, that in all matters regarding the ſervice of the king, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey: but in matters regarding the ſervice of the king of kings, their officers have no authority over them. Their perſonal religion is their own natural, uncontroulable, impreſcriptible right, ſubject to the ſpiritual authority of the catholick church, and in which the laws of the land cannot enjoy a coercive authority. In all temporal matters, they are ſubject to their temporal rulers. In all ſpiritual matters, they are ſubject to their ſpiritual rulers Theſe two authorities, like parallel lines in mathematicks, can never touch each other. By the ſmalleſt declination, they loſe even their names. Guard them from being deluded by the hacknied phraſe of "Liberality of ſentiment." Surely liberality of ſentiment does not conſiſt in holding all creeds, and all forms of worſhip, to be equal! He who thus expreſſes himſelf, is a latitudinarian, who deſpiſes all creeds—all forms of worſhip! The man of true liberality, is he, who conſcientiouſly believes, and ſcrupulouſly follows, that creed and form of worſhip, which is conformable to his conſcience, yet lives in charity—in concord—in amity with all others, of every religious perſuaſion. The man of true liberality, is he, who employs his conſcience as the helm with which he ſteers in his religious voyage, leaving others to ſteer theirs by a ſimilar guide. The man of true liberality, is he, with whom a difference in religious opinions, makes no difference in ſocial life,—living in equal harmony with all, and frequently beſtowing more kindneſs, and more bounty, upon thoſe who differ from him in religious opinions when they want it more, than upon thoſe of his own communion. The man of true liberality, is he, who, when raiſed above the reſt, to govern a great people, ſcorns to attend to the paltry diſtinctions of ſect or party—ſpurns from his preſence thoſe intereſted adviſers of a dangerous faction, who would diſhonour him, and abuſe the ſacred name of majeſty, to enrich themſelves; but, like a true patriot, raiſes to power and influence, thoſe whom, in his conſcience, he thinks of moſt ability and integrity, to ſerve king and country. To ſum up the whole, the truly liberal man, is he, who makes his religion the guide for his own perſonal and private conduct, and not a rule to guide—to govern—or to compel others to act againſt their conſcience, and their religion.

The many compulſory means lately employed (and ſeveral inſtances of them within this very dioceſs, not many days ſince), to drive the catholick military to proteſtant places of worſhip,† alarmed the *true* friends to the king and his ſervice, and every well-

* Previous to the publication of this, many popiſh children attended the free ſchool at Waterford, but as ſoon as it appeared, they were withdrawn, and it occaſioned a coolneſs and diſunion between the proteſtants and papiſts of Waterford, between whom a friendly and ſocial intercourſe had unremittingly ſubſiſted. Such is the liberality of father Huſſey!

† This was a groſs falſehood, calculated to inflame the popiſh military againſt their officers. The officer commanding at Waterford wrote a note to doctor Huſſey, to give one inſtance of the kind, but he never anſwered it; and the tranſaction was publiſhed in the public prints.

well-wiſher to the peace and quiet of the country. Such unwarrantable ſteps could not make proſelytes of the catholick military—it might in time, make them indifferent to all forms of worſhip, and thereby jacobinize them upon the French ſcale, and perhaps, in the hour of danger, induce them to forget their duty, and their loyalty, in order to be revenged of their perſecutors.*

Oh, how different are the principles of a catholick ſoldier, educated in the belief, and living in the full exerciſe of his religion!† He clearly convinces his countrymen, that military valour is not inconſiſtent with religious piety; but that, on the contrary, they are natural allies. That, when called to protect and defend his country, he is fearleſs, and intrepid, in the midſt of danger: His boſom glowing with this conſideration, that his death upon his poſt promotes him to a ſuperior poſt in eternity. The unbeliever, who ſees nothing beyond the grave, more naturally ſhrinks from the danger of his diſſolution; or, if he ſeems to aſſume courage, it is either the brutal inſenſibility of his temper, or an artificial maſk, which he puts on, to ſcreen him from the contempt which is ſure to follow cowardice. But the courage and intrepidity of a true catholick, in the diſcharge of his duty, is a calm, heroic intrepidity, which ſees the danger in his road, but ſees immortality beyond it. He marches courageouſly on, ſure that if he falls, it is to riſe again beyond the grave. But when the unbeliever ſees the danger, he ſees nothing beyond it; and thinks, that if he falls, that moment puts a final, and fatal period, to all his ſchemes of ambition—of fortune—and pleaſure, and that he *ſinks into eternal night*—never—never to riſe again. Surely ſuch an impious idea is capable of tranſmuting even a naturally brave man into a cowardly ſlave. Let me ſay all, in one ſentence. Thoſe ſentiments of intrepidity—of fidelity—of honour, which high birth, and poliſhed education, impreſs upon thoſe of an elevated ſphere in life, cannot be ſuperior to the ſentiments of fidelity, of courage, and of honour, which the catholick religion, *if ſincerely believed, and pioufly practiſed*, would inſpire into the loweſt in the ranks; and who, if his duty calls him, would ſhew a courage and intrepidity equal to Alexander and Cæſar; and as unſullied loyalty and integrity as thoſe ſtateſmen and generals who regulate kingdoms, or who defend them.

In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, avoid intermixing the politicks of the world, with the ſublime and heavenly maxims of the catholick religion—they have not the ſmalleſt connection with each other. The one is ſpiritual—the other is temporal: the one regards the tranſitory affairs of this world—the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the catholick faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people, ſo it is ſuitable to all climes, and all forms of government—monarchies or republicks—ariſtocracies or democracies. Deſpotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the catholick faith.‡ It may well ſuit a ſmall ſect to regulate its creed and form of worſhip, according to the ſhape and form of government of the limited boundaries where that ſect aroſe, exiſts, and dies away.‖ Not ſo the religion, which the prophet foretold ſhould extend from the riſing to the ſetting ſun, which has been propagated and promulged from

* In developing the myſteries of the conſpiracy, it appeared that ſuch of the popiſh militia and yeomanry as had been ſeduced, were to have murdered their officers in action.

† One would ſuppoſe that he had in contemplation thoſe pious heroes of the cruſade, which took place afterwards in the year 1798, and who ſhewed that they were educated in the true belief, and lived in the full exerciſe of their religion, by their achievments at Vinegar-hill, Scullabogue, Gorey, and Wexford bridge.

‡ He and doctor Troy endeavoured to evince in their paſtoral letters, that the popiſh religion was well ſuited to republick, the eſtabliſhment of which was the main object of the united Iriſhmen.

‖ Here he throws a ſtigma on the eſtabliſhed religion, and predicts its downfall, at the ſame time that here preſents the popiſh ſuperſtition as univerſal, and riſing on its downfall.

from Peru to China, from the Eaſt to the Weſt Indies, from Pole to Pole—teaching the ſame doctrine—adminiſtering the ſame ſacraments, and offering up the adorable ſacrifice of the redeemer, wherever man is found, and God adored. It is therefore called the *catholick*, or univerſal religion. It may well ſuit the laity of your reſpective diſtricts, to purſue their temporal concerns, and their temporal politicks, by ſuch ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal; and their paſt conduct is a proof that they are incapable of purſuing them by any other means If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worſt of times—if, even when religious penalties made them total ſtrangers in their native land—if, when the ruling party, with inſolence in their looks, and oppreſſion in their hands, ground them down—when ſome of the moſt powerful men in the nation declared in the ſenate, that they hoped to ſee the day when no catholic would dare ſpeak to a proteſtant with his hat * on—when, even the courſe of juſtice was perverted, and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who ſat on the bench, and were paid for the impartial adminiſtration of it, by taxes levied upon the oppreſſed ſufferers—yet, even in theſe provoking times, if the body of catholicks remained inflexibly attached to their religion, and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but alſo a great part of theſe impolitick religious penalties are removed, and the reſt of them in ſuch a ſtate of progreſs to be totally removed? That however a JUNTO, for their own intereſted, or other ſiniſter views, may raiſe mobs to try to throw obſtacles againſt the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts muſt be uſeleſs—the vaſt rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever oppoſes its deſcent and removal, muſt be cruſhed by his own raſh endeavours.† The popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguiſhed for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious diſtinctions a maſk, to divide—to diſturb—to oppreſs it.‡

Make your flock ſenſible to the honour of being accounted a member of the catholick communion—that they are not members of a ſmall ſect, limited to that country where the ſect itſelf was formed. They are members of a great church, which has laſted more than 1700 years—which flouriſhed in every part of the habitable world.—*In omnem terram exivit ſonus eorum, & in fines orbis terræ verba eorum*—and that Chriſt has promiſed that it will flouriſh until time ſhall be no more. *Uſque ad conſummationem ſæculi—portæ inferi non prevalebunt adverſus eam.* That conſequently, they ſhould not be aſhamed to belong to a religion, which ſo many kings and princes—ſo many of the moſt poliſhed and learned nations of the world, glory in profeſſing.

Remind them, that two centuries of perſecution have tried, in vain, to pervert them: That the annals of the church—the hiſtory of mankind, does not afford another example like theirs of perſeverance in their religious principles. That we find in the hiſtory of every other nation, or people, that a much ſhorter time was ſufficient, by penal reſtrictions of religion, to gain over the people to the religion of the ſtate; but that two centuries of perſecuting laws—immenſe ſums of money given by parliament to gain over proſelytes, and levied upon thoſe very people, whoſe creeds they

* This is a moſt infamous falſehood, fabricated to inflame the popiſh multitude.

† According to this prediction, if the king, or any member of the lords, or commons, or even the whole of them, ſhould oppoſe the repeal of the few reſtrictive laws which remained, they would be murdered by the banditti, who were at that time committing robbery and aſſaſſination.

‡ Here he pretends to inculcate chriſtian charity and liberality, though the whole of his letter breathes a fanatical ſpirit of intolerance.

they thereby endeavoured to purchaſe, left ſtill the great body of the nation faithful to that ſpark which St. Patrick lighted at the great altar of the catholick church, and ſpread over this iſland; and that nine-tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of this dioceſs, are ſtill faithful and ſteady catholicks,* notwithſtanding what they and their anceſtors ſuffered for their fidelity; and for which they are as unrivalled in the hiſtory of the church—as inſulated an exception to the prevaricating verſatility of man, as the geographical ſituation of the iſland itſelf is to the reſt of the world.

That portion of the catholicks of Ireland, which God has committed to my ſpiritual care, I call upon you, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, as my coadjutors and aſſiſtants, to aid me, by word, and by example, to inſtruct, and to feed, with the *word of ſalvation*, and *with the bread of angels*. It is a laborious, but it is alſo a meritorious, and an honourable employment. It forms the ſtrongeſt bulwark to the ſtate, by being the beſt ſupplement to the laws; which, *without morals, are vain*. A faithful diſcharge of theſe duties will form our crown, and our glory, when, at the laſt day, the ſupreme paſtor will come to judge us, and to judge the world.†

12.

Copy of a paper found in the writing-box of lord Edward Fitzgerald, on the 12th of March, by the officer who went that day to arreſt him under a charge of treaſon.

IF ever any unfortunate cauſe ſhould put our city, with the other parts of the country, into the poſſeſſion of a cruel and tyrannical enemy, whoſe government, by repeated oppreſſions, might drive us into the laſt ſtage of deſperate reſiſtance, our conduct then ſhould be regulated in a manner beſt calculated for obtaining victory.

The following thoughts are humbly offered for the inſpection of every real Iriſhman:

It is ſuppoſed that the enemy have a well appointed and diſciplined ſtanding army.—

In ſuch a caſe, every man ought to conſider how that army could be attacked or repelled, and what advantage their diſcipline and numbers might give them in a populous city, acting in concert with the adjoining counties.

It is well known that an officer of any ſkill in his profeſſion, would be very cautious of bringing the beſt diſciplined troops into a large city in a ſtate of inſurrection, for the following reaſons:

* This is notoriouſly falſe, as the Roman catholicks to the proteſtants are not three to one.

† During the aſſizes, the doctor preached two ſermons in Waterford of a moſt inflammatory tendency; and ſome time before, he ſaid, in a ſermon preached in a chapel in Dublin, You may talk of liberality as much as you will; but you may be ſure of this, that no perſon can be ſaved out of your church.

His troops, by the breadth of the ſtreets, are obliged to have a very narrow front; and however numerous, only three men deep can be brought into action, which, in the wideſt of our ſtreets, cannot be more than ſixty men, as a ſpace muſt be left on each ſide or flank for the men who diſcharge to retreat to the rear, that their places may be occupied by the next in ſucceſſion, who are loaded, ſo though there are a thouſand men in a ſtreet, not more than ſixty can act at one time; and ſhould they be attacked by an irregular body armed with pikes, or ſuch bold weapons, if the ſixty men in front were defeated, the whole body, however numerous, are unable to aſſiſt, and immediately become a ſmall mob in uniform, from the inferiority of number in compariſon to the people, and eaſily diſpoſed of.

Another inconvenience might deſtroy the order of this army. Perhaps at the ſame moment, they may be dreadfully galled from the houſe tops, by ſhowers of bricks, coping ſtones, &c. which may be at hand, without imitating the women of Paris, who carried the ſtones of the unpaved ſtreets to the windows and tops of the houſes in their aprons.

Another diſadvantage on the part of the ſoldiers would be, as they are regulated by the word of command, or ſtroke of the drum, they muſt be left to their individual diſcretion, as ſuch communications muſt be drowned in the noiſe and clamour of a popular tumult.

In the next place, that part of the populace, who could not get into the engagement, would be employed in unpaving the ſtreets, ſo as to impede the movements of horſe or artillery; and in the avenues where the army were likely to paſs, numbers would be engaged in forming barriers of hogſheads, carts, cars, counters, doors, &c. the forcing of which barriers by the army would be diſputed, while like ones were forming at every twenty or thirty yards, or any convenient diſtances ſituation might require: Should ſuch precautions be well obſerved, the progreſs of an army through one ſtreet, or over one bridge, would be very tedious, and attended with great loſs, if it would not be deſtroyed; at the ſame time the neighbouring counties might riſe in a maſs, and diſpoſe of the troops ſcattered in their vicinity, and prevent a junction or a paſſage of any army intended for the city; they would tear up the roads and barricade every convenient diſtance with trees, timber, implements of huſbandry, &c.; at the ſame time lining the hedges, walls, ditches and houſes, with men armed with muſkets, who would keep up a well directed fire.

However well exerciſed ſtanding armies are ſuppoſed to be, by frequent reviews, and ſham battles, they are never prepared for broken roads, or encloſed fields, in a country like ours, covered with innumerable and continued interſections of ditches and hedges, every one of which are an advantage to an irregular body, and may with advantage be diſputed againſt an army, as ſo many fortifications and entrenchments.

The people in the city would have an advantage, by being armed with pikes or ſuch weapons; the firſt attack, if poſſible, ſhould be made by men whoſe pikes were nine or ten feet long, by that means they could act in ranks deeper than the ſoldiery, whoſe arms are much ſhorter; then the deep files of the pikemen, by being weightier, muſt eaſily break the thin order of the army.

The charge of the pikemen ſhould be made in a ſmart trot, on the flank or extremity of every rank; there ſhould be intrepid men placed to keep the fronts even, that

that at closing every point should tell together; they should have at the same time, two or three like bodies at convenient distances in the rear, who would be brought up, if wanting, to support the front, which would give confidence to their brothers in action, as it would tend to discourage the enemy; at the same time, there should be in the rear of each division some men of spirit, to keep the ranks as close as possible.

The apparent strength of the army should not intimidate, as closing on it makes its powder and ball useless; all its superiority is in fighting at a distance; all its skill ceases, and all its action must be suspended, when it once is within reach of the pike.

The reason of printing and writing this, is to remind the people of discussing military subjects.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

WHIPPING AND FREE QUARTER.

MANY ſevere animadverſions have been made on a practice which took place in Ireland, a ſhort time previous to, and during the rebellion, of whipping perſons notoriouſly diſaffected, for the purpoſe of extorting evidence from them. Whoever conſiders it abſtractedly muſt of courſe condemn it, as obviouſly repugnant to the letter of the law, the benign principles of our conſtitution, and thoſe of juſtice and humanity; but I am convinced, that ſuch perſons as diſpaſſionately conſider the exiſting circumſtances, and the preſſure of the occaſion under which it was adopted, will readily admit them to be, if not an excuſe, at leaſt an ample extenuation of that practice.

In many caſes it happened, that the popiſh inhabitants of a barony, or a pariſh, beſought the magiſtrates to adminiſter oaths of allegiance to them, for no other purpoſe but to varniſh over their treaſonable deſigns; and having complied, theſe traitors ſwore at the ſame time, that they were totally ignorant of any treaſonable conſpiracy, or of any concealed arms; though, horrid to relate! the magiſtrates were poſſeſſed of the fulleſt information, that they were ſupplied with arms, had formed treaſonable combinations cemented by oaths, and were ſoon to riſe in the night, to maſſacre all the loyal ſubjects, and to plunder their property; and in ſhort, that ſuch ſcenes of deſolation, as happened on the breaking out of the rebellion, were to take place. The loyal ſubjects were exhauſted by watching, and petrified with horror, expecting every night to be murdered in their beds. Such was the woeful ſtate of many parts of Ireland in the months of April and May 1798!

To diſarm the diſaffected was impoſſible, becauſe their arms were concealed, and to diſcover all the traitors was equally ſo, becauſe they were bound by oaths of ſecrecy, and the ſtrongeſt ſanctions of their religion, not to impeach their fellow traitors. But ſuppoſe the fulleſt information could have been obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arreſt and commit the multitude. Some men of diſcernment and fortitude perceived, that ſome new expedient muſt be adopted to prevent the ſubverſion of government and the deſtruction of ſociety; and whipping was reſorted to. I would beg leave to aſk thoſe gentlemen in England, who have inveighed ſo bitterly againſt this practice, what they would have done in ſuch an alarming ſituation, when deſtruction muſt have been the certain reſult of deliberation? The maſſacre of many thouſands of the moſt valuable members of ſociety, and the loſs of half a million of property were prevented in the county of Tipperary by it. The caſe of the pariſh of Caſtle Otway* in that county, will ſhew the neceſſity and the efficacy of this meaſure.

Cooke

* Appendix XI. page 49.

Cooke Otway, eſquire, of Caſtle Otway, a gentleman noted for his loyalty, was the moſt active perſon in the county of Tipperary, next to colonel Fitzgerald, in putting down rebellion, for which he was afterwards perſecuted. He raiſed a yeoman corps, but was obliged to diſband the popiſh members, as they had taken the united Iriſhmen's oath. The preſervation of the metropolis from carnage, plunder, and conflagration, may in a great meaſure be imputed to it, as traitors, on being whipped, revealed the moſt important ſecrets, and confeſſed where great quantities of arms were concealed.

The county of Wexford might have been ſaved, if it had been reſorted to there.

Had captain Beevor, inſtead of being deceived and impoſed on by the traitors of Ballymore Euſtace, whipped one or two, he would have ſaved many valuable lives, and prevented the deſtruction of much property.

Why adhere to the forms of the conſtitution againſt traitors who meditated its ſubverſion, and univerſal carnage and plunder; and who added the crime of perjury to that of treaſon, in order to varniſh over their nefarious deſigns; and violated every law human and divine for their accompliſhment?

Cicero did not wait for the ſanction, or the ordinary proceſs of law, to put the Catiline conſpirators to death, becauſe he knew that deliberation muſt have produced ruin.

He ſays, pro Milone, ſec. 4. Can it be unjuſt to kill a traitor or a robber? Inſidiatori vero et latroni quæ poteſt afferri injuſta nex? But this never produced death; preſervation was its only object; and, after a few ſcourges, the delinquent ſeldom or ever failed to make a full diſcovery.

That man who would balance between the ſlight infraction of the conſtitution in inflicting a few ſtripes on the body of a perjured traitor, and the loſs of many valuable lives and much property, muſt renounce all pretenſions to wiſdom and patriotiſm. Salus populi ſuprema lex.

Cicero tells us, de finibus bonorum & malorum, lib. 3. 19. That as the laws were made for the advantage of all, the good of an individual ſhould be poſtponed for that of the community at large.

When a mutiny takes place in a ſhip, it would be regarded as criminal in the officers of it not to put to death, inſtantly, the leaders of the mutiny; and what difference is there between the rebellious inhabitants of a pariſh and the mutinous crew of a ſhip?

In the former, whipping only is the preventive; in the latter, homicide.

Inſurrection, if begun, in one inſtance, like the letting in of water, could not have been prevented by human wiſdom and induſtry; and, from its contagious effects, it might have produced general deſtruction: In the other, it would have been confined only to the loſs of the ſhip, and of a few individuals.

As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it ſhould be recollected that the law of nature, which ſuggeſted the neceſſity of it, ſuperſedes all poſitive inſtitutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preſervation of his creatures, as it ſpeaks ſtrongly and inſtinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the ſloweſs of deliberation.*

When the ſword of civil war is drawn, the laws are ſilent. Inter arma ſilent leges, ſays Cicero, pro Milone; and the defenders, who were ſucceeded and joined by the united

* Cicero ſays of it: Eſt enim hæc, non ſcripta, ſed nata lex: quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipſa arripuimus, hauſimus, expreſſimus, ad quam non docti ſed facti, non inſtituti, ſed imbuti ſumus.

united Iriſhmen, were exterminating the loyal ſubjects by fire and ſword for ſix years before.

As to the violation of humanity, it ſhould be recollected that nothing could exceed the cruelty of this banditti; that their object was the extirpation of the loyaliſts; that of the whippers, the preſervation of the community at large.

This practice was never ſanctioned by government, as they, on the contrary, uſed their utmoſt exertions to prevent it; and the evidence extorted from the perſon whipped never was uſed to convict any perſon, and was employed for no other purpoſe but to diſcover concealed arms, and to defeat the deleterious ſchemes of the traitors.

I ſhall now ſay a few words on free quarter, which was confined merely to the province of Leinſter.

When government were poſſeſſed of the fulleſt evidence, that the inhabitants of a village or a town who had taken the uſual oaths, to lull and deceive the magiſtrates, were poſſeſſed of concealed arms, and meditated an inſurrection and maſſacre, they ſent amongſt them a certain number of troops, whom they were obliged to maintain by contributions, levied on themſelves. This took place a few days before the rebellion broke out.

It has been univerſally allowed, that the military ſeverities practiſed in the county of Kildare occaſioned a premature exploſion of the plot, which the directory intended to have deferred, till the French effected a landing; and one of them, Mr. Emmet, declared, in his evidence upon oath, before the ſecret committee of the lords, that, but for the ſalutary effects of thoſe military ſeverities, there would have been a very general and formidable inſurrection in every part of the country.*

* Appendix No. VI. of the ſecret committee of the lords.

OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE IMPROVEMENT OF IRELAND,

By extending the Benefits of the Reformation therein, and a conciſe Hiſtory thereof from the Reign of Edward VI. *to the preſent Period.*

EVERY perſon, endued with moral ſentiment and real patriotiſm, muſt lament at ſeeing the kingdom of Ireland the prey of anarchy and the ſport of fanaticiſm, from the reign of queen Elizabeth, to the preſent period; and on peruſing theſe pages, he muſt perceive that its inhabitants cannot be ſuſceptible of any material improvement in morals and in induſtry, until the bleſſings of the reformation are more extenſively diffuſed among them than it is at preſent. I ſhall refer the reader to the page of hiſtory for the truth of what I aſſert; and an impartial review of the events of the laſt twenty years will alone be ſufficient to give him the fulleſt conviction of this.

During that ſpace every expedient, which a humane and generous policy could dictate, has been tried to ſoothe and allay the diſcontent of the Roman catholicks; but in vain; for every attempt to conciliate has only operated as provocation; conceſſion has encouraged clamour, aggreſſion and outrage; and a dreadful conſpiracy, formed and matured in the very boſom of indulgence, for the deſtruction of the empire, at laſt exploded in a moſt deſtructive rebellion.

The rebellions in the 16th and 17th centuries aroſe from pure fanaticiſm, and before any material reſtrictions were impoſed on the Roman catholicks*; the laſt in the year 1798, when the whole of them with very few exceptions had been repealed. The groſs ignorance of the leading men in both houſes of the imperial parliament on this point, and their perſeverance in error, ſhould awaken the ſuſpicion, rouſe the vigilance, and alarm the fears of every member of the eſtabliſhed church in the empire. It is not what is erroneouſly and ridiculouſly called emancipation that the maſs of the Iriſh Roman catholics want: It is the extirpation or expulſion of the proteſtants, the excluſive occupation of the iſland for themſelves, and its ſeparation from

* See in page 28, lord chief juſtice Lowther's enumeration of the privileges enjoyed by them in 1641.

from England, which they have aimed at from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to the late rebellion; and which the rebels unequivocally announced, whenever they ſpoke their real ſentiments without fear or reſtraint. In the year 1793, when the beſt of kings and his cabinet were groſsly deceived and adviſed to recommend a meaſure, which produced the late rebellion, and ſhook the pillars of his throne, the earl of Clare, when it was diſcuſſed in the houſe of lords, declared, that if the Iriſh Roman catholics were indulged in their wild and extravagant notions of emancipation and reform of parliament, England would have to win Ireland again with the ſword; and the dreadful event which occurred in the year 1798 proved that he ſpoke prophetic truth.

I now repeat, what I ſaid before, that the ſtate of Ireland ſhould alarm every loyal member of the proteſtant empire.

The Iriſh Roman catholics can at any time raiſe ſuch a ſum of money on their body, as would tempt the virtue and ſhake the integrity of three or four individuals; and it is well known how much even one man in a certain ſituation can influence the main events of a great empire.

Quemvis media erue turba,
Aut ob avaritiam, aut miſera ambitione laborat.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that I allude to any of the great perſonages who now enjoy, or recently poſſeſſed his Majeſty's confidence, for they are much above my praiſe; but it is poſſible that ſuch baſe men as compoſed the cabal in the reign of Charles II. may one day be in that ſituation.

Ireland in her preſent ſtate may be conſidered as an inteſtine thorn in the ſide of England, as a ſtrong outpoſt eaſily acceſſible to her enemies, who may at all times annoy her through it: inſtead of affording her ſtrength, it will be an inceſſant ſource of weakneſs.

In what a woeful ſtate would the empire have been, if, during the late rebellion, popery and its concomitant ſpirit of diſſaffection had prevailed in Scotland, as much as in Ireland?

In ſuch a caſe two-thirds of her troops muſt have been employed in defending her againſt domeſtic enemies.

The very great diſloyalty of a conſiderable portion of the Iriſh militia and yeomanry, during the late rebellion, might have been fatal to the empire, if our fleets had not been ſucceſsful in preventing the French from landing a large body of troops in Ireland.

The duplicity of ſome of the Iriſh nobility and gentry, the ignorance and credulity of others, in impoſing on the government, by aſſurances of the loyalty of entire counties, or of the fidelity of ſome of theſe armed corps, and the fatal effects experienced from ſuch miſrepreſentations previous to the late rebellion, ſhould afford a ſalutary leſſon to the viceroys of Ireland, not readily to give credit, on this point, to the aſſertions of ignorant men, or of deſigning perſons, who make every conſideration ſubſervient to electioneering purpoſes.

If we take a review of the ſtate of England in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and James I. we ſhall find that the diſaffection ariſing from popery frequently produced conſpiracies and inſurrections ſimilar to thoſe in Ireland of late, which laid

laid thoſe monarchs under a neceſſity of iſſuing commiſſions of martial law, to puniſh in a ſummary manner the bands of traitors, who, actuated by fanaticiſm, deſtroyed ſocial order, and often endangered the exiſtence of the government.

In three years, from the 27th to the 30th of Henry VIII's reign, the virulent oppoſition of fanaticiſm to the reformation, occaſioned no leſs than ſix rebellions in the north of England alone. The horrors produced by them are ſet forth in a ſpeech made by lord Clarendon, in the reign of Charles I. on the abolition of the count of York.

In the reign of Edward VI. and in the year 1554, the city of Exeter was beſieged by 30,000 Corniſh papiſts, for three weeks; and for no other reaſon than that the reformation had rapidly encreaſed in it.

They intercepted its proviſions, cut the conduit pipes that ſupplied it with water, deſtroyed the bridges leading to it, and battered it with cannon. It was bravely defended by the citizens, though reduced to famine, till lord John Ruſſel relieved them, and defeated the rebels. A ſermon has been ever ſince preached on the 6th of Auguſt, the anniverſary of their deliverance.

Various plots and conſpiracies were formed on the ground of fanaticiſm againſt the crown, and the life of queen Elizabeth, as a heretick.

The Spaniſh armada was formidable to her, becauſe the majority of her ſubjects were more attached to the pope and the king of Spain, than to their own ſovereign; but now, when the proteſtant religion is univerſally eſtabliſhed in England, ſhe bids defiance to one of the moſt ambitious and formidable nations that ever threatened the libertics of Europe.

The ſuperſtitious deluſions of popery ſhook the throne of king John, who was driven to the neceſſity of compromiſing with the pope, of ſurrendering his crown to him, and of holding it as a feudatory: And ſo little has the advancement of ſcience, and the improvement of the human mind operated in diſpelling the clouds of ſuperſtition, and weakening the force of fanaticiſm, that an attempt has been recently made, to wreſt the ſceptre of Ireland from our preſent gracious ſovereign, though the Roman catholicks had experienced ſingular kindneſs and indulgence from him. I mentioned before the repeal of the popery laws in his majeſty's reign, and that a college for the education of their clergy has been built, and endowed by the proteſtant ſtate, at a monſtrous expenſe.

So ſenſible was the late pope of the ſingular goodneſs and beneficence of his majeſty towards his Roman catholick ſubjects, that in the year 1797, he ſent to England, as his legate, doctor Erſkine (though he was not publickly recognized as ſuch,) to aſſure his Britannick majeſty, that he felt the deepeſt gratitude, for having protected and maintained him ſo long upon his throne, by his naval armaments in the Mediterranean, and by the confederacy which he formed among the allied powers; but more particularly for the humane protection which he gave to the French clergy, after they had been cruelly proſcribed in, and baniſhed from, every Roman catholick ſtate of Europe.

It is the moſt egregious folly to expect, that any favours, how great ſoever, conferred on the Iriſh roman catholicks, will make any alteration in the diſpoſition of the maſs of them towards a proteſtant ſtate; for their bigotry and virulence flow from a perennial and inexhauſtible ſource, the Romiſh councils, the popes bulls and epiſtles,

——— Like the Pontick ſea,
Whoſe icy current and compulſive courſe,
Ne'er feels retiring ebb.

I muſt repeat again, that in making this aſſertion, I allude only to the loweſt order of the people, whoſe minds are perverted by bigotry; for great numbers of the Roman catholicks are as charitable, as generous, and humane, and feel as great abhorrence of the atrocities committed during the late rebellion, as any other portion of his majeſty's ſubjects; but the maſs of the people in a ſtate, are like the life blood of the human body, which, if impure, will produce convulſions and various other diſorders. I mentioned before, page 120, what I believe no wiſe ſtateſman will deny, that the moral and political principles of men are an emanation from, and are modified by, their religion. This is more particularly the caſe in Ireland, as a foreign prince, whom the Iriſh Romaniſts conſider as the head of their church, has always maintained that his ſectaries cannot bear any civil allegiance to a proteſtant * ſtate. This doctrine has been inſiſted on in modern times, by ſome eminent Romiſh divines†; and it was carried into practice in a moſt alarming manner during the late rebellion.

To civilize the maſs of the people, plans of educating them at the public expenſe have been at different times propounded; but it is moſt certain, that the perſons who propoſed ſuch, were totally ignorant of the real ſtate of Ireland.

It ſhould be recollected, that many Roman catholicks, opulent in their circumſtances, and of the beſt education, were not only implicated in the rebellion, but diſplayed that ſanguinary ſpirit, by which the common herd of papiſts were actuated.

It ſhould be remembered alſo, that numbers of their clergy were actively concerned in it, and few or none of them could have been ignorant of the conſpiracy and the intended inſurrection; and yet it is ſuppoſed that they are poſſeſſed of conſiderable learning.

It is a poſitive fact, that all the petty popiſh ſchool-maſters in the country were ſecretaries in the diſaffected ſocieties, and were the moſt uſeful and efficient inſtruments in the Iriſh union; particularly thoſe who act as clerks in popiſh chapels, and keep ſchools in them. Is it to be ſuppoſed then, that the maſs of the people, early and deeply imbued with diſaffection to the ſtate, on religious grounds, would become better ſubjects for being poſſeſſed of a talent, which enabled their inſtructors to injure it in an eminent degree?

If good wine be infuſed into a ſour caſk, it will of courſe partake of its impurity.‡ Would it improve the morals of the lower claſs of people to enable them to read the works of Paine, Volney, Godwin, and Thelwal, and the Jacobin prints, which give wings to treaſon, and convey it to the garret and the cellar. By far the greater part of the Engliſh militia, who came to Ireland during, or ſubſequent to, the rebellion, were illiterate, and yet they were religious, ſober and induſtrious. Learning in the abſtract, will produce no good effect on the maſs of the people, when their minds are preoccupied by abſurd and impious doctrines, deduced from Romiſh councils, papal bulls and epiſtles.

While their morals flow from ſo impure a ſource, it will be abſurd to think of governing them by the mild and benign regimen of the Britiſh conſtitution.

Sine moribus quid leges,
Vanæ proficiunt.

In ſuch a ſtate, to think of laying the foundation of national wealth, will be as abſurd as to build a ſplendid and magnificent edifice on a ſandy foundation, which will fall

* See this in pages 10, 25, 26, of the text. † Ibid. page 39, 40.
‡ Sincerum eſt niſi vas, quodcunq; infundis acescit.

fall and mock the ingenuity of the architect; as the accumulations of induſtry, for two centuries, were overturned and deſtroyed in many parts of the provinces of Leinſter and Connaught, in one week, by the workings of bigotry; and many of the moſt loyal and uſeful members of ſociety were murdered or driven from their habitations.

The reader, alarmed at this woeful ſtate of ſociety in Ireland, will naturally aſk, is there no remedy for it? I ſay there is a moſt effectual one, which may be carried into practice without pains or penalties, and with very little additional expenſe; and that is, by converting the bulk of the people to the proteſtant religion, which we may learn from hiſtory and experience to be the only certain and permanent ſource of loyalty. All the beſt writers on Iriſh affairs, in the 16th and 17th centuries, have enforced the neceſſity of this by irrefragable arguments, but particularly primate Uſher, the glory of the Iriſh proteſtant church, in his elegant and energetick ſpeech to an aſſembly of all the ſtates of Ireland, in the year 1627.

The converſion of one perſon to the eſtabliſhed church, will be giving an additional fibre to the root of the royal oak in the ſoil of Ireland, which will encreaſe its ſtrength and ſtability to withſtand the ſtorms of domeſtick treaſon, and the attacks of foreign enemies.

Before I proceed to point out the means by which the natives of Ireland may be converted, I ſhall give a conciſe account of the origin and progreſs of the reformation in Ireland, and of the expedients which have been adopted to promote it.

In the year 1551, and the 5th of Edward VI. the reformed religion began to be publickly profeſſed in Ireland. The book of common prayer was printed the ſame year in Dublin, by order of the lord lieutenant and council, purſuant to inſtructions given by the king himſelf; and it was publickly read to the people, many of whom in and about the city, underſtood Engliſh at that time.

George Brown, archbiſhop of Dublin, was the firſt perſon of note who embraced the proteſtant religion, and he gave full proof of the ſincerity of his converſion, for he diſplayed the moſt ardent zeal in converting others to it. He preached often againſt the errors of the church of Rome, eſpecially againſt praying in an unknown tongue, and denying the free uſe of the ſcriptures. He cauſed all ſuperſtitious relicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and made the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, to be ſet up in their ſtead. He chearfully adopted the king's order for reading the liturgy in Engliſh, and recommended it in a ſpeech to an aſſembly of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and the reſt of the clergy, which had ſo good an effect, that many of them ſubmitted to it.

But George Dowdall, archbiſhop of Armagh, and many of the biſhops and inferior clergy, oppoſed this good work with ſo much zeal, as to prevent its complete accompliſhment; and that hopeful prince, Edward the VIth, having died two years after, and before the reformation could take root, queen Mary, his ſucceſſor, ſoon overturned it. The proteſtant biſhops and clergy were baniſhed, the liturgy prohibited, the ſcriptures locked up in an unknown tongue, and the popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry every where ſet up.

It was very fortunate, that the ſhortneſs of Mary's reign defeated her deſign of overturning the reformation.

No ſooner was queen Elizabeth ſettled on the throne, than ſhe endeavoured to plant religion and learning in Ireland; for ſhe ſignified her royal pleaſure, that the reformed religion ſhould be immediately re-eſtabliſhed in that kingdom, which had ſome immediate effect; for the maſs was laid aſide in many places, and another liturgy

was ſubſtituted in its ſtead, ſentences of ſcripture were affixed to the church walls in the place of popiſh trumpery, and bibles were diſtributed gratis among the common people.

This alteration in matters of religion occaſioned a great ferment among the Roman catholicks of Ireland; for the liturgy was no more underſtood by them than the maſs, and they received no more edification from one than the other, as the maſs of them were ignorant of the Engliſh language. Inſtigated by the pope, and the king of Spain, they rebelled in the year 1560, under Shane O'Neil.

Soon after the rebellion was ſuppreſſed, a tax was impoſed on every houſe-keeper who omitted going to church on a Sunday; and as it was levied with exactneſs, moſt people attended, ſooner than pay it; but their attendance could not operate towards their converſion, as our offices were read in Engliſh. They continued papiſts in their hearts, and embraced the firſt opportunity of rebelling, which they did again in the year 1566.

This ſhews how vain and impracticable it is to aboliſh a language and a religion at once, and to prevail on the multitude at the ſame time not to ſpeak as they have been uſed to ſpeak, and not to think and believe, as they have been taught to think and believe from their cradle. From this we may infer, that the moſt likely way of introducing the proteſtant religion into Ireland is, by the charter ſchools, where children acquire both at the ſame time; and early impreſſions made on their tender minds are not eaſily effaced.

As the reformed religion gained little or no ground by ſuch means, queen Elizabeth provided, at her own charge, a fount of Iriſh types, with the other inſtruments of the preſs. Sir James Ware tells us, in his Annals of Ireland, in the year 1571, that the Iriſh characters for printing were firſt brought into that kingdom by Nicholas Walſh, chancellor of St. Patrick's church in Dublin, and John Kearney, treaſurer of the ſame; and it was ordered, "that the prayers of the church ſhould be printed in that character and language, and a church ſet apart in the chief town of every dioceſs, where they were to be read, and a ſermon preached to the common people, which was inſtrumental in converting many of the ignorant ſort in thoſe days."* Many perſons among the clergy and laity, eminent not only for their rank and ſtation, but for their piety and learning in the 16th and 17th centuries, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to promote this truly apoſtolical work. Alas! how unlike theſe are the preſent generation!

John Kearney, treaſurer of St. Patrick's, publiſhed a catechiſm in Iriſh, the firſt book printed in that character. Nicholas Walſh, when promoted to the biſhoprick of Oſſory, began the tranſlation of the New Teſtament, but did not live to finiſh it, having been barbarouſly murdered in his own houſe by one Dullard, againſt whom the biſhop had iſſued a proceſs for adultery. The aforeſaid Mr. Kearney, and Nehemias Donnellan, afterwards archbiſhop of Tuam, undertook the ſame work, but archbiſhop Daniel, in his dedication of it to king James, tells us, that their untimely death threw the entire burthen on him, and he faithfully diſcharged it, having publiſhed it in the year 1602. The ſame pious and learned prelate tranſlated the book of common prayer into Iriſh, and printed it in the year 1608, by which means many of the natives were converted.

The unſettled ſtate of the country very much retarded the reformation during the reign of the elder James. In the year 1621, the congregation *de propaganda fidæ* was inſtituted at Rome, which had at that time, and has continued ever ſince, to have very great influence, not only in Ireland, but in every country in Europe, where any attempts

attempts have been made to draw the natives off from their blind obedience to the pope. The government of England then ſhould form a proteſtant ſociety of the ſame nature, conſiſting of perſons of intereſt and authority, zeal and piety, to counteract the malignant efforts of the Romiſh inſtitution. It would redound much to the credit of the biſhops, if they would promote this very uſeful and pious work, as the union will ſuperſede the neceſſity of their attendance in parliament. However, king James did not altogether neglect the propagation of the proteſtant religion, and the converſion of the Iriſh He gave a commiſſion to the lord deputy, the lord primate, the lord chancellor, lord Wilmot, and others, to enquire into, and make a report of the ſtate of Ireland, and on their report, the following orders were given: "To enlarge the maintenance of the clergy, to encourage reſidence by making it convenient, to build cathedral and parochial churches, and to prevent the alienation of eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions and lands given to charitable uſes: to make good choice of ſchoolmaſters and uſhers, and to admit none but ſuch as would take the oath of ſupremacy, and bring up their ſcholars in the reformed religion; and that popiſh ſchoolmaſters and uſhers ſhould be entirely ſuppreſſed."

Theſe orders contained the following paragraph:

"We, being highly offended with the encreaſe and inſolence of Jeſuits, and prieſts, and titular archbiſhops and biſhops, who preſume to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within our kingdom of Ireland, do expreſsly charge and command, that the ſtatute the 2d of Elizabeth, which inflicts ſevere penalties on ſuch as exerciſe any ſuch power or juriſdiction, may be put in execution."

King James, mindful of the ſame good purpoſe, gave ſome inſtructions to ſir Arthur Chicheſter, lord deputy of Ireland, in a letter dated 16th October 1604, about propagating the proteſtant religion. The privy council gave ſimilar inſtructions to the ſame lord deputy in April 1606.

When biſhop Bedell was made biſhop of Kilmore and Ardagh, he forwarded the charitable work of converting the Iriſh, with uncommon zeal; and if the ſame diligence had been uſed in every part of the kingdom, it would have tended materially to civilize the ſavage inhabitants of the iſland. He learned the Iriſh tongue himſelf, and attained ſuch a knowledge of it, as to be able to compoſe an Iriſh grammar, and to correct the tranſlation of the Old Teſtament in that language, of which he procured a verſion himſelf, the New Teſtament and Common Prayer book having been already tranſlated into Iriſh.

He made a ſhort catechiſm to be publiſhed, having Engliſh on one page, and Iriſh on the other, together with ſome forms of prayer, and ſome of the moſt inſtructive and edifying paſſages of ſcripture, and ſome of St. Chryſoſtom's and Leo's homilies, which were ſo well received by the natives, as to give certain hopes that ſuch endeavours would be attended with ſucceſs.

Having provided the books which were moſt neceſſary, he next turned his attention to procure proper teachers, by filling the church with clergymen able to preach to the Iriſh in their native language, and he rejected many miniſters for want of this qualification; but this neceſſary and commendable practice raiſed a great ſtorm againſt him, though the indiſpenſable obligation which the clergy lie under of performing the offices of religion in a known tongue, ſhould have prevented any oppoſition from proteſtants.

The more effectually to promote this pious and charitable work, he ſet his clergy the example of reading the common prayer book in Iriſh; and he ſucceeded ſo well, as to make numerous proſelytes, not only among the laity, but the popiſh clergy; and

and ſo ſincere were the converts which he made, that but one of them relapſed in the rebellion of 1641.

This great man's humane and charitable diſpoſition, and his beneficent virtues, ſo far overcame the fanaticiſm, and the intolerant principles of the natives, and kindled ſuch love and gratitude in them towards him, that they paid ſingular marks of honour and affection to his remains at his funeral, even in the heat of the rebellion, though they regarded him as a heretick. The chiefs of the rebels collected their forces, accompanied his body to the grave with great ſolemnity, and diſcharged a volley at his interment, crying out in Latin, quieſcat in pace ultimus Anglorum. While biſhop Bedell was labouring with ſo much zeal, the convocation which met in Dublin in 1634 took the converſion of the Iriſh into conſideration, and made ſeveral canons, which contained rules ſimilar to what that prelate had practiſed.

The great rebellion, which broke out in 1641, defeated thoſe uſeful deſigns, and the excellent inſtitutions which had been formed for the converſion of the natives.

The ſufferings of the proteſtants were ſo great, and the animoſity and reſentment which were kindled between them and the papiſts by this rebellion were ſo bitter, that the advancement of the reformation was totally laid aſide; and nothing was done towards promoting it for many years, except that in the year 1652, a catechiſm called the Chriſtian Doctrine was publiſhed, having one column in Engliſh, the other in Iriſh.

Mr. Boyle, the great chriſtian philoſopher, well knowing that ſocial order depended on the purity of religious principle, again ſet on foot the laudable work of converting the Iriſh. At his own expenſe, he cauſed a fount of Iriſh types to be caſt, and an able printer to be inſtructed in printing the neceſſary books in that language; and cauſed the church catechiſm with the elements of that language, to be printed in Iriſh, in the year 1680; and ſoon after, he procured a ſecond edition of the new teſtament in the Iriſh tongue to be printed, at his own charge; and he ſet forward and encouraged the reprinting of the old teſtament, having liberally contributed 50l. towards it himſelf. This edition was reviſed and corrected by Mr. Kirk, a beneficed clergyman in England, but a native of Scotland, and well ſkilled in the Iriſh tongue. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was concerned with Mr. Boyle in that work, and liberally contributed towards defraying the expenſe of the preſs. It was ſent to the lord primate, then provoſt of Trinity college in Dublin, that it might receive ſuch amendments as were neceſſary, by the aſſiſtance of the moſt learned natives of Ireland.

One Higgins, a convert from popery, was uſeful in completing that work. He was employed by the primate to teach the Iriſh language in the univerſity of Dublin.

Many copies of the new teſtament publiſhed in 1681, and of the old in 1685, were ſent into Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, and it is remarkable that no other bible was uſed in the highlands till within theſe fifteen or twenty years.

After the famous ſiege of Londonderry was raiſed, many of the Iriſh natives having left their habitations in the barony of Inniſhowen, and county of Donegal, and followed the Iriſh army to the ſouthern parts of Ireland, ſeveral families emigrated from the highlands of Scotland, and ſettled in their places. Theſe highlanders being proteſtants, but not underſtanding Engliſh, petitioned the then lord biſhop of Derry, to ſend them a miniſter to perform divine ſervice in their own language, which was readily granted; and he ſent them two miniſters to preach in Iriſh, one of them a beneficed clergyman, the other having a competent allowance from the biſhop; and they ſoon had four or five hundred perſons in their congregation, who did not underſtand Engliſh.

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Great numbers of the Iriſh rebels, conſcious of the crimes they had committed, having deſerted their habitations in the county of Antrim, on the landing of the Engliſh army in 1689 at Carrickfergus, many families from the Hebrides or weſtern iſlands of Scotland, who underſtood no other language but the Iriſh, or Erſe, which is the ſame, ſettled there, and took poſſeſſion of them. At firſt they went to church, but not underſtanding Engliſh, they became converts to popery, for no other reaſon, than that they underſtood the exhortations delivered in Iriſh by the popiſh prieſts from the altar. On being aſked their reaſon for doing ſo, they ſaid, " it was better to be of their religion than none at all." To prevent this evil, a petition was preſented to the biſhop of Down, to requeſt he would ſend miniſters amongſt them who could preach to them in the Iriſh language; and he ſent ſome preachers to them, who not only brought back ſuch highlanders as had lapſed to popery, but converted many of the natives to proteſtantiſm.

In the year 1702, the reverend Nicholas Browne, rector of the pariſhes of Donacary, Dromore, and Roſarry, in the dioceſe of Clogher, applied himſelf with great zeal to the converſion of the Iriſh, and he was well qualified for that purpoſe, as he was perfect maſter of the language, and had a happy faculty of expreſſing terms of divinity in it. The provoſt, burgeſſes, and other proteſtant inhabitants of Enniſkillen, gave a public atteſtation of the ſucceſs of his laudable exertions, in the year 1711, after his deceaſe.

On March 3d, 1703, the following reſolution was ſent from the lower to the upper houſe of convocation:

" Reſolved, that the endeavouring the ſpeedy converſion of the papiſts of this kingdom, is a work of great piety and charity; in order to which, it is the opinion of this houſe, that preachers in all the dioceſes of this kingdom, preaching in the Iriſh tongue, would be a great means of their converſion; and therefore, that application be made to the moſt reverend and right reverend the lords archbiſhops, and biſhops, that they take into their conſideration, what number of ſuch preachers will be neceſſary in every dioceſe, and how they may be ſupported."

Their graces and lordſhips gave the following anſwer:

" We think, that endeavouring the converſion of the papiſts is very commendable; and as to preaching in the Iriſh tongue, we think it uſeful where it is practicable."

The lower houſe ſoon after ſent to the upper houſe a number of reſolutions, pointing out meaſures which they thought neceſſary for promoting the reformation, and which were approved of by their lordſhips.

The main objects of them were, " to print the holy bible, and the liturgy, in the Iriſh language, but in the Engliſh character.

To prepare a ſhort expoſition of the church catechiſm, fitted for the inſtruction of popiſh recuſants, and that the ſame ſhould be printed in Engliſh and Iriſh. That clergymen well ſkilled in the Iriſh tongue ſhould be employed in inſtructing the people."

In the beginning of this century, ſeveral of the nobility ſent a memorial to James, duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, requeſting that he would adopt ſuch meaſures as would tend to promote the reformation. It begins thus:

" Whereas nothing tends more effectually to promote the common welfare of Ireland, than the converſion of the popiſh natives to the proteſtant religion; whereby the Engliſh intereſt would be better ſecured, trade and induſtry encreaſed, and both the ſpiritual and temporal good of the Iriſh themſelves advanced in that kingdom; and whereas in order to obtain thoſe happy ends, ſeveral laws have been lately made

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in Ireland, and one ſtatute in particular, to prevent the ſucceſſion of popiſh clergy, by virtue whereof the number of popiſh prieſts is already ſenſibly decreaſed in it; and it is probable, that in ſome counties, the whole ſucceſſion may be extinct."

Soon after, many of the nobility and gentry petitioned queen Anne to promote ſuch meaſures, as would be moſt likely to propagate the proteſtant religion among the natives of Ireland; and at the head of the petitioners we find the lords Abercorn, Barrymore, Bellamont, Charlemont, Mountjoy, Digby, and Blaney; but nothing was done in conſequence of it.

About this time the archbiſhop of Armagh, and his clergy, joined in a ſubſcription for maintaining two miſſionaries, to preach to the natives in Iriſh, in that dioceſe; and the biſhop and his clergy did the like in the dioceſs of Derry.

In the year 1711, Charles O'Neil, eſq; member of the houſe of commons, moved, that the converſion of the Iriſh ſhould be taken into conſideration. On which a committee was immediately appointed, to conſider of, and make a report on it, which they accordingly did; and the ſubſtance of their reſolutions was,

"That a competent number of miniſters ſhould be appointed to preach to the natives in their own language, with a ſuitable maintenance.

"That a ſufficient number of charity ſchools ſhould be erected, for the inſtruction of the popiſh children gratis."

In the year 1711, the lower houſe of convocation entered into reſolutions, much of the ſame tenor; with this addition, that the children of popiſh parents ſhould be obliged, under a certain penalty, to ſend their children to ſome proteſtant ſchool, from the age of ſeven years, till they ſhall have attained the age of twelve years; and to prevent popiſh recuſants from evading that law, they were to be obliged under a certain penalty, to give the birth and name of every child, ten days after its baptiſm, to the curate of the pariſh, to be regiſtered in the pariſh book.

Such were the opinions, and ſuch were the exertions of Uſſher, Bedell, Boyle, and ſome of the wiſeſt and moſt pious men in the 16th and 17th centuries, in promoting the eſtabliſhed religion, as the only fountain of pure morality in a proteſtant ſtate; but modern politicians, having derived new light from the philoſophy of the Gallick ſchool, are deſirous of confounding all religious diſtinctions, by which they will ſow the ſeeds of Jacobinical principles, which in time will ſhake the pillars of the throne.

The preſent indifference about the eſtabliſhed religion in England and Ireland, reminds me of the ſtate of Greece about three centuries before the Chriſtian æra, when the people there, on adopting the Epicurean ſyſtem, which proſtrated all religious ſanctions, ſunk into the loweſt ſtate of debaſement; and Polybius, who was an eye witneſs of it, tells us, "that in conſequence of it, they diſregarded every tie human and divine, and that it was a ſure preſage of their impending ruin."

It is much to be lamented, that the bleſſings of the reformation have not been more extenſively diffuſed in Ireland, notwithſtanding the efforts which have been adopted for that purpoſe; but it will be vain to attempt the converſion of ſuch of the natives as have arrived to maturity, as they oppoſe it in limine; for their prejudices are inveterate and deep rooted in fanaticiſm, as they imbibe, at an early age, ſo ſtrong and uncharitable an averſion againſt every thing that concerns the eſtabliſhed religion, and their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, that they recoil at any attempt to convince them of their errors. I mentioned ſome inſtances of this in page 635, and in many other parts of this work. It would be as abſurd to think of making an impreſſion on ſuch perſons by ratiocination, as to penetrate a thick ſuit of armour with a bodkin. It frequently happens, that when a Roman catholick

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ſucceeds a proteſtant in a houſe, he prevails on a prieſt to purify it by his benediction, and by ſome religious ceremonies, from the pollution which it had received by the reſidence of a heretick.

Human wiſdom could not deviſe a better plan for converting the lower claſs of the Iriſh, than the charter ſchools, as the impreſſions made on the children bred up in them are not eaſily effaced.

" Train up a child in the way he ſhould go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Proverbs, chap. xxii. ver. 6. This very wiſe inſtitution was firſt eſtabliſhed in the year 1733, by charter, in conſequence of a petition to his majeſty George the ſecond, of the biſhops, the nobility, the judges, and ſome of the principal gentry of Ireland. Part of the preamble of the petition evinces at the ſame time, the policy of that eſtabliſhment, the wiſdom, the virtue, and loyalty of thoſe who addreſſed his majeſty to inſtitute it, and the ſupine and criminal neglect of the leading men of the preſent day, in not forwarding it with that degree of zeal which its importance requires.

" That the generality of the popiſh natives appear to have very little ſenſe or knowledge of religion but what they implicitly take from their clergy, to whoſe guidance, in ſuch matters, they wholly give themſelves up, and thereby are kept not only in groſs ignorance, but in great diſaffection to your ſacred majeſty, and government, ſcarcely any of them having appeared to be willing to abjure the pretender to your majeſty's throne, ſo that if ſome effectual method be not made uſe of to inſtruct theſe great number of people in the principles of religion and loyalty, there ſeems to be very little proſpect, but that ſuperſtition, idolatry and diſaffection to your majeſty, and to your royal poſterity, will, from generation to generation, be propagated amongſt them." Such opinions would be ſeverely cenſured and condemned in this ſeaſon of liberality, or rather of folly and diſſimulation; but the late rebellion fully evinces the truth of them.

The object of the inſtitution is, to inſtruct the children of papiſts in the Engliſh tongue, the principles of the eſtabliſhed religion, and to train them up in the practice of induſtry and labour.

By donations and benefactions from individuals, and by parliamentary grants, the ſociety have been able to erect thirty-ſeven ſchools in different parts of the kingdom, which are capable of containing 1775 children, who are fed, clothed, and educated in them, till they are fit to be apprenticed out, and then they are bound to proteſtants, who receive a fee of 5l. with them; beſides theſe thirty-ſeven ſchools, there is one at Santry, and another at Clontarf, both near Dublin. They apprentice annually out of the former thirty-five children, and one hundred out of the latter.

The children muſt be of popiſh parents, and none can be admitted into the ſchools under the age of ten years.

The inſtitution is ſuperintended and regulated by a committee of fifteen, reſident in Dublin; and each ſchool is under the immediate direction of a committee in the country, conſiſting of the principal gentlemen and clergy contiguous to it; who examine into the inſtruction and employment of the children, their food and ſtate of health, the ſufficiency and diligence of the maſters and miſtreſſes, and all other particulars relative to the œconomy and management of the ſchools; and report the ſame to the committee of fifteen.

The children paſs their time between the learning neceſſary for their future life, and ſuch gentle work as is ſuited to their tender age, which ſtrengthens their conſtitution, and gives them early habits of induſtry. Eſpecial care is taken to guard

them from having any intercourſe with popiſh prieſts, or the children of Romaniſts; and they are always ſent to ſchools remote from their popiſh relations, leſt they might tempt them to relapſe.

The ſociety appoint ſchool-maſters and ſchool-miſtreſſes, who are ſupported by the ſociety, and provided with all things neceſſary for the inſtruction of the poor children in the principles of the proteſtant religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and with proper books and materials for teaching them huſbandry, houſewifry, trades and manufactures, in order to bring them up to virtue, labour and induſtry.

Beſides the ſchools, there are four nurſeries; one for the province of Leinſter, one for Munſter, and one for Connaught, and the fourth is in Charlemont-ſtreet, in Dublin.

The children are received and maintained in theſe till the age of ſix years, when they are put into the ſchools.

A portion of 5l. is given to every perſon apprenticed out of the ſchool, who ſhall afterwards marry a proteſtant, with the approbation of the committee of fifteen, provided he or ſhe ſhall produce a proper certificate of having duly ſerved out ſuch apprenticeſhip, and provided ſuch claim is made within the term of ſeven years after the expiration of it, and within ſix months after the marriage.

The committee of fifteen annually publiſh their accounts, to convince the public that the funds of the charity are properly and faithfully appropriated.

From what I have mentioned in this work, the reader muſt be convinced, that the ſtate of Ireland cannot admit of any material improvement in morals and induſtry, until the benefits of the Reformation are more generally experienced in it; and it will be impoſſible to effect this, but through the medium of the charter ſchools. They are in fact orphan-houſes, and ſerve the moſt exalted purpoſes of charity, in reſcuing the children of the lower claſs of people from extreme poverty, from idleneſs, from vice, from ſuperſtition, from treaſon, and often from ſuffering an ignominious death, inflicted by the vengeance of the law.

The committee is enabled at preſent to apprentice out annually about 400 children; but if they could bind out twice that number, it would make a material change in the peace and moral order of ſociety, in the ſpace of ten or twelve years.

The neceſſity of this is encreaſed by the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary for the education of popiſh prieſts, whoſe ſpirit of proſelytiſm will in a great degree counteract the effects of this wiſe inſtitution. Nothing can more ſtrongly evince the advantages which are likely to ariſe from it, than the hatred with which it is regarded by the Romaniſts. One ſchool was entirely demoliſhed at Caſtle Carberry, in the county of Kildare; and Wilſon's hoſpital was plundered, becauſe it was eſtabliſhed to educate children in the proteſtant religion.

Thomas Burke, titular biſhop of Oſſory, laments, in his Hibernia Dominicana, that whole troops of the lower claſs of people are converted by the charter ſchools.

Quo factum eſt, ut cum priores leges corruperint ſingulatim divites, iſta vel ipſos pauperes turmatim illaqueat.

The ſecret enemies of this inſtitution, in order to make it odious, have aſſerted in many parts of England, where it is believed, that the children who are put into the ſchools are taken from their parents by force, an aſſertion as falſe as it is iniquitous; for no children are ever admitted into them, but ſuch as are offered voluntarily by their

their parents; and from the numbers who ſolicit admiſſion into them, there is not a doubt, but that the ſchools would be conſtantly full, even if they were twice as large as they are at preſent; an unqueſtionable proof that the bleſſings of the Reformation might be extenſively and ſpeedily diffuſed through the kingdom of Ireland by this wiſe inſtitution!

Thoſe who are hoſtile to it alſo aſſert, that it is futile and ineffıcient, on the ground that moſt of the children educated in the ſchools relapſe into popery, and the honeſt and well meaning, who never examine into, or beſtow any thought upon the inſtitution, imbibe their prejudices, and become hoſtile to it; but on a ſerious inveſtigation of this fact it will appear, that but very few of the children bred in them become converts to popery; and the probability of its ever happening might in a great meaſure be prevented by introducing a few improvements into that ſalutary ſyſtem.

I intended to have ſubmitted to the conſideration of parliament, ſome improvements in the regulation of this very excellent inſtitution, but I ſhall leave them to their ſuperior wiſdom, obſerving at the ſame time, that while the frailty of human nature continues, it muſt be materially neglected, while it depends merely on the voluntary and gratuitous exertions of fifteen individuals, ſome of whom do not reſide conſtantly in Dublin.

I cannot omit this opportunity of ſaying, that the publick are very much indebted to the great zeal and unabated exertions of doctor Agar, archbiſhop of Caſhel, doctor Broderick, biſhop of Kilmore, and ſir Francis Hutchinſon, in ſuperintending it.

I humbly conceive, that it ſhould be conducted by a permanent board, with ſalaries and reſponſibility attached to the members who compoſe it.

I am convinced that the candid reader will agree with me, that every other meaſure of imperial policy for the improvement of Ireland ſhould be ſubordinate to the advancement of this very wiſe and charitable inſtitution.

It is aſtoniſhing to me that the biſhops have not given more attention to it, and have not been more ſolicitous to extend the benefits of it; for it ſeems to me to be peculiarly the province of the paſtoral charge.

Though I take the liberty of recommending, with due deference, the eſtabliſhment of a permanent board, I am of opinion, that the power and the right to interfere in regulating it ſhould ſtill continue in the committee of fifteen, as their vigilance would check and control the members of the board.

It would be adviſeable to apprentice out the children bred in the charter ſchools in proteſtant towns, the eſtabliſhment of which I ſhall recommend in the ſequel.

It often occurred to me, that it would conduce much to the advancement of the eſtabliſhed church, to build towns and villages in thoſe parts of Ireland where popery predominates, and to eſtabliſh proteſtant manufacturers in them, which would not only encourage the reformed religion within their walls, but afford confidence and protection to all the proteſtants in the adjacent country. The policy and utility of this meaſure will appear from the following circumſtance: that in ſome pariſhes where proteſtants were thinly ſcattered, anonymous letters were ſent to them during the rebellion, deſiring them at their peril to go to maſs, and in ſome inſtances they were frightened into obedience.

This wiſe meaſure has been ſtrongly recommended by the beſt writers on Iriſh affairs in the 16th and 17th centuries, but particularly by Richard Laurence, eſquire, in a valuable treatiſe, which he wrote in the year 1682 on the improvement of Ireland. He ſays, " that ſuch towns would be ready receptacles to the Engliſh families

diſperſed in the adjacent country, which would fortify the Engliſh intereſt; and this may be eaſily effected, without much charge to the king or country, by propagating manufactures." Some of theſe proteſtant colonies are mentioned by Laurence; and in what a ſtate would Ireland be at this day but for their eſtabliſhment!

If Engliſh manufacturers had been planted in the town built for the Geneveſe emigrants in the county of Waterford, it would have been attended with the moſt important advantages.

It would be adviſeable to incorporate by charter the inhabitants of ſuch ſettlements, and to give certain municipal privileges to ſuch perſons of the eſtabliſhed church as ſhould reſide in them a certain time.

The Romans never could have ſecured their conqueſts over Italy, or have attached to them the people whom they ſubdued, if they had not adopted this wiſe policy, which they did from the earlieſt period of the Republick. Thus early in the fourth century, after the foundation of Rome, a colony was ſettled at Ardea;* and ſoon after, when the Romans conquered the Auſonians, they eſtabliſhed a colony of 2500 perſons at Cales, their principal town.† The ſame thing was done at Pontia and Sueſſa; and 4000 coloniſts were ſettled at Caſinum.‡ Two colonies were planted in the country of Falernum.‖ In ſhort, the Romans adopted this wiſe procedure in every country which they ſubdued, and without it their conqueſts would not have been ſo rapid and ſecure as they afterwards proved to be. Italy would have readily yielded to the victorious army of Hannibal, but that the Roman coloniſts and their deſcendants, who were numerous, ſteadily adhered to the republic of Rome; for which Livy tells us, lib. 27. 10. "they received the thanks of the ſenate.§"

They treated their colonies with tender and parental care, having always incorporated them and given them important municipal privileges; and they always puniſhed ſuch perſons as attempted to injure or moleſt them. Thus, when the natives roſe and maſſacred a great portion of a Roman colony at Sora, a town of the Volſcians, Livy, lib. ix. cap. 24, tells us, that they ſeverely puniſhed the inſurgents. "Omnes qui Romam deducti erant, virgis in foro cæſi, ac ſecuri percuſſi ſummo gaudio plebis; cujus maxime intererat, tutam ubique, quæ paſſim in colonias mitteretur, multitudinem eſſe."

For ſimilar cruelty and treachery the Lucernians and Samnites were puniſhed, and a new colony of 2500 perſons was ſettled amongſt them. Ibid. cap. 26. By intermarriages with the Romans, and by a gradual aſſimilation to their language and manners, the different nations of Italy became one and the ſame people.

In the year 1774, when murder excited ſtronger emotions of horror than it does at preſent, from its frequent perpetration, Mr. Ambroſe Power of Barret's-town, in the county of Tipperary, a moſt worthy gentleman, was murdered in his own houſe by a band of aſſaſſins, which occaſioned ſo general an alarm in Dublin, that many members of both houſes of parliament aſſembled in a committee room of the houſe of commons, for the purpoſe of concerting meaſures for checking ſuch atrocities, and for civilizing the lower claſs of people, when a gentleman, noted in the Iriſh ſenate for eloquence and political wiſdom, ſtrongly recommended the eſtabliſhments of villages and towns in different parts of Ireland.

There are large tracts of land in different parts of it, thinly inhabited, or without any population whatſoever, which would anſwer well for this purpoſe. No part of the Britiſh dominions affords ſo many eligible places for ſuch eſtabliſhments as Ireland,

* Livy, lib. 4. 11. † Ibid. 8. 16. ‡ Ibid. 9. 27. ‖ Ibid. 10. 21.
§ Harum coloniarum ſubſidio tum imperium populi Romani ſtetit: iiſque gratiæ, et in ſenatu, et ad populum actæ.

Ireland, as few parts of it are far from the ſea, as it abounds with fine harbours, with navigable rivers, and rivulets, which are highly neceſſary for ſuch machinery as is uſed in the mechanick arts; and it is alſo probable, that Ireland, from the advantages of her geographical ſituation, will riſe very high in commerce and manufactures.

The town of Bandon, in the county of Cork, affords a ſtriking proof of the advantages of ſuch an inſtitution.

That ſeedling of proteſtantiſm and loyalty was planted by the firſt earl of Cork, the founder of the illuſtrious houſe of Boyle in Ireland, ſo diſtinguiſhed for their loyalty, their virtues, and their talents, as to be highly panegyrized by lord Orford, in his lives of royal and noble authors.

In the year 1688, the agents of James the Second diſarmed all the proteſtants of Ireland, except in ſome northern counties, where their numbers and their high ſpirit would have rendered that meaſure difficult and dangerous.

This procedure was to pave the way for the ſubverſion of the reformed religion, and the foundation of that ſyſtem of tyranny which that infatuated bigot meditated.

The proteſtant inhabitants of Bandon, who were numerous, ſmarting from the oppreſſion and the exactions of a popiſh garriſon quartered on them, and dreading the fate of their fellow religioniſts, diſarmed and expelled their oppreſſors; but they were ſoon after attacked by 12,000 Iriſh, commanded by the earl of Clancarty, and his brother, major-general M'Carthy, and were reduced to the neceſſity of paying a pecuniary contribution, which was ſecured by the bonds of ſome of the principal inhabitants, to ſave the town from pillage and conflagration. Having been ſued for the principal and intereſt due on their bonds in the year 1695, they petitioned parliament to be exonerated from the payment thereof; and the houſe of commons having addreſſed the viceroy for that purpoſe, his excellency ordered the amount of the ſaid bonds to be paid out of the treaſury. The houſe of commons, in their addreſs to the viceroy, pray, "to have the town reſtored to its former ſtate, that it might be a refuge and protection to the Engliſh againſt the cruelty of the Iriſh." How like the ſtate of Ireland has been for ſome years paſt to that period!

Ever ſince, Bandon, which is a populous and manufacturing town, has continued to be inhabited excluſively by proteſtants; for the preſent inhabitants have been ſo ſenſible of the ſufferings of their anceſtors, from the perſecution which they experienced, that they would not permit Roman catholicks to reſide in the town.

The following incident proves that, that ſpirit of partiality blended with fanaticiſm, which appeared on the breaking out of the rebellion, is conſtantly afloat in the minds of the lower claſs of the Roman catholicks. In the month of December 1792, a mob having aſſembled in the town of Bandon, and complaining of the ſcarcity of proviſions, proceeded to deſtroy the mills and corn ſtores of ſome millers and corn-factors in the neighbourhood, whom they regarded as monopoliſts and foreſtallers. In their progreſs, having been joined by great numbers of Roman catholicks, they materially injured the mills, and diſperſed or carried off the corn and flour of the following perſons: Mr. Stawell, of Kilbritton, and Mr. Biggs, of Bandon. On the ſecond day, viz. the 20th of December, they plundered Mr. Pratt's houſe at Shannonvale, near Clonakilty. On the 21ſt of December, they plundered the houſe and ſtores of Mr. Treſilian at Ballinadee. They then reſolved to plunder the town of Bandon, and to take the wives and children of its principal inhabitants as hoſtages, but the following incident very fortunately prevented the execution of their raſh deſign: A propoſal having been made to plunder the ſtores of Mr. O'Brien, a corn-factor

factor of conſiderable opulence, and of the popiſh perſuaſion, the Roman catholicks, who were the moſt numerous part of the mob, ſtrongly objected to it, on the ground that he was of their religion, though they warmly co-operated in plundering the houſes and ſtores of the former perſons, who were excluſively proteſtants. This opened the eyes of the proteſtant part of the mob, and ſhewed them the ſelfiſh and ſiniſter deſigns of their popiſh confederates; on which they ſeparated from them, repaired to the town, ordered the volunteer drum to beat to arms, alarmed the inhabitants, and ſhewed them the neceſſity of uniting and arming for their defence, which was quickly done; for all thoſe who poſſeſſed arms, and were capable of uſing them, came forward, embodied themſelves, called upon ſuch gentlemen as had been formerly officers in the volunteer corps, to head them, which they accordingly did, and having been joined by a party of dragoons, commanded by cornet Kelly, they remained under arms all night in defence of the town, which the popiſh mob would moſt certainly have attacked, but that they were informed of the ſpirited reſiſtance which would have been made to them.

This loyal corps memorialed the earl of Weſtmorland for permiſſion to embody themſelves, which they obtained; and they were the only corps of volunteers in the kingdom who continued to exiſt till the yeomanry were raiſed, except in the county of Longford, where a corps of proteſtants was raiſed with permiſſion of the earl of Weſtmorland, to check the outrages of the defenders.

The Iriſh directory hoped and intended to have made Bandon another Belfaſt, by engaging its inhabitants in their cauſe; but the loyalty of the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church rendered them impregnable againſt the arts of ſeduction.

A few towns like Bandon would materially tend to ſtrengthen the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, by encouraging the growth of proteſtantiſm.

Some of the Roman catholick nobility and gentry have made a practice of going to the viceroy, as the repreſentatives of their order, and of making promiſes and aſſurances, on their part, of their future loyalty and fidelity, in conſideration of certain favours to be conferred on them; but we may learn from experience that they have not the leaſt influence over the Romiſh prieſts and their flock, who are actuated by ſecret ſprings of action unknown to them, and whoſe intereſt and deſigns are quite ſeparate from theirs. The contemptuous inſolence with which the Romiſh nobility and gentry were treated in the year 1792,† in conſequence of which they were obliged to ſecede from their own body, ſhould teach them, that by making ſuch aſſurances, they will always run a riſk of deceiving the government; though I am convinced they are incapable of doing ſo intentionally. When they make ſuch promiſes and aſſurances, in behalf of perſons of their order, it is on a preſumption that they have ſuch an influence over them as would enable them to reſtrain their licentious turbulence. If this be the caſe, I would beg leave to aſk them, why did they not exert it for eight years paſt, in checking the progreſs of treaſon, and the perpetration of robbery and aſſaſſination? But if they have no influence over the prieſts and the popiſh multitude, their promiſes will only tend to delude and deceive the government. I would aſk theſe noble lords and gentlemen, whether they can ſafely pledge their faith for perſons who have in the moſt flagrant manner violated their oaths, for the purpoſe of varniſhing over their treaſonable deſigns? Let them beware, leſt unwarily they might be led—

——— To dreſs the ugly form
Of baſe and bloody inſurrection,
With their fair honours.

They

† See page 78 of the text.

They cannot but know, that if the ambitious and extravagant deſigns of the Romiſh clergy were to prevail, they muſt creep and cringe to the meaneſt popiſh prieſt in Ireland, for their influence over the popiſh multitude is ſuch, that they would probably eſtabliſh a government ſomewhat ſimilar to the theocracy of the Jews. The conduct and the influence of that furious and intolerant bigot, Rinuncini, in the 17th century, ſhould put them on their guard.‡

I will ſeriouſly aſk the Roman catholick nobility and gentry, whether it would in the ſmalleſt degree tend to meliorate the morals of the popiſh multitude to give them a full participation of the Engliſh conſtitution? I am perſuaded that thoſe whoſe minds are not clouded with prejudice, or perverted by bigotry, will anſwer in the negative, and that every rational perſon of their order will admit, that any attempt to improve the maſs of the people in their morals and induſtry will be fruitleſs, till they have experienced the advantages of the Reformation. As to ſuch proteſtant gentlemen who take upon them to give aſſurances of the loyal and peaceable demeanor of the people for electioneering purpoſes, they ſhould be ſcouted with indignation by the government; for the rebellion could not have been as deſtructive and terrific as it was, but for the deluſive promiſes of ſuch men. In ſhort, it is not poſſible that they can have any influence over the main body of that order, or can know their ſecret deſigns.

I have not inſinuated, and I have not the moſt remote wiſh, that the Roman catholicks ſhould be deprived, in the ſmalleſt degree, of the rights and privileges which they have obtained. Many of them are loyal, charitable, and humane; and it would be unjuſt to puniſh them for the fatal errors of others; and as to the deluded multitude, my only deſire is, to convert the riſing generation of them by mild and evangelical means.

In the courſe of my inveſtigation I have diſcovered, that there was not an encampment or a garriſon in any part of the kingdom, for any length of time, that conſiderable diſaffection did not take place among the popiſh military; and if the French had landed a large body of troops, and had gained any deciſive advantage over ours, I am convinced that four-fifths of them would have joined the enemy. This is a matter which ſhould be maturely conſidered by the imperial cabinet.

The Iriſh ſoldiers, out of Ireland, and removed from the influence of their prieſts, make the beſt ſoldiers in the univerſe. Such of the popiſh militia as were of four or five years ſtanding, by conſtantly moving from one place to another, forgot the impreſſions made on them by their reſpective pariſh prieſts, and became loyal; but the yeomen, who were ſtationary, betrayed ſhocking inſtances of perfidy.

Every perſon who reflects that the Britiſh conſtitution, as it now ſtands, emanated from and is founded in the eſtabliſhed religion, muſt be ſeriouſly alarmed at the ſupine neglect of government for its advancement, particularly in Ireland, the growth of infidelity amongſt its members occaſioned by the want of proper attention to their early education, the great encouragement given to popery, and the monſtrous encreaſe of ſectariſm in every part of the empire.

Three proteſtant churches in the city of Dublin have been in ſuch a ruinous condition for ſome years paſt, that divine ſervice has not been celebrated in them, in conſequence of which, it is ſaid, that many of the lower claſs of proteſtants reſident in the pariſhes belonging to them have gone to maſs. The pariſh church of St. Nicholas without has been in ruins above twenty years, St. Michael's nineteen, and that

‡ See page 25 of the text.

that of St. Andrew's, which was the chapel of the houſe of commons, and is in one of the moſt populous pariſhes in Dublin, has not had divine ſervice in it theſe eight years.

The proteſtant miniſters would have ſtarved in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799, from the ſubtraction of their dues, partly by ruffian force, and partly by fraud and the arts of chicanery, but that doctor Duigenan † brought in a bill to enable them to recover them in a ſummary manner.

Thinly ſcattered over the country, they have to combat the fanaticiſm of numerous hoſts of papiſts, the oppoſition of ſectariſts; and at the ſame time they have to deplore the lukewarmneſs and alienation of their own flock, and particularly the nobility and gentry, who frequently connive at, or ſecretly encourage the farmers and peaſants to plunder them, till their turbulence and diſregard of all legal reſtraint, alarms them for the ſafety of their perſons and property; which to my certain knowledge has often occurred in different parts of Ireland.

Their zealous endeavours to maintain and ſupport the eſtabliſhed government in all emergencies have been very conſpicuous; and particularly during the late diſaſtrous ſeaſon of inſurrection and rebellion; yet how very badly they have been requited will appear in the acts and votes of the Iriſh parliament from the year 1735 to 1800, reſpecting the tithe of agiſtment.

Through the defalcation of the dues of the parochial clergy of Ireland, by a gradual and ſyſtematic courſe of encroachment, on the part of the laity, from the time of the Reformation, until the preſent day, 2436 pariſhes, formerly with cure of ſouls, employing about 3000 clergy, are now dwindled to 1120 benefices, and 1001 churches; employing about 1300 clergy of all deſcriptions, rectors, vicars, and curates.—How enviably different is the ſtate of the church of England! There, within the ſame period, the number of pariſhes has riſen from 3,181 to 10,567; containing at preſent 11,755 churches, employing about 18,000 clergy of all deſcriptions. Thus have the clergy of Ireland been reduced conſiderably more than one-half, from the inadequacy of their proviſion, which at the preſent day is eſtimated at not more than 195,000l. a year, or leſs than a twenty-fifth part of the computed rental of Ireland, five millions ſterling per annum; whereas in England, the officiating clergy have been augmented early four-fold, and the revenues of the church, according to the moſt accurate eſtimates, encreaſed from 43,537l. to 1,313,000l. affording a taxable income of 1,125,000l. or about a ſixteenth part of the computed rental of England, twenty millions per annum.

The whole proviſion for the miniſters of the kirk of Scotland, in the year 1755, was about 68,500l. per annum, which being divided between 944 miniſters, afforded to each on an average 72l. per annum, a pittance too ſmall to uphold the reſpectability of the Scottiſh church. In England the average income of pariſh prieſts is about 141l. each per annum; in Ireland the average is about 150l. per annum: but to make Ireland a proteſtant country, the number of her eſtabliſhed clergy ought to be trebled; an event not to be looked for in the preſent age, and under the late interdict.

The proviſion of the Scottiſh clergy is ſo ſmall, that the perſons who for their rank in life, their learning, and their probity, ſhould fill the prieſtly office, are now betaking themſelves to ſecular and more lucrative employments; and it is to be feared that their places will be ſupplied by an inferior claſs of perſons, who are unworthy of the paſtoral charge.

† The good ſenſe, and the ſpirited conduct of this gentleman, on all occaſions, in defending the conſtitution in church and ſtate, deſerve the warmeſt gratitude of every loyal ſubject.

A

JUSTIFICATION

OF HAVING

PUBLISHED THIS WORK

SO SOON AFTER

THE LATE REBELLION.

AS the Jacobins of England and Ireland have cenſured the author of this work, for having publiſhed it ſo ſoon after the late rebellion, under a pretence that it would revive thoſe feuds and animoſities from which it originated, I have written the following defence of myſelf for having done ſo. That venerable biographer Plutarch, in his life of Pericles obſerves, "That it is difficult to attain truth in hiſtory, ſince if the writers live any length of time after the events which they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of them, and if they deſcribe the perſons and tranſactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or intereſt and friendſhip, to diſguiſe or pervert the truth." Conſcious that I have not been biaſſed by any ſuch ſiniſter motives, and deſirous of eſtabliſhing the authenticity of the occurrences which I have related, I reſolved to publiſh a narration of them, while the eye witneſſes of them were ſtill living.

Hiſtory, which is a mirror of paſt times, is the beſt guide to the ſtateſman; and Livy, in his preface tells us, that he wrote his, that the republick might learn leſſons of wiſdom and prudence from it, by avoiding ſuch meaſures as had proved fatal, and by embracing ſuch as had been found ſalutary for its intereſt.

It is much to be lamented that Ireland has been diſgraced, and that her improvement in morals and induſtry has been retarded, for near three centuries, by civil diſſenſions; and as they have ariſen from the ſame cauſe, and have been uniformly directed to one end, a ſeparation from England, we may fairly conclude, that the prediſpoſing cauſes to them muſt be inveterate, and that the ſeeds of combuſtion muſt be deeply and extenſively laid.

As Ireland is completely annexed to the empire by the union, it is to be hoped that the Imperial Government will apply more effectual remedies than have been hi-

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therto adopted, to remove the cauſes of her rebellions, her crimes and diſgraces; but it would be as imprudent to undertake that taſk, without having a perfect knowledge of them, as for a phyſician to adminiſter medicine to a patient, without having inveſtigated the ſymptoms and diagnoſtics of his diſeaſe.

It is a poſitive fact, that the maſs of the people of England are as ignorant of the real ſtate of Ireland, and of the cauſes of her diſturbances and inſurrections, as they are of the moſt remote regions in the torrid and frigid zones; and it is no leſs ſingular than true, that many of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, in their ſpeeches on the union, which have been publiſhed, diſplayed a radical ignorance of it.

As it was to be ſuppoſed that the Imperial Parliament would paſs ſome new laws, and that Government would adopt ſome new meaſures for the internal regulation of Ireland, I conſidered it as an important, nay as a ſacred duty, to lay before them the real ſtate of Ireland, in a hiſtorical deduction of the moſt important tranſactions which have occurred in it for ſome years paſt, with ſome preliminary obſervations on the ſtate of it, from the arrival of the Engliſh till the breaking out of the rebellion in 1798.

I ſhall now endeavour to point out the principal cauſes of the ignorance and miſconception of the people of England of the true and actual ſtate of Ireland.

An angry oppoſition in the parliaments of both kingdoms has conſtantly imputed the diſturbances to a wrong ſource, falſely aſcribing them to the tyranny and cruelty of government, and not to the rebellious machinations and ſeditious conduct of traitors; and aſſerting, that if conciliation, inſtead of coercion and puniſhment, had been adopted towards the latter, it would have produced loyalty in them and reſtored tranquillity in the kingdom.

To ſuch conduct, by inciting the diſaffected to violate the law, by attempting to varniſh over their crimes, and by calumniating and diſparaging the executive government, the late rebellion is to be in ſome meaſure imputed.

Members of the Iriſh Parliament have made a conſtant practice of giving a groſs miſrepreſentation of the towns or counties which they repreſented to the Viceroys of Ireland, for the purpoſe of pleaſing and flattering them; but principally for election-ecring purpoſes, as it tended to ingratiate them with their conſtituents, by concealing their traitorous machinations; and from the ſpeeches recently made by ſome Iriſh members in the Imperial Parliament, I have not a doubt but that the ſame inſidious and adulatory conduct will be purſued.

In conſequence of this, ſome of the Viceroys of Ireland, by lending too ready an ear to artful and deſigning men, and by being deaf to the aſſertions of men dignified by wiſdom and virtue, have unfortunately continued in a ſtate of ignorance as to its real and actual ſtate, and have miſrepreſented it in England.

Why the Viceroys have been too credulous to ſuch men is eaſily accounted for: They conſider that the ſuppoſed proſperity and peacefulneſs of Ireland, ſo ſubject to be convulſed by treaſon and ſedition, will be imputed to their wiſdom and good ſenſe; and that it will ingratiate them with their Sovereign, and exalt them in the eyes of the people of England

This practice took place ſo much in the 16th and 17th centuries, that the ableſt writers of thoſe periods have complained, that the Viceroys materially retarded the improvement of Ireland, by miſrepreſenting its real ſtate, and by adopting paltry and temporary expedients, inſtead of radical and efficient remedies, to eradicate the barbariſm, and the inveterate proneneſs of her inhabitants to treaſon and inſurrection; and

and by this they have concealed with aſhes the embers of rebellion, which have been conſtantly liable to be blown into a blaze by the breath of accident;

Et incedis per ignes
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo.

The conduct of the Engliſh Cabinet towards Ireland, for ſome years paſt, evinces, in ſome degree, what I have advanced; for nothing but their ignorance of it, could account for the extraordinary and impolitick meaſures adopted towards her. Many honeſt and loyal ſubjects have aſſigned the following reaſon for it; that they wiſhed to reduce her to ſuch an embarraſſed ſtate, that her people, to extricate themſelves, would gladly embrace a legiſlative union; but I am far from imputing ſuch ſiniſter deſigns to perſons ſo noted for wiſdom and integrity.

Some Engliſh gentlemen, who viſited Ireland for a few days or weeks, have taken upon them to write eſſays on its religious, moral and political ſtate, though they were totally ignorant of it; and a hoſt of Jacobin ſcribblers have, with intemperate zeal, and unceaſing ſedulity, endeavoured to give a groſs miſrepreſentation of Ireland ſince the rebellion, the cauſe and origin of which they have miſtated in a moſt flagrant manner. This has been done for the following purpoſes: That of feeding the flame of rebellion, of deceiving the Imperial Government, and of miſguiding them in the adoption of any new laws or regulations for the government of Ireland.

Mr. Plowden, a Roman Catholick gentleman and a conveyancer of the Middle Temple, in a book entitled The Caſe Stated, ſays, page 19, "The lower claſs of the Iriſh, I underſtand, to be a race robuſt and hardy, and of a very irritable diſpoſition and nature; they are now indolent*, in extreme poverty, from being debarred the common reſources of induſtry; and are averſe from all laws, from having felt the conſtant preſſure of ſuch only as are galling and ſevere;" and he concludes, for this reaſon, "That the zealots for ſedition and anarchy have found them ready materials to work on." Can there be a ſtronger incitement to diſloyalty and inſurrection, than to tell the maſs of the people that they are under the conſtant preſſure of laws which are galling and ſevere, and by which they are debarred from the common reſources of induſtry; an aſſertion as groundleſs as it is dangerous; but I impute it to no ſiniſter deſign in this gentleman, and I aſcribe it to nothing but his ignorance of Ireland. He makes the following poſition, the purport of which he, in other parts of his work, endeavours to prove, "That the Roman Catholick religion teaches no one point of doctrine, that does not greatly tend to render its followers loyal, dutiful and peaceable ſubjects."

Any perſon who has examined the page of hiſtory muſt be ſenſible of the contrary; but to convince the reader of it, I ſhall refer him to "Prynne's hiſtory of the Pope's intolerable uſurpations on the liberties of the kings and ſubjects of England and Ireland," a work of great learning and ingenuity.

Mr. George Cooper, an Engliſh barriſter, having viſiting Ireland in the autumn of 1799, wrote a book on it, which was publiſhed in the year 1800, for J. White, at Horace's head, Fleet-ſtreet. He tells us, that he can only take to himſelf the merit

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* If this gentleman had lived among the Iriſh he would have known, that they were *active citizens*, both by night and by day.

of having aſcended to the fountain head of information; and having made his remarks on the ſpot, and from a perſonal obſervation of facts, he may be conſidered as more peculiarly ſpeaking ex tripode Phœbi, than other writers on the ſubject.

And yet this gentleman has betrayed palpable ignorance, and has given a groſs miſrepreſentation of Ireland.

The general diviſion which he makes of the people of Ireland is, that of proteſtant coloniſts and catholick natives; and aſſerts, that they have ever continued to be divided into theſe diſtinct bodies; and he adds, "For my own part, ſince I have been in Ireland, I have invariably aſcertained that almoſt every pitiable object in rags and miſery was a catholick; and that almoſt every man, who enjoyed the advantage of food and cloathing, obtained it by his proteſtantiſm. They carry thoſe palpable badges of their religious differences about them."

Now this gentleman might have learnt, that the wealthy merchants, manufacturers and mechanics of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Derry, Newry, Belfaſt, Liſburne and Galway, of the Roman Catholick religion, are very numerous; and that popiſh farmers, in different parts of the kingdom, have made nabob fortunes, and have purchaſed large eſtates, within a few years.

He might have known, that ſo many of the popiſh nobility and gentry have embraced the eſtabliſhed religion, that there are but few of them remaining;* and that ſuch numbers of the middling and lower claſſes have done ſo, that the proteſtants of Ireland are at this time more than one to three to the Roman catholicks. The paupers of both religions who are admitted into the Houſe of Induſtry bear that proportion to each other. The Roman catholick labourer is as much protected by the law as the proteſtant, and the former experiences as much humanity and kindneſs from his employer as the latter. Nay it is very well known, that the lower claſs of Roman catholicks would prefer proteſtant landlords and maſters, from their well known mildneſs and beneficence This gentleman makes the diſſenters infinitely more numerous than the members of the eſtabliſhed church, though it is well known that the former are much inferior in number to the latter.

As to the Roman catholicks, he ſays, page 89, "There can be no political ordeal, as the teſt of loyalty, to which they are unwilling to ſubmit. Every ſecurity for their loyalty and attachment to the government, which the ſafety of the ſtate ſhall require, or think neceſſary, they freely offer to give."

This is ſtrictly true; for they ſwore oaths of allegiance in the moſt ſolemn manner, in many places at the foot of their altars, previous to the rebellion; but it was recently proved, by fatal experience, that they paid no regard to them.

Again, he ſays, page 92, "Neither is it equitable to infer, that they are enemies to the eſtabliſhed religion, when that preſumption is not only rebutted by their own expreſs declarations, *but evinced by long and tried loyalty*, with a readineſs to undergo the ordeal of any political teſt, which it ſhall be thought neceſſary to impoſe on them."

After the ſhocking inſtances of treaſon, accompanied with perjury, which Ireland exhibited in the years 1797 and 1798, it is aſtoniſhing how any writer could have the audacity to make ſuch aſſertions. It would require almoſt as many pages as this gentleman has written to expoſe his ignorance of the ſtate of Ireland.

He ſays, page 108, "Nothing but paſture lands are to be ſeen. Grazing of cattle is their grand paſſion. The farmer feels it his intereſt to devote his lands to it, and to

* Moſt of thoſe who remain were originally Engliſh ſettlers.

to neglect tillage" And in page 118, he says, "That the greater part of the provisions consumed in the country are brought from England, and the poor not having the means to purchase them, are in want of common sustenance, without either house or cloaths to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather."

Now it is well known that Ireland, instead of importing provisions, sends to England, both for her internal consumption, and for the use of the navy, immense quantities of corn, beef, butter, pork and bacon; and her agriculture is so much encreased in consequence of her immense export of corn, and her pasture grounds are so much diminished, that the greatest complaint in many parts of Ireland is the scarcity of milk. He imputes the idleness and the poverty of the Irish to their being badly governed; and then he asserts, that "they would not be so if they were well governed." A groundless assertion, tending to inflame the people against the government!

He says, page 127, "I found, that even in Ireland the name of an Englishman carries with it that weight and respect which has long flattered our pride in foreign countries. In Ireland, too, every man is sensible how much the prosperity and dearest interests of the two countries are linked together."

He should have confined this remark to the protestants, who are sincerely attached to England; but it is a positive fact, that the mass of the Roman catholicks equally execrate both Englishmen and protestants, whom they brand with the common, and what they consider, odious, appellation of Saffona.* In short, I take upon me to assert, that the protestant religion is the only bond of union between the two kingdoms.

He tells us, page 129, that "it was no war of religion, because none of the catholicks of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Clare, Galway, or any part of the kingdom, except those few counties in which the rebellion broke out, were at all implicated in it; that those of Wicklow and Wexford were necessarily so, because the peasantry were of that religion"

He says, page 131, "The orange party was formed to perpetuate the abuses and oppressions of the government, but discountenancing every innovation. They openly avowed themselves determined to shed the last drop of their blood before any concessions should be made to the catholick body."

From what I have already said in page 133 of the text, it is obvious that the orangemen did not associate till some years after almost the whole of the penal laws were repealed; that they assembled without arms, and for no other purpose but to protect themselves from being extirpated, and to prevent their country from being separated from England. The number of persons dignified by wisdom and virtue, high birth and shining abilities, at the head of the orange societies, would alone have been sufficient to banish any suspicion that they had harboured any of the base designs which were imputed to them.

He says, page 135, "The catholicks felt themselves attached to a constitution of King, Lords and Commons. They therefore renounced all coalition with the conspirators, and preferred their humble claims to parliament."

The reader must be convinced, after having perused this volume, that these assertions are totally groundless.

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* Doctor M'Nevin, a Roman catholick, and one of the Irish Directory, says, in his evidence upon oath, before the House of Lords, "The lower class of catholicks consider protestant and Englishman, that is, English settler, as synonimous, and as their natural enemy, the same Irish word (Saffona) signifies both."

He ſays, page 141, "That it had been induſtriouſly circulated by the United Iriſhmen, that the orange party was inſtituted in order to exterminate them. It was repreſented that the proteſtants had entered into a ſolemn league and covenant to deſtroy them, and that they had ſworn to wade up to their knees in catholick blood! The day when the maſſacre was to commence was even mentioned. I am ſorry to be obliged to confeſs, that there was too much appearance of reaſon to juſtify the catholicks in giving ear to this ſuggeſtion of a maſſacre. Orange lodges were ſpread over the counties in which the rebellion broke out, more numerouſly than through the other parts of the kingdom.* Oaths were adminiſtered to thoſe who enrolled themſelves of that party; the nature and purport of which the peaſantry were unacquainted with, but which they were led to believe were for the deſire of exterminating them. Neither is there a doubt, but that ſuch a wiſh has been profeſſed by many of the orange party. I am ſure I have heard it declared, and ſo muſt every man who has at all mixed in ſociety in the country, that Ireland never would be at reſt till the catholicks were completely exterminated. Such a deſign has even been avowed in their publick deliberations. I have not indeed heard it myſelf, but I have not the leaſt doubt of the fact. The charge has been made by others, and has never yet been denied."

When ſuch infamous and groundleſs charges have been publickly made againſt the proteſtants of Ireland, the only ſubjects in it who have been upon all occaſions ſincerely and ſteadily loyal, for the obvious purpoſe of deceiving the adminiſtration of England, in whoſe eyes they wiſh to degrade and ſtigmatize them, and when the ſanguinary and treaſonable deſigns which a ſet of traitors manifeſted in the late rebellion, for the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and diſſolving the connection between the two kingdoms, have been falſely imputed to them, it is incumbent on every faithful ſubject, who is intereſted in their preſervation, to ſtand forward and undeceive the government of England.

This gentleman, not contented with his own obſervations, quotes another writer who appears to be actuated by the ſame ſiniſter deſigns as himſelf, in ſupport of his calumnies.

He tells us, that "the author of a highly reſpectable publication, Conſiderations on the State of Affairs in Ireland in the year 1799, has this remarkable paſſage:

"And though there may be men of ferocious minds, who would exterminate the natives; although I have heard a ferocious policy avowed in the publick councils, by which they were to be armed and let looſe upon each other; though I have heard the offer of union condemned, as a remedy inadequate to the evil, and the ſalvation of the few aſſerted to depend upon the extermination of the majority; that the catholicks muſt be extinguiſhed and put out; that not a ſingle Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity; though I have heard theſe ſanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a houſe of parliament; yet I am ſatisfied that they are confined to a few breaſts, not wickeder than they are weak."†

Mr.

* The contrary is well known to be the caſe, for they were moſtly confined to the north, and were ſcarcely known in thoſe counties in the province of Leinſter, where ſuch dreadful barbarities were perpetrated during the rebellion.

† I am convinced, that no member of the Iriſh parliament ever entertained ſo baſe and ſanguinary a deſign, and I am ſure, that if any member of that aſſembly ſhould have had the folly and wickedneſs to utter ſuch an opinion, he would have been ſeverely condemned and ſcouted out of it.

Mr. Cooper then adds, " What anſwer does the orange party make to this charge, which ſtands upon record ? They refuſe to plead to the indictment ; they ſtand obſtinately mute ; their guilt muſt therefore be taken pro confeſſo."

Mr. Cooper thus concludes, that in conſequence of ſuch reports relative to the deſigns of orangemen, " we muſt acquit the peaſantry of every crime."

The reader after peruſing theſe pages muſt perceive, that Mr. Cooper muſt have been totally ignorant of the cauſes of the late rebellion in Ireland, or that he uttered theſe groundleſs aſſertions, in ſo barefaced a manner, with a deſign of deceiving his countrymen for the worſt of purpoſes.

I am perſuaded that there is not a ſincere proteſtant in Ireland, that does not profeſs, and would not maintain, at the riſk of his life, the principles of orangemen, the only object and import of which is, to defend the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to protect the life and property of every honeſt and loyal ſubject againſt the machinations of traitors, robbers, and aſſaſſins, who have ſo many years diſturbed and diſgraced their native country.

This gentleman acquits the murderers of Scullabogue, Vinegar-hill, Gorey and Wexford-bridge, becauſe, as he ſays, the perpetrators of them believed that orangemen had taken oaths to murder them ; but the orange inſtitution did not exiſt in the county of Wexford ; and it is well known, that the baſe fiction of the infamous oaths taken by orangemen, and their atrocious deſigns againſt Roman catholicks, was uſed merely as a veil to conceal their ſanguinary views againſt proteſtants of every rank and denomination, and to ſtimulate the lower claſs of the former againſt the latter.

The author of Conſiderations upon the State of Public Affairs, quoted by Mr. Cooper, and decidedly a jacobin, ſays, " I confeſs, I fear, that there are among our ſettlers* in Ireland ſome unrelenting minds, who expect and prefer another concluſion of the conteſt, and very different ; the horrible principle which has been diſcloſed even in England, induces me ſtrongly to apprehend, that there is no obſtacle in a part of the colony more hoſtile and formidable to the projected union, than the hope of being enabled, by the arms and treaſure of the mother country, to obtain ſuch decided and definitive ſucceſs in the civil war, as to enable their " Independent Parliament" to attaint and confiſcate the remaining part of the property of Ireland, not actually in the occupation of that colony." Such is the vile ſlander and calumny which he utters of the proteſtant nobility and gentry of Ireland ; and leſt the hatred of the Roman catholicks towards them, manifeſted in ſo many rebellions, was not ſufficiently envenomed, he endeavours to ſublimate it by the following obſervation on them :

" Revenge, and the hope of prey, are his undiſguiſed motives ;† and he is only far leſs abſurd or leſs guilty than the coloniſt I have deſcribed, as he believes himſelf to have a right, according to the doctrines of impreſcriptibility, to poſſeſs the lands which no time, no length of poſſeſſion can alienate, no acquieſcence can transfer ;‡ and as he relies for his hope of ſucceſs, upon a government, which as it were from the very centre and focus of robbery, adopts and aſſiſts every attack upon every poſſeſſion, every innovation of right and principle, and law and property."

Such

* Meaning the Proteſtants.

† Meaning the Roman catholicks.

‡ This is a direct invocation to the deſcendants of the traitors who forfeited eſtates to riſe in rebellion.

Such is the ſtigma which he caſts on the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, the moſt loyal, liberal and humane body of people in Ireland, and ſuch are the arguments which he adopts to varniſh over the diſaffection of the Roman catholicks, and to incite them to continue in their diſloyal and rebellious principles.

In anſwer to this, I ſhall only ſay, that the rebellions ſince the reformation aroſe from, or were fed by, religious bigotry; that they were put down by Engliſh armies; that the trials of traitors, under which they were convicted, were held under the ſuperintendence of Engliſh judges and commiſſioners, and the forfeited lands were granted by the crown to ſuch Engliſh ſubjects as had diſplayed their courage and their loyalty in conquering the rebels; among whom were to be found not only the native Iriſh, but great numbers of the Engliſh coloniſts, becauſe the diſaffection which kindled thoſe rebellions aroſe principally from religious rancour. The Iriſh parliament was but a mere cypher, and ſerved only the purpoſe of regiſtering the edicts of the Britiſh cabinet till the year 1782. The ſupreme power of the Engliſh parliament over Ireland was aſſerted in the year 1698, when Mr. Molyneux's book was condemned; and again by a law paſſed in the Britiſh parliament, the 6 of Geo. I. cap. 5. While the Iriſh parliament were in that ſtate of conſtraint and ſubordination, the Houſe of Lords twice addreſſed the crown in 1703, and again in 1707, to grant to Ireland the benefits of an incorporated union; but they were abſolutely refuſed. The odium of the penal laws then enacted againſt the Iriſh Roman catholicks is much more to be imputed to the Britiſh than the Iriſh parliament, as the latter had, during that period, no power to originate any law, even for the internal regulation of Ireland, unleſs it had been previouſly deliberated on, and ſanctioned by, the Britiſh cabinet.

But as ſoon as the Iriſh parliament were emancipated, and obtained a full exerciſe of their functions, they repealed without a murmur, nay with the greateſt alacrity, the moſt odious and ſevere parts of the penal laws, and this in one ſeſſion. In ſhort, the Iriſh proteſtants, with a degree of liberality and generoſity, which muſt ever reflect honour on them, and ſhould conciliate the eſteem and the warm regard of their Roman catholick fellow ſubjects, ſhewed an earneſt deſire of ſharing with them a portion of that liberty which they acquired the inſtant they had obtained it

The author of a pamphlet, entitled the Caſe of Ireland reconſidered, ſays, "What difference is there between an Iriſhman and a Scotchman, that the religion of the one ſhould be treated with reſpect, and the other with contempt? But is the reaſon to be ſought in the religion itſelf; that of Ireland is not leſs antient, leſs noble, leſs extenſive; the greateſt men and the greateſt nations of Europe have never been aſhamed of profeſſing it; it is not leſs ſafe; it has long exiſted in monarchies and in republicks; the firſt duty it inculcates is obedience to the power of the ſtate."

In anſwer to this I ſhall obſerve, that England, one of the greateſt nations in Europe, was afraid and aſhamed to profeſs it, becauſe it had ſo often ſhaken the thrones and impoveriſhed the ſubjects of ſovereign princes, and therefore very ſtrong and wiſe laws were enacted againſt the ſupremacy of the pope, from the reign of Edward the Confeſſor till the reformation took place; and during that period, the people of England frequently ſhewed an earneſt deſire to renounce the ſuperſtition itſelf, and would have effected it in the reigns of Henry III. Richard II. and Henry IV but that they were prevented and intimidated by the tyranny and perſecution of the eccleſiaſtics, who in the reign of the laſt introduced the practice of burning heretics. It certainly enjoins obedience to thoſe governments whoſe members are

Roman

Roman catholicks, but it inculcates treaſon and reſiſtance to a proteſtant ſtate, as a ſacred duty; and it frequently ſhook the thrones of popiſh ſovereigns, who did not ſubmit implicitly to the imperious dictates of his Holineſs.†

He alſo concludes, " that proteſtants and Roman catholicks may co-exiſt in Ireland with an equal ſhare of political power, without any danger to the proteſtant ſtate, becauſe both theſe religioniſts live in ſome ſtates in Germany, with perfect ſafety to the government, and in harmony among themſelves, and even uſe the ſame place of devotion alternately.

I have ſhewn, in the introductory diſcourſe, that popery doctrinally teaches and ſanctions treaſon and reſiſtance to a proteſtant ſtate; and the late rebellion proves, that the maſs of the Iriſh people implicitly believe in, and think themſelves religiouſly bound to obey thoſe abominable tenets, ſo long fatal to the peace and ſafety of Ireland; in conſequence of which the lower claſs of the Iriſh are traitorous towards the ſtate, and fraudful, ferocious and ſanguinary towards ſuch of their fellow ſubjects as differ from them in religion; and for this reaſon the Scotch peaſant, or mechanic, differs as much from the Iriſh, as a houſe dog does from a wolf or a fox.

As to theſe two religioniſts living together in the ſame ſtate in Germany, it is eaſily accounted for.

They are all originally of the ſame ſtock or lineage, and the religious liberty of each is guarantied by the treaty of Munſter; ſo that the intolerant or ambitious deſigns of either againſt the other is completely repreſſed; but in Ireland, the hope of recovering the forfeited eſtates, and of ſeparating her from England, conſtantly fomented by bigotry, keeps alive their hereditary hatred to the latter, and of courſe to the members of the eſtabliſhed church, from their noted loyalty and attachment to the ſiſter kingdom, and gives full play to the deleterious doctrines of popery, which the Iriſh prieſts never ceaſe to foment.

In ſhort, for theſe reaſons, no parallel can be drawn between the popery of Ireland and that of any other country in Europe.

From the intolerant ſpirit of popery, its ſectaries never would ſuffer any other members of the chriſtian church to be on a footing with them, in point of political power. Sigiſmunda Auguſtus, king of Poland, paſſed a law at the diet of Vilna, on the 16th of June 1563, that all perſons of the equeſtrian or noble orders ſhould enjoy equal rights and privileges, of whatſoever chriſtian communion or confeſſion they ſhould be; but on the death of Sigiſmunda, the Roman catholicks, though inferior in number to the proteſtants and diſſidents, gained a ſuperiority over them, excluded them from the government, and perſecuted them with fanatical zeal. Catharine the ſecond of Ruſſia attempted to put them again on an equal footing; but the obſtinate reſiſtance of the Roman catholicks, occaſioned thoſe diſſenſions which finally terminated in the ruin and diſmemberment of the kingdom of Poland.

It is true, as this writer aſſerts, that in Germany ſome eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments were poſſeſſed alternately by proteſtants and catholicks, and the ſame church ſerves frequently for their worſhip; but what conſtitutes the difference between theſe two religioniſts in thoſe countries and Ireland, is the illiberality and fanaticiſm of the Iriſh prieſts, who tell their beſotted ſectaries that they will be damned if they even enter a proteſtant church, which they univerſally do. A lady in the city of Dublin, of diſtinguiſhed benevolence, recently ſolicited a certain Roman catholick lady of rank, to aſſiſt in collecting money at a charity ſermon in a proteſtant church, and her anſwer

 was,

† See page 10 of the text.

was, that ſhe would gladly do ſo, but that the rules of her church would not permit her to comply, or words to that purpoſe; at the ſame time the proteſtant nobility and gentry frequently collect charity in popiſh chapels. Some time ſince Lord Granard ordered the band of his regiment to play during divine ſervice in the church of Athy, where they were quartered; but the popiſh muſicians refuſed to obey, having ſaid that a prieſt aſſured them they would be damned if they entered a proteſtant church. On enquiry it was diſcovered, that a prieſt, who was a member of the popiſh ſeminary at Carlow, gave him this charitable aſſurance, and on being queſtioned on it, the prieſt avowed, that it was conſonant to the eſtabliſhed doctrines of his church. In the ſame manner doctor Coppinger, titular biſhop of Cloyne, would not ſuffer ſuch of the band of the King's county regiment, as were papiſts, to play in the proteſtant church at Youghall; though, with the permiſſion of the colonel, both the proteſtant and popiſh muſicians had conſtantly played in the popiſh chapel.

The popiſh ſervants uſed conſtantly to attend the prayers read by their proteſtant maſters in their reſpective families till the year 1793, but when, at that period, the proteſtant ſtate, with ſingular benevolence and philanthropy, granted them a large portion of political power, in addition to an equality of civil liberty which they had previouſly obtained, their prieſts, fed with the hope of attaining an aſcendency for their ſectaries, endeavoured to render the two orders immiſcible, and to draw for ever an interminable line between them; and from that time we find, that the popiſh clergy laid their deluded ſectaries under an abſolute interdict againſt entering a proteſtant church, or hearing the prayers of a proteſtant maſter. The Marquis de Bonnet, who was many months on a viſit with the biſhop of Oſſory, (now biſhop of Meath) conſtantly aſſiſted at the prayers read every evening by his lordſhip to his family; but the Marquis, though he was reputed a French philoſopher, and had been preſident of the national aſſembly of France, conſulted the pious doctor Huſſey on the propriety of aſſiſting at the biſhop's devotions, and he declared with great vehemence, that it was inadmiſſible; and the Marquis yielded implicit obedience to the liberal inhibition of the reverend father. Such is the conduct of the popiſh clergy, in return for the liberal and benevolent conceſſions of the proteſtant ſtate towards their order!

Some weak men and ſhallow politicians have ſaid, that the publication of this book would tend to revive animoſities, which every perſon ſhould wiſh to compoſe. The folly and futility of this obſervation will be eaſily expoſed, by ſhewing that the malignant ſpirit which occaſioned the rebellion has never ceaſed, though the royal mercy has been extended to a moſt dangerous exceſs, with the hope and for the purpoſe of laying it, and conciliating the diſaffected. For two years after the rebellion was ſaid to be put down, the county of Limerick continued to be diſturbed and diſgraced by nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination; and ſuch was the ſtate of the county of Wicklow, where the moſt material and deſtructive outrages againſt the perſons and property of the loyaliſts were perpetrated after it was ſaid to be ſuppreſſed.

The reader will ſee in Appendix XV. of this work, ſome ſpecimens of the licentious and deſolating ſpirit which prevailed in the county of Kildare in the years 1799 and 1800; and ſome alarming inſtances of barbarous cruelty and ferocity have appeared there within theſe few months.

The people of the county of Clare, ſuppoſed in the year 1798 to be perfectly free from diſaffection, broke out into open rebellion in the year 1799; and that barbarous practice, peculiar to the natives of Ireland, of houghing cattle, was carried to a dreadful and alarming exceſs in it, and in the county of Galway. In the years 1799 and

and 1800, traitorous combinations and conſpiracies, very alarming from their extent and malignity, were diſcovered in the counties of Cork, Waterford and Tipperary; and in the barony of Muſkerry, in the former, a plot formed by a committee of aſſaſſination, has been recently detected, for murdering all the proteſtant gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

In ſhort, a ſpirit of diſaffection, as ſtrong as ever, in the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter, has manifeſted itſelf in various deſperate outrages, and the loyal ſubjects in them, who were active againſt the rebels, have as much reaſon as ever to dread its fatal effects, and to fear for their perſonal ſafety. Traitorous combinations have been recently diſcovered in the metropolis; and perſons who owed their lives to nothing but the royal mercy, have been detected in the act of fitting in committees, forming new plans of inſurrection; treaſonable ballads are frequently ſung in the publick ſtreets, and the maſs of the people in it, with indecent boldneſs, give unequivocal proofs of their diſloyalty, openly exulting in the ſucceſs of our enemies, lamenting the good fortune of our fleets and armies, and expreſſing their hopes, that the enemies of mankind will land in their unfortunate country, and aſſiſt them in their plans of robbery and aſſaſſination; but the loyal ſubjects have this one conſolation, that treaſon is at preſent confined to but one claſs of the people.

It was mentioned in the report of the ſecret committee of the Engliſh houſe of commons, publiſhed the 5th of March 1799, that the United Iriſhmen who went to England to propagate their baneful doctrines, were by far the moſt dangerous conſpirators diſcovered there.

In the reports of the ſecret committees of both houſes of the Britiſh parliament, publiſhed in the month of April 1801, it is ſtated, that there is a conſtant correſpondence and co-operation between the traitors of both kingdoms, in their ſchemes for overturning the conſtitution; and for that purpoſe, of holding out hopes of invaſion, and "that many of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, who either *by the lenity of the government of that country*, or their own apprehenſions of its juſt ſeverity, had repaired to England, had by all the means they had been uſed to practiſe, ſtimulated and inflamed the members to an higher pitch of extravagance."

And it is moſt certain, that many wretches of this deſcription have ſtationed themſelves in different parts of England, with no other deſign but to miſ-repreſent the origin and cauſe of the late rebellion, falſely aſſerting that it aroſe from the unjuſt and impolitic ſeverity of the government, and the cruelty and tyranny of the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church.

In the propagation of ſuch calumnies they have been aſſiſted by the Engliſh Jacobins; and to my certain knowledge, they have been but too ſucceſsful in their wicked endeavours; for how otherwiſe can we account for the palpable ignorance, which ſome members of the Britiſh parliament recently diſplayed in their ſpeeches, of the real ſtate of Ireland?

From what I have now ſaid in defence of publiſhing this hiſtory, I flatter myſelf that the candid reader will acknowledge, that it was wiſe and politic to do ſo, as ſoon as poſſible after the rebellion.

It is a poſitive fact, that a notorious leader of rebellion, who contributed materially to deſolate two counties in Ireland, and who eſcaped the vengeance of the law, by the miſtaken lenity of government, has been well received in the houſe of a nobleman of conſiderable rank in England. Such men have been extremely active in miſ-repreſenting the cauſe, the origin, and the conſequences of the rebellion, in that kingdom.

It is evident, that it cannot make the ſtate of Ireland worſe than it is at preſent, by reviving animoſities, as the cauſes of combuſtion exiſt in it as ſtrong as ever. On the contrary, it will tend to unite proteſtants of every deſcription in defence of the conſtitution, by ſhewing them that their own ruin will of courſe be involved in its deſtruction.

Both houſes of the Imperial Parliament have thought proper, in their great wiſdom, to inſtitute ſecret committees, to inveſtigate the real ſtate of Ireland, and they have publiſhed their reports, which prove that the maſs of the people in many parts of that kingdom are in a ſtate of depravity unheard of in the annals of hiſtory.

What opinion are we to entertain then of perſons who have made animadverſions on the author of this work, on the pretended ground that it would revive the animoſities which have diſtracted the country, when it is unqueſtionably proved by theſe reports, that the ſeeds of rebellion ſtill exiſt, and that outrages have never ceaſed to be committed, ever ſince the rebellion was ſaid to be put down; and yet ſome perſons have made ſuch animadverſions from weakneſs and timidity, ſome from a ſpirit of diſaffection, in hopes that their confederates may, by the acquieſcence of government, bring another rebellion to maturity; and others from ſelf-intereſted motives, which I ſhall not explain, were deſirous of varniſhing over, and concealing from the adminiſtration of England, the machinations and the crimes of the Iriſh traitors.

What can be more dangerous or more culpable? To conceal the treaſonable deſigns of an individual, is, by the laws of every nation in Europe, miſpriſion of treaſon. How great then muſt the guilt of thoſe be, who would conceal the treaſonable combinations of the multitude, formed for the deſtruction of the empire!

I lament that I have not authentic copies of thoſe reports, to inſert extracts of them in this work; but it is ſtated in them, that a ſyſtem of terror is ſtill maintained in various parts of the country, by the means of committees of aſſaſſination, who ſit conſtantly, and deliberately condemn, and procure to be murdered, ſuch perſons as are diſtinguiſhed for their loyalty. It appears alſo, that this dreadful ſyſtem is under the guidance of a directory ſitting in Dublin.

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